M. L. WEST

# Hellenica

*Selected Papers on Greek Literature and Thought*

## Volume I: Epic

OXFORD

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# *Preface*

Scholars sometimes find it an amenity to have the 'kleine Schriften' of one of their more prolific brethren, or a selection of them, republished in book form. There is something to be said for leaving it until the author has been dead a few years. The undertaking can then be contemplated without regard to his feelings, and in the expectation that his effusions have ceased. But people sometimes lack the patience to wait that long, and I am told that the idea of a collection of some of my papers being published in the nearer future had occurred to others besides myself as a pleasant prospect. The Delegates of the Press, once their attention was directed to the possibility, were not slow to give their blessing.

The intention is to produce three volumes over a period of two or three years. This first one is devoted to epic. The second will be devoted to lyric poetry (including elegy and iambus) and drama. The third will contain papers on philosophy (mainly cosmology), music, metre, and miscellaneous other topics. Each volume will contain a supplementary list of my publications in the corresponding areas.

My policy in selecting items for inclusion is in general to leave aside those concerned with criticism of particular passages in ancient authors, keeping the emphasis on larger bodies of text or wider questions of literary history. I include a few reviews, but only ones that raise general issues of scholarly principle. Certain items have been abridged to avoid duplication of material or to eliminate sections of less relevance or value. I have taken the opportunity to insert a couple of new papers; it seemed improper to take up space in periodicals with them and then at once reprint them.

Those in the present volume were written at different times over a span of more than forty years, and naturally I have come to see some matters in a different light from when I wrote the earlier ones. For example, for a long time I referred to the poet of the *Iliad* by the name Homer. By 1988 I was beginning to have doubts about whether there was a historical poet so called (see p. 73), and since about 1995 I have avoided using the name in that application. Certain other shifts of perspective will not escape the attentive reader. I think

nonetheless that the collection taken as a whole presents a coherent vision of the emergence of heroic epic in early Greece.

The original place of publication is given at the beginning of each chapter at the foot of the page. The original pagination is indicated in the body of the text by a vertical divider followed by the number of the page that began at that point. Footnotes are numbered sequentially through each chapter. In most cases this was so in the original papers, so that the numbering remains the same. Where it originally started afresh on each page I have noted the fact at the beginning of the chapter, and anyone who needs to know the original numbering of a footnote will have to locate the relevant page-divider and count from there. To avoid disturbing the numeration when adding supplementary notes, as I have sometimes felt the need to do, I have numbered them in a separate series prefixed by s (s1, s2, etc.) and placed them together at the end of the chapter. The reader will therefore find three kinds of reference sign in the text with raised numbers: [6] refers to a footnote, [s0] to a supplementary endnote, [|6] to the break between pages 5 and 6 in the original publication.

I have edited the papers to achieve greater uniformity of formatting, but some differences could not have been eliminated without excessive upheaval. Thus in some papers Homeric citations have the form '*Il.* 5. 301, *Od.* 3. 10', in others '$E$ 301, $\gamma$ 10'. In some there is a bibliography at the end and I use the Harvard system of reference to the works listed, in others it is not so. I do not necessarily use the same spellings of names in every paper, or the same abbreviations. Occasionally I have smuggled in a new reference or surreptitiously corrected an error, and some references to ancient authors have been tacitly updated to more recent editions, or the updated reference has been added in square brackets; likewise with modern articles that have been reissued in another place.

M.L.W.

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# *Abbreviations*

| | |
|---|---|
| *AJA* | *American Journal of Archaeology* |
| *AJP* | *American Journal of Philology* |
| *ARV* | J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* |
| *ARW* | *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* |
| *Ath. Mitt.* | *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* |
| *BCH* | *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* |
| *BICS* | *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* |
| *BMCR* | *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* |
| *BSA* | *Annual of the British School at Athens* |
| *CAH* | *Cambridge Ancient History* |
| *CEG* | P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* |
| *CJ* | *Classical Journal* |
| *CPh* | *Classical Philology* |
| *CQ* | *Classical Quarterly* |
| *CR* | *Classical Review* |
| *CW* | *Classical World* |
| *FGrH(ist)* | F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* |
| *GDI* | H. Collitz–F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* |
| *GGA* | *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* |
| *GGM* | K. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* |
| *Gött. Nachr.* | *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* |
| *GRBS* | *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* |
| *HSCP* | *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* |
| IE | Indo-European |
| *IF* | *Indogermanische Forschungen* |
| *IG* | *Inscriptiones Graecae* |
| *Inscr. Cret.* | *Inscriptiones Creticae* |
| *Jb. f. cl. Phil.* | *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* |

| | |
|---|---|
| *JHS* | *Journal of Hellenic Studies* |
| *KAH* | *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* |
| *Kl. Schr.* | *Kleine Schriften* |
| *KTU* | *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* |
| *LCM* | *Liverpool Classical Monthly* |
| LH | Late Helladic |
| *LIMC* | *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* |
| MH | Middle Helladic |
| *Mnem.* | *Mnemosyne* |
| *Mus. Helv.* | *Museum Helveticum* |
| *NJb.* | *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum* |
| OCT | Oxford Classical Text |
| *PCG* | R. Kassel–C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci* |
| *PCPS* | *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* |
| *Phil.* | *Philologus* |
| *PMG* | D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* |
| *PMGF* | M. Davies, *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* |
| *RE* | Pauly–Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* |
| *Rh. Mus.* | *Rheinisches Museum* |
| *SEG* | *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* |
| *SIG* | W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn. |
| *SMEA* | *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* |
| *SPAW* | *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* |
| *Symb. Osl.* | *Symbolae Osloenses* |
| *TAPA* | *Transactions of the American Philological Association* |
| *TrGF* | B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* |
| *Wien. St.* | *Wiener Studien* |
| *YCS* | *Yale Classical Studies* |
| *ZDMG* | *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* |
| *ZVS* | *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* |

# 1

# Greek Poetry 2000–700 BC

## I

They used to believe that mankind began in 4004 BC and the Greeks in 776. We now know that these last five thousand years during which man has left written record of himself are but a minute fraction of the time he has spent developing his culture. We now understand that the evolution of human society, its laws and customs, its economics, its religious practices, its games, its languages, is a very slow process, to be measured in millennia. In the case of Greek religious usage it is now appreciated that it has its roots not in Mycenaean but in Palaeolithic times.[1] As for Greek poetry, comparative studies have shown that it goes back by a continuous tradition to Indo-European poetry. There are various signs of this continuity, and it may be of service if I briefly indicate the categories into which the evidence falls.[2 s1]

*CQ* 23 (1973), 179–92. There the footnotes were numbered anew on each page.

[1] This insight, particularly associated with the name of Meuli, forms the basis of W. Burkert's exciting new book *Homo Necans* (Berlin 1972) [English edition trs. Peter Bing, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1983].

[s1] refers to a supplementary note at end of chapter.]

[2] For details see Rudiger Schmitt's comprehensive *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1967), and the collection of articles edited by him in *Indogermanische Dichtersprache* (Darmstadt 1968: *Wege der Forschung*, 165), especially those of Wackernagel (from *Phil.* 95 (1943), 1–19 = *Kl. Schr.* 186–204) and Durante (from *Rendiconti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei* 13 (1958), 3–14; 15 (1960), 231–49; 17 (1962), 25–43). [Durante's papers reappeared in his *Sulla preistoria della tradizione poetica greca* ii (Rome 1976).] On metre see A. Meillet, *Les Origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs* (Paris 1923) (the essentials may be found in his *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, 7th edn. (Paris 1965), 145–52); R. Jakobson, 'Studies in Comparative Slavic Metrics', *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 3 (1952),

(i) Terminology relating to the poet's craft. Greek shares with Sanskrit, and in part with other IE languages, the concept that the poet is a builder (τέκτων ἐπέων), the use of the verbs 'make' (ποιεῖν) and 'weave' for his composing, and the idea that he is divinely inspired and borne along a path in a horse-drawn chariot.[3]

(ii) Metrical technique. Comparison especially with Vedic metres, but also with Slavic and others, shows that most of the commonest cola used in Greek verse, and one or two of the strophe-forms, are developments from IE prototypes. We must also take into account the virtual agreement of Greek with Sanskrit principles of prosody (Meillet), the occurrence of metrical lengthening or shortening in certain forms (Wackernagel), and the admission of *brevis in longo* at the end of a line.

(iii) Stylistic features. I would pick out: (*a*) omission of the syllabic augment as a poetic licence in Greek and the Vedas and Avesta (Wackernagel); (*b*) disturbance of word-order, for instance inversion of the normal name–patronymic sequence in Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος (Wackernagel) and Lydian *Sivāmlλ Sarolλ*; (*c*) juxtaposition of compounds with the same fore-element, πολυρρῆνες πολυβοῦται, ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως=Vedic *ajárā amṛ́tā*; (*d*) the pattern consisting of three names of which the last is accompanied by an epithet, common to Greek, Indian, and Germanic poetry (H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik* i [Heidelberg 1927], 126).

[180] (iv) Poetic vocabulary. Many instances have been found of semantically identical or etymologically cognate phrases, especially in Greek and Vedic Sanskrit poetry, which must go back to a common original (Durante, Schmitt, and others). They are not all equally significant, for some are phrases that need not have been poetic in the parent language; but there is a sufficient residue of purely ornamental expressions—broad or boundless earth, swift or strong-hoofed horses, shining clothes, the wheel of the sun, and so on—to suggest a shared poetic heritage even apart from other considerations which point in the same direction.[4]

21–66 = *Selected Writings* iv (The Hague–Paris 1966), 414–63; C. Watkins, 'Indo-European Metrics and Archaic Irish Verse', *Celtica* 6 (1963), 194–249 [= *Selected Writings* ii (Innsbruck 1994), 349–404]; M. L. West, 'Indo-European Metre', *Glotta* 51 (1973), 161–87.

[3] See the first and second of Durante's articles.

[4] By way of a control we may take the lists of noun–epithet formulas in Tamil poetry given by K. Kailasapathy, *Tamil Heroic Poetry* (Oxford 1968), 148–70, where no such correspondences appear.



Certain similarities of structure and content between Germanic and Indo-Iranian texts have also been claimed as reflexes of IE poetry.[5] The parallels are interesting, but contribute little to the question of the continuance of IE tradition in Greek.

## II

All this does not conspire to give us much of a picture of the poetry that the Greeks brought with them into Greece at the beginning of the Middle Helladic age. But we can at least infer something of its metrical forms. They must have occupied a position not very far advanced along the line of development that led from the simple Common-IE types to those known from archaic Greece.

In IE verse the unit of composition was the line, in which the number of syllables was fixed and the ending scanned either ∪ – ∪ – (acatalectic) or ∪ – – (catalectic), the earlier syllables being of unregulated quantity. The primary cola contained from five to eight syllables. These cola could themselves be used as lines; or a longer line could be obtained by adding four extra syllables at the beginning (marked off by caesura) or by duplicating the acatalectic cadence,

× × × × ∪ – ∪ – | ∪ – ∪ –

Lines of different lengths could be mixed in irregular sequence, but it was more usual to use equal lines in series (sometimes with a catalectic verse to conclude), or to have a regular alternation of lines of two sorts, or a three-line strophe of the form AAB.

In Greek the IE cola assumed various more definite shapes through the stabilizing of the quantities of the syllables preceding the cadences. There were also other important developments:

1. New units were created from the old by expansion, that is, by the doubling or trebling of the rhythmic element – ∪ ∪ or – ∪ ∪ – in the middle of the colon.

[5] Articles by Kuhn, Specht, Schaeder, and Schröder in the *Wege der Forschung* volume. Specht goes so far as to reconstruct the noble verse *idém, gonóses, úpo klute*, 'Hearken to this, men!'.

2. Asymmetrical rhythms were modified into symmetrical ones by regularization, assimilation of the less characteristic part of the movement of the colon to the more characteristic part.

3. Longer and more complex strophes were built up.

None of these three processes operated so consistently as to push the older cola into the background. To a certain extent they represent regional and not Panhellenic developments. This has important chronological implications; for the separate regional traditions of poetry that we find from the beginning of the [18] literate period must be to a considerable degree the outcome of the isolationism of the Dark Age.

These regional traditions may be defined initially in terms of dialect. Broadly speaking, the archaic Greek poetry known to us is composed in three dialects: (i) Ionic. With this I include the epic language, in spite of the older Aeolic elements it contains, since it evidently reached its definitive form in Ionia. (ii) Lesbian. There is some influence from the epic dialect on the Lesbian poets, but it is limited and easily identified. (iii) Doric. There are individual variations of dialect among the poets concerned,[6] but they agree in a post-Mycenaean dialect form which does not belong to any of their vernaculars, namely *-οισα* in the feminine participle.[7] Epic influence is again noticeable but definable.

To this threefold division of dialects corresponds a threefold division of metrical practice.

In Ionian poetry down to the first half of the sixth century an important part is taken by stichic verse—hexameters, trochaic tetrameters, and iambic trimeters—which was probably recited, not sung. For sung verse the most popular metre was the elegiac couplet.[8] However, in Archilochus we see nine or ten others being used as well. They are without exception 'epodic': in other words, the unit of composition is (just as in the elegiac couplet, which has no less right to be called epodic) a miniature strophe formed by juxtaposing two or at most three simple cola. The cola concerned are the dactylic

[6] I am considering primarily Eumelus (in his prosodion for the Messenians, *PMG* 696), Alcman, Stesichorus, and Ibycus.

[7] Eumelus, Stesichorus, and Ibycus also have *Μοῖσα*, while Alcman has Old Laconian *Μῶσα*; and Ibycus has *-οισι* in the third plural of the indicative, while Alcman has *-οντι* and apparently *-ουσι*.

[8] That it was sung is clear from such passages as Thgn. 241–3 and 939.



hexameter, tetrameter, and hemiepes, the iambic trimeter and dimeter, and the ithyphallic.[9] There is no trace of any more complicated metrical structure, and no reason to suppose that the range of metres used by Archilochus was unrepresentative of Ionian song in the seventh century. A hundred years later Hipponax presents a similar picture. He uses trimeters and tetrameters, mostly in the 'limping' form, hexameters, and two of Archilochus' epodic metres; also a catalectic iambic trimeter and tetrameter. Only in a fragment of uncertain attribution do we find a colon of 'aeolic' type [175 *καὶ κείσηι τινὰ θυμήρας*].

Lesbian poetry is very different. The compositional unit is of similar dimensions: the single line, or, more often, the two-, three-, or at most four-line stanza. But the lines can scarcely ever be analysed in terms of dactyls or iambi, or divided into uniform metra. In other words, the cola are essentially of the asymmetric type. Another distinctive feature is that many of them begin with two syllables of unregulated quantity, the so-called aeolic base. Further, a long syllable is never interchangeable with two shorts.

The practice of the Doric poets is different again. They can compose *κατὰ στίχον*,[10] or in a stanza as short as three lines,[11] but more often they build a considerably longer and more varied strophe. From another point of view they [52] tend to bridge the gap between the Ionian and Aeolic traditions: we find some of the same cola as in the Lesbians,[12] but on the other hand extensive use of dactyls[13] and of the iambic dimeter.[14] Characteristic of these poets is the combination of dactylic with trochaic cola to produce what we call dactylo-epitrite.[15]

It may further be observed that the use of the names Ionian, Aeolian, and Dorian for different musical modes implies the same threefold division of the national tradition.

[9] The various combinations are tabulated in my *Iambi et Elegi*, i. 1.

[10] So apparently Alcm. 46 (ionics), 26, 77?, 80?, 107? (hexameters), and perhaps 20 (iambic dimeters), 19, 59a (iambic trimeters catalectic).

[11] Alcm. 3 fr. 3 iii; 14(a), which resembles an Ionian epode.

[12] Glyconic, Alcm. 59b. 3; pherecratean, Alcm. 38; ionics, Alcm. 46, 50; asymmetric cola also Alcm. 1. 37 etc. (choriambic enhoplion A5, Ibyc. 282. 4 etc. (the same), 8–9; 286. 1–3, 7/12; Stes. 223. 4, 244. 1, *al.*

[13] Eumelus, Alcm., Stes., Ibyc.; particularly the hemiepes and tetrameter.

[14] Alcm. 2(i). 1, 20, 38. 1?, 59b. 2, Ibyc. 310. 1.

[15] Alcm. 3 fr. 1–3 ii; 39; 89; Stes., see *ZPE* 4 (1969), 143 ff.; Ibyc. 285?, 315.

How old is this division? We may be sure at least that it goes back beyond the eighth century. As early as Eumelus and Hesiod, mainland poets composing in hexameters imitate the dialect of Ionian epic. Not much later Tyrtaeus in Sparta, Theognis in Megara, and Solon in Athens acknowledge Ionic as the proper dialect for elegy. That means that hexameter and elegiac poetry came to the mainland from Ionia, after they were fully developed. In the case of epic we can give an approximate date for the spread. It occurred before Eumelus and Hesiod, but after the completion of the series of sound-changes which Ionic underwent in the Dark Age. The latter consideration suggests that the eighth century is more likely than the ninth. This conclusion receives support from archaeological evidence, which indicates that the second half of the eighth century witnessed a sudden resurgence of interest in the heroic past in many parts of Greece. Mycenaean graves began to be treated with reverence, to be identified as the graves of particular heroes of legend, and to be brought offerings.[16] Relics of Bronze Age architecture, often secular, became the sites of new shrines.[17] Heroic scenes appear in art. The general assumption that these phenomena reflect a major expansion of epic is a sound one. It is mistaken to suppose, however, as some scholars have done, that the fame of a particular poet—Homer!—was responsible, for we have also to account for the parallel spread of elegy. We must postulate a moderate number of Ionian bards at large in the mainland; and in the mid-eighth century, at any rate, when writing had barely been heard of, they will not have been reciters of a fixed text.

As for why they were abroad, we need only consider the conditions of the time. The regional isolationism of the tenth century had already begun to thaw by 900, and the ninth century showed a higher level of intercommunication both between different areas of Greece and between Greece and the outside world.[18] But in the middle third of the eighth century there was a dramatic increase in these contacts.[19] It was at this period that Delphi became a place of national importance.[52] The register of Olympic victors from 776 onwards, preserved by Eusebius, reveals what is at first a local Elean affair progressively attracting participants from further and further afield. The pressure of population growth, which led to a rash of colonies

[16] A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh 1971), 192–4.
[17] Ibid. 397 f. [18] Ibid. 330 ff. [19] Ibid. 336 ff.



in the last third of the century, will have driven many individuals to seek their fortune elsewhere even earlier. One we happen to know of is Hesiod's father, who left Asia for mainland Greece because of difficulty in making a living. It is not surprising if more [183] than one Ionian poet did likewise. A poet can renew his audience more easily than his repertoire.

In the eighth century, it seems, the Greeks of the mainland discovered that the Ionians had developed impressive forms of poetry which they themselves did not have. The most impressive was a brand of narrative epic which stirred in them a new interest in and respect for the glories of the heroic past. Their own poetic traditions were evidently not oriented in that direction. If they had had heroic epic in the Mycenaean period, they had forgotten it.

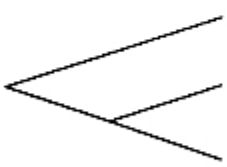
The period of separate development of Ionian and mainland poetry, then, must be placed prior to the eighth century. On the other hand there is an evident kinship between the Ionian metres and those of the mainland poets. Common to both are such units as the dactylic hemiepes and tetrameter, the iambic dimeter, the catalectic trimeter, the ithyphallic, and the principle of simple juxtaposition of these. For his hexameters Alcman may be indebted to Ionian poetry (their dialect and in part their content suggest it), but the same cannot be said of the rest, which has a greater range and fluency than the corresponding Ionian material. It is altogether more plausible to regard both as going back to a common source antedating the Ionian migrations of the eleventh century.

If we now compare this southern tradition with that represented by the Lesbian poets, we find that again there are signs of a basic affinity (though little remains of them in the Ionic branch); the Lesbian tradition, however, is in some respects more faithful to the original IE inheritance, in that it has preserved a certain freedom of quantities at the beginning of some cola, resisted the tendency to regularize rhythms, and not adopted the equivalence of ∪ ∪ and –. To put it the other way round, the Ionic and Doric branches share several features of secondary origin. It follows that the tradition which they represent had already diverged from that represented by the Lesbian poets well before the Ionian migrations, and therefore before the Aeolic migrations too. The Lesbian tradition, then, goes back to Bronze Age Thessaly.

It is natural to suppose that, as the Lesbian tradition goes back to the North Greek poetry of the late Mycenaean age, the Ionic/Doric

tradition goes back to the South Greek. This is to assume that what appears as Dorian in historical times was not originally so, but was taken over by Dorians as they made themselves at home in the south. It is with the pre-Dorian Peloponnese, and not with the Dorians, that we should expect to find Ionian tradition in a closer relationship. It is with the southern half of the Mycenaean world that Ionian heroic poetry is mainly concerned: except for Achilles, whose position is unique in many ways, the major heroes of the Trojan War come from nowhere north of the Corinthian Gulf, and the other great happenings of the heroic age are situated predominantly in the regions from Thebes southwards. The Ionic dialect itself is more closely related to Arcado-Cypriot and Mycenaean than to Aeolic.[20] Ionic was already distinct from this Peloponnesian dialect (in consequence of innovations in the latter rather than in the former) in the Bronze Age;[21] but it remains true that this proto-Ionic was related to Peloponnesian, in other words that historical [184] Ionic is descended from a 'South Mycenaean' dialect differentiated from Aeolic.[22]

The pattern of relationships between the three regional poetic traditions that we can identify in the period 800–550 BC thus corresponds to the pattern of relationships between three dialects of the late Mycenaean age. Represented schematically it is:



| | |
|---|---|
| Thessaly, Boeotia | Lesbian poetry |
| Peloponnese | Doric poetry |
| Attica and nearby parts | Ionian poetry |

[20] E. Risch, *Mus. Helv.* 12 (1955), 61–76; J. Chadwick, *Greece and Rome* NS 3 (1956), 38–50 (both reprinted in G. S. Kirk (ed.), *The Language and Background of Homer* (Cambridge 1964)).

[21] L. R. Palmer in *Fifty Years (and Twelve) of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968), 44, with literature.

[22] The Arcado-Cypriot (–Mycenaean) tendency to round back vowels in weak positions (*ἀπύ* for *ἀπό*, *ὀν* for *ἀν(ά)*, -αυ for -αο, -τυ, -ντυ for -το, -ντο) is in part shared by Aeolic (*ἀπύ*, *ὀν*). This may perhaps be regarded as an innovation which spread from the centre of the Mycenaean world, reaching parts which stood in the cultural mainstream but not the fringe areas occupied by the Dorians and Ionians.



## III

It is now possible to assign different features of the evolution of Greek metre to places in a scheme of chronology. Those features which are common to Ionic, Doric, and Lesbian poetry should be of early date, established perhaps before 1500, in part perhaps even before the Greeks reached Greece. Those features of secondary origin which are common to Ionic and Doric and absent from Lesbian should date from a somewhat later period, but not later than about 1050. Those which are peculiar to Ionic or to Doric are not necessarily post-migration, if we assume that the Ionic tradition was already distinct from the Peloponnesian in the last centuries of the Mycenaean period, as the dialect was; but they may date only from 1050–750, and in general this was a time more favourable to divergence.

The oldest phenomenon that concerns us is the stabilization of quantities in the originally free early syllables of the IE cola. Although certain of these cola generate more than one colon in Greek, the alternatives are Panhellenic (or at least common to the Aeolic and Doric traditions), and appear to have been established before the divergence of North and South Mycenaean poetry.

In selecting from the possible combinations of long and short syllables, the Greeks followed discernible principles. A run of three consecutive shorts was avoided altogether. The two syllables preceding the cadence ⏑ – ⏑ –, therefore, could not both be short; and of the other three possibilities, the two favoured were ⏑ – and – ⏑. Before – ⏑, any further syllables were unregulated. Before ⏑ –, if there was only one syllable it became long; if there were two, one or both had to be long to avoid ⏑ ⏑ ⏑; if there were three, either the second or the third was long (but not both), and the first might be. The results were as follows:

Acatalectic series:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Six-syllable | dodrans | – ⏑ | ⏑ – ⏑ – |
| Seven-syllable | telesillean | × – ⏑ | |
| | lekythion | – ⏑ – | |
| Eight-syllable | glyconic | × × – ⏑ | |
| | | – ⏑ ⏑ – | |
| | iamb. dim. | × – ⏑ – | |

$l^{185}$ Catalectic series:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Five-syllable | adonian | – ∪ |
| | penthemimer | × – |
| Six-syllable | reizianum | × – ∪ |
| | ithyphallic | – ∪ – |
| Seven-syllable | pherecratean | × × – ∪ |
| | aristophaneum | – ∪ ∪ – |
| | iamb. dim. catal. | × – ∪ – |
| Eight-syllable | choriamb. enhopl. | × – ∪ ∪ – |
| | ionic | ∪ ∪ – – ∪ / ∪ ∪ – ∪ – |
| | ditrochee | – ∪ – × – |

} ∪ – –

Another early development was the principle of expansion. In certain cola which contained the sequence – ∪ ∪ –, this might be expanded in either of two ways which may be called disjunct and conjunct. By disjunct expansion it becomes – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – (– ∪ ∪ –); hence we get choriambic verses such as:

× × – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – (– ∪ ∪ –) ∪ – (asclepiad), or
× – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – or
– ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – × – ∪ –

By conjunct expansion it becomes – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – (∪ ∪ –); hence e.g. the Sapphic fourteen-syllable × × – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – or the paroemiac × – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –.

Now we come to the secondary features which developed in the southern tradition, presumably in the second half of the second millennium. Conjunct expansion has already produced something in the nature of dactylic rhythm, but it remains an uneven rhythm so long as we have verses beginning with × × or ending with – ∪ – or – ∪ – –. In the southern tradition there appears a regularized dactylic movement, expressed primarily in the cola:

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪
– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – } tetrameter
× – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – paroemiac
– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – hemiepes.

The third of these can, as indicated above, be derived by simple expansion from the reizianum, and like the second, it retains the catalectic role of cola with the ∪ – – cadence, being always treated as the close of a period. The first is never so treated, and its last



syllable is never long, which suggests that it is not to be derived from any full colon with a cadence but rather regarded as a piece of expansion which has become long enough to be felt as a detached unit but which requires a continuation with a proper clausula. As for the hemiepes, it can serve as a close, and since in Alcman fr. 1, and possibly in Stesichorus,[23] – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – responds with – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –, its origin is perhaps to be accounted for from a rhythmic regularization of the aristophaneum – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –.

Another innovation particularly associated with dactylic verse is the equation of – and ∪ ∪. The equation is by no means absolute: in dactyls, – may in $l^{185}$ certain circumstances stand for ∪ ∪, but not vice versa, while in verse of iambic/trochaic movement ∪ ∪ may sometimes replace – preceding a short or anceps position. One way in which this might have come about can be seen if we posit × × – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – (expanded pherecratean) developing by regularization into – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –. Of the possible forms which the two initial syllables of the earlier colon could take, – – was nearly equal in weight to the following dactyl. It might therefore have continued being admitted as an alternative to – ∪ ∪ in the regularized form of the verse after – ∪, ∪ –, and ∪ ∪ had been eliminated, and then the same alternation accepted in other positions.

In the Ionian tradition, the preference for symmetrical and regularized rhythms was such that the asymmetrical cola, containing the sequences – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – and – ∪ – ∪ ∪ –, fell into neglect. In the Peloponnesian tradition this did not happen, but there was all the same a bias towards the symmetrical rhythms, dactylic and iambic/trochaic.[24] The chief difference was that while the Ionians kept to the short strophe of not more than four cola, the Peloponnesian tradition gave rein to the instinct which had modified the inherited cola by expansion: it developed extended strophes of several times the length of any to be found in the Ionian or Aeolic sphere. These often contained sequences of identical cola in even rhythm. For instance, in Alcman's Partheneia (frr. 1 and 3) we find such sequences as:

[23] See *ZPE* 7 (1971), 264; criticized by R. Führer, ibid. 8 (1971), 252.

[24] It was apparently in the Peloponnese that anapaests made their appearance, to judge from their occurrence in Spartan songs, Sicilian comedy (Aristoxenus, Epicharmus), and the Doricizing parts of Attic drama.

– ∪ – × – ∪ – × – ∪ – –
– ∪ – × – ∪ – × – ∪ – –
– ∪ – × – ∪ – –
– ∪ – × – ∪ – –

or two acatalectic dactylic tetrameters, and again in Stesichorus (222, cf. R. Führer, *Hermes* 97 [1969], 115; *P. Oxy.* 2617, cf. Page, *Lyrica Graeca Selecta*, p. 263 [*SLG* p. 5]) and in Ibycus (282, 286) two or three dactylic tetrameters. The rhythm may be carried on by the next colon even though it has a different ending:

– ∪ – × – ∪ – –
– ∪ – × – ∪ – ,

or

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪
– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – .

In such circumstances it is not surprising if the feeling for the colon as a self-contained unit is weakened, and if we get instead the sense of a rhythmic flow which can be dispensed to any amount required. This is indeed the principle on which dactyls come to be used by the time of Stesichorus and Ibycus. The line may begin – ∪ ∪ . . . or ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ . . ., it may end . . . ∪ ∪ – – or . . . ∪ ∪ – (or turn into a different rhythm).

It is also the principle assumed in the Greek system of metrical terminology which analyses a verse in terms of the two coordinates, rhythm and amount, the system which we still follow when we speak of a dactylic hexameter or an iambic dimeter. The convenience and prevalence of this system, however, should not mislead us into thinking that it reflects the process by which standard verses were created. The iambic trimeter, for instance, is not the result of somebody turning on a tap marked Iambic and waiting for three metra to emerge. When I[187] we take account of the fact that it has a caesura which usually comes after the fifth syllable, and of what we know of the IE background of Greek metre, we see that in origin it is a combination of two primary cola, × – ∪ – – (or – ∪ ∪ – –) and the lekythion, which we also find separately. The division into three four-syllable metra does not correspond to its real structure and sound. Likewise the 'trochaic tetrameter' must be derived from a combination of ditrochee with



lekythion.[25] Whenever we would try to analyse a Greek metrical structure in terms of its antecedents—and that is surely the most worthwhile kind of analysis—we shall do well to remember that beyond, ultimately, lie the IE prototypes; and often they will not be far to seek.

To sum up what has been concluded about the direction taken by the regional traditions: the northern tradition was the most conservative, at least in the technical aspects we have been considering, while the southern was marked by a tendency to regularize and simplify, which showed itself in the elimination of the 'aeolic base' and in the preference given to symmetrical cola. The Ionians carried this further, till they were using only very simple cola of stereotyped form. Perhaps this facilitated the fluent and brilliant composition *in extenso* for which they became distinguished. Meanwhile the Dorians elaborated the strophic form, and developed dactylic verse in a free way that tended to run cola together into longer periods.

After the Dark Age the regional traditions did not blend, for they had grown too far apart, but the Ionic and to a much lesser extent the Doric gained currency beyond the borders in which they had matured. Only the Doric was flexible enough to be capable of metrical development; it is from this source that the elevated lyric verse of the fifth century flows. Here complexity and periodic structure are common and analysis into cola often problematic. But this was an exceptional era; once it is past, simplicity prevails and composition is in short, recognizable cola.

## IV

I want to conclude by considering a particular genre whose development in pre-literate times can to some extent be profitably discussed: heroic epic. It is generally agreed that the archaic and formulaic character of the epic language and the historical memories enshrined in the Homeric poems presuppose a tradition of hexameter poetry reaching back generations before Homer. But how far back does it go, and how much in it goes back to its earliest phases?

Some assume that the Mycenaeans, even the early Mycenaeans, must have been composing narrative poetry in hexameters. The epic

[25] Cf. Alcm. 3. 65–7, 2 ditr.+lek.; Anacr. 347, *al.*, 3 ditr.+lek.

tradition certainly preserves more from Mycenaean times than can readily be accounted for without continuity of conservative, backward-looking poetry. Perhaps the Greeks had always had the habit of celebrating heroic exploits in verse. The existence of such a continuous tradition from IE times has indeed been inferred from the agreement of Greek with Vedic poetry in the use of certain phrases that concern fame or celebrity: *κλέος ἄφθιτον = śrávaḥ ákṣitam*, *μέγα κλέος = máhi śrávaḥ*, *κλέος εὐρύ = pṛthú śrávaḥ*.[26] The argument is not conclusive; but there is nothing inherently unlikely in the idea that the Greeks had heroic l[188] poetry of some sort in the first half of the second millennium. However, it would not have been in hexameters. We have seen that dactylic verse was a South Mycenaean development dating probably from the second half of the millennium, while the stereotyped stichic hexameter represents a further development in the Ionian branch of the tradition, perhaps late Mycenaean, perhaps post-migration. If there was epic or heroic balladry in (say) 1600, its characteristic verse was most likely the glyconic, whose cognates are used in Sanskrit and Slavic epic.

By 1100 it may have existed in south Greece in something like hexameters, though I imagine that they might be rather looser in technique than what we are used to; even Homer's lines do not always 'scan', i.e. fit the scheme we abstract from his normal practice. The origin of the verse, not as a sausage-string of dactyls but from hemiepes + paroemiac, betrays itself in rhythmic irregularities at the caesura in lines such as:

*Il.* 4. 517 ἔνθ' Ἀμαρυγκείδην Δῖώρεα μοῖρα πέδησεν,
9. 506 πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθέει, φθάνει δέ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν,[53]
11. 697 εἵλετο κρινάμενος τριηκόσι' ἠδὲ νομῆας,
*Od.* 7. 89 ἀργύρεοι δὲ σταθμοὶ ἐν χαλκέῳ ἔστασαν οὐδῷ.

In oral performance such irregularities will have been more common; and five centuries before Homer they may have been so common as to be regular. In Stesichorus, where we see the southern tradition in a luxuriating but less regularized form, such quasi-hexameters are quite common:

187. 3 καὶ ῥοδίνους στεφάνους ἴων τε κορωνίδας οὔλας.
209. 11 – ∪ ∪ Παν]ελόπα σ' ἰδοῖσα φίλου πατ[ρ]ὸς υἱόν.

[26] P. Thieme in the *Wege der Forschung* volume (above, n. 2), 59, 229–31; R. Schmitt, ibid. 342 f., and *Dichtung und Dichtersprache*, 61–102.



Of the deeds described in epic of the classical period, one at least corresponds to a historical event which took place before 1300, probably before 1350: the destruction of Thebes.[54] Hesiod specifies the conflicts at Thebes and Troy as the two great wars which killed off the race of Heroes (*Op.* 161–5), and epics about Thebes and Troy seem to have made up the greater part of the Epic Cycle. As for Troy, we have two historical sacks to choose from: that of Troy VIIa not long after 1250, and that of Troy VIIb in about 1100.[55] The second is usually ignored by scholars, apparently because the ancient datings for the fall of Troy are scattered about the year 1200, but we shall see that in some ways it fits the tradition better than the first. In any case an actual event of centuries before Homer's time has been remembered in heroic poetry.

On the other hand it is clear that great distortions have taken place. Thebes fell earlier than Troy: Homer is right about that, but he makes Diomedes take part in both wars, whereas even the earlier sack of Troy really came more than a century after that of Thebes.[56] It is probable that the tradition has brought together at Troy heroes who lived at different periods and belonged to different sagas;[57] it is certain that it has vastly exaggerated the scale of the war. Whoever sacked Troy (whether VIIa or VIIb), it was not a Panhellenic force filling 1,186 ships, nor was Troy supported by a confederacy of allies sprawling across l[189] two continents from Lycia to inner Thrace. Nor was the dispute caused by the abduction of Helen, since Helen was originally not a mortal queen but a tree-goddess. Evidently we have to do with an amalgam of myth, fiction, and historical traditions of diverse origin.

The analysis of this amalgam concerns us here in so far as it throws light on the general history of epic poetry. What different regional traditions have we got to postulate at particular periods?

In the first place we have seen that the hexameter, the invariable metre of Ionian epic, has South Mycenaean antecedents. The Ionian colonists issued mainly from Attica, which seems in the twelfth century to have absorbed some of the population that was disappearing from most parts of the Peloponnese. So here we have an obvious route for heroic tales relating to Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, and Thebes, to come down into the archaizing poetry of eighth-century Ionia. 'Ionia' as distinguished from Attica, we should remember, does

[27] M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London 1933), 251–66.

not just mean the towns of the Asiatic coast: it embraces islands all across the Aegean to Euboea. The island area seems to have played an important part in the formation of the epic language, for if it had evolved primarily among the East Ionians it would have used forms like κῶς, κου, κοτε, κοῖος, whereas in fact it uses only the forms with π. This contrasts with the situation in iambic and elegiac poetry, where poets from the eastern towns (Callinus, Mimnermus, Semonides, Hipponax) do use forms with κ. We might suspect that the practice of epic poets too varied according to where they came from, except that Mimnermus sometimes has π, apparently under epic influence, and Hipponax, who normally uses κ, has π when he is parodying epic (128. 3; 129). The constant use of π-forms cannot plausibly be ascribed to Aeolic influence on epic, for why should this particular feature of Aeolic phonology be adopted when so many others were not? The true explanation seems to be that it was in the central Ionic area that epic particularly flourished during the period when the labio-velar was assimilating itself to other phonemes, so that the π-forms became established as the epic norm.

In the second place we have to postulate the existence of a northern, Aeolic tradition, on the evidence both of legend and of language. The stories of Pelias, of Jason and the Argo, of Peleus and Achilles, look back to Thessaly and to the late Mycenaean period. The Aeolian colonists who settled around Lesbos were the obvious people to transmit this Thessalian mythology to the Ionians. And it is notorious that the epic dialect contains an Old Aeolic element; its extent has often been exaggerated, but it has resisted attempts to dispose of it.[28] One Aeolism, φήρ for θήρ, is specifically associated with Thessalian myth.

As in the case of Thebes, archaeology provides a date on which to spike the drifting clouds of legend. Iolcus was destroyed about the middle of the twelfth century. Legend ascribes its destruction to Peleus, the father of Achilles;[29] Achilles himself lives at a time when the centre of power in Thessaly is no longer Iolcus but Phthia. This would imply that he belongs to a period at least a century later than the fall of Troy VIIa. If he was really involved in a successful assault on Troy, then VIIb is likely to be the one. But before we conclude that

[28] Cf. P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* i. (Paris 1942) 509–12; E. Risch, *Gnomon* 30 (1958), 90–4.

[29] [Hes.] frr. 211. 2–5, 212(b). 7, Pind. *Nem.* 4. 55 with schol.; cf. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 224–6a.



VIIb is the Troy whose sack was celebrated in Greek saga, we must examine [first] Achilles' position in that saga, for here, clearly, we have to do not with a pure and unified tradition but with a mixture of northern and southern legend.

Achilles is differentiated from the other great heroes who went against Troy firstly by the *Märchen* atmosphere that accompanies him from his semi-divine birth onward.[30] Secondly, whereas the other leaders were there because they had been suitors of Helen, and had been made to swear that if she were ever seduced they would band together to punish the sinner, Achilles had been too young to compete with them for her hand ([Hes.] fr. 204. 78–93). He was fetched in from Scyros after Calchas prophesied that Troy could not be taken without him. The *Iliad* itself contains an indication that he was not among those who gathered at Aulis, for in the catalogue of ships, which I take to be Homer's adaptation to the battlefield setting of what he was accustomed to recite as an account of the embarkation, he only comes to Achilles and the rest of the northern contingents after he has been round Greece once and then out to Crete and the other Dorian islands. These accounts imply that Achilles was felt to belong to a later epoch than the rest, and also that he was only worked in with them at a comparatively late stage of the tradition. Equally significant is the fact that Achilles, alone of the major heroes, is killed at Troy, in other words he does not take part in the actual sack. On the other hand he does sack no less than twenty-three other towns in north-west Asia Minor (*Il.* 9. 328–9). One of these is Lesbos (ibid. 129), where later one of the main Aeolic settlements was. Is it not natural to see in these raids by a fabulous hero of the time after the fall of Iolcus a memory of historical attacks launched from Thessaly against the Troad and the regions to the south of it, perhaps over a considerable period, before the establishment of the colonies?

The end of Troy VIIb might well belong in that context. Two other features of Homer's Troy also seem to suit VIIb. Firstly, the sack which is the main centre of attention is the second of two: there was an earlier sack by Heracles (*Il.* 5. 640 ff., cf. 20. 145–8, [Hes]. fr. 43(a). 63 f.). Historically, two successive sacks of Troy would have to be identified as those of VIIa and VIIb. Secondly, there is Aeneas, whose

[30] See R. Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics* (Berkeley 1946), 71–6.

only significant achievement is that he survives the sack and becomes the progenitor of a new royal dynasty which is represented as lasting indefinitely (*Il.* 20. 307–8, *Hymn. Aphr.* 196–7). His name and connections are Thracian. Apparently there existed in Troy in the time of Homer (*sc.* Troy VIII, a Hellenic settlement) a dynasty which claimed descent from an ancient king of Troy who was of Thracian race. Such a king would have belonged to the latter phase of Troy VIIb, when the city did come under Thracian domination.

On the other hand it is not Aeneas but Priam and his sons who rule Homer's Troy and are most firmly bound up with it. We might argue from this that it is essentially a different Troy from the one ruled by Thracians, and that can only mean an earlier one. Nor can Agamemnon well be associated with the fall of VIIb, seeing that Mycenae and apparently also Argos were destroyed first. All the indications are that the story of the Great Armada, whatever its historical nucleus, is something that should be referred to the heyday of the Mycenaean empire. If its sack of Troy is part of its historical nucleus, then we must stick to the thirteenth-century sack of Troy VIIa.[31] It seems, then, that we l[191] have to do with a mixture of earlier and later Troys remembered in different traditions.

Does the confluence of Aeolic with Ionic tradition, together with the evidence of Aeolic influence on the Ionic epic language, presuppose the existence of some sort of Aeolic epic? It has often been thought so; and I believe it is proved by a little-regarded linguistic fact. Priam appears in the Lesbian poets as *Πέρραμος* (Alc. 42. 2) or *Πέραμος* (Sappho 44. 16). Now the existence of separate dialect forms of the name is in itself a proof that for a long and continuous period the Asiatic Aeolians had been talking about Priam independently of the Ionians; but that is not all. *Πέρραμος* results from the regular sound-change in Lesbian by which *ρι* preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel became *ερρ*: *Ἀγερράνιος*, *ἀλλότερρος*, *κόπερρα*, *μέτερρος*, the stages being *ρι* > *ρ̣ι* > *ερ̣ι* > *ερρ*. Sappho's *Πέραμος* appears to be a compromise between the sound of the secondary form *Πέρραμος* and the metrical value of the original *Πρίαμος*—a compromise necessitated by a poetic tradition which made extensive use of fixed formulas. A formula containing *Πρίαμος*, provided that the *Πρ* was not making

[31] If Alexandros-Paris is Alaksandus of Wilusa, he lived in the first half of the thirteenth century.



position, could change its sound in the direction of *Πέρραμος*, but the metre prevented the first syllable from becoming long. Thus *Πέραμος* as well as *Πέρραμος* became established in the Aeolic poetic language.

The reality of the often-posited Aeolic epic, or perhaps epic balladry would be the better description, is thus confirmed. It was presumably composed in an Aeolic metre, not in hexameters. From before the time of the sound-change, whenever that was, it told of Troy, the city of Priam, as well as of legends from the Thessalian homeland. There was certainly interaction between it and the Ionian tradition, and after the eighth century, when Ionian epic had its great flowering, it must have been very much overshadowed. But it may have survived down to the time of Sappho, and in her fr. 44, the poem on the wedding of Hector and Andromache, with all its 'epic' morphology, style, and prosody, we may have a specimen or at least an echo of it. No doubt she knew the *Iliad* and other Ionian epic, as Alcaeus did, and several of her epicisms are of Ionian origin. Nevertheless the Aeolic form she has chosen must have seemed suitable for the enterprise. The metre, × × – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – (expanded glyconic, used *κατὰ στίχον*), is plausible for an Aeolic descendant of Middle Helladic epic (cf. p. 188 above). At the same time it is, among Aeolic metres, the one which most resembles the dactylic hexameter in its effect. This might be fortuitous, or it might reflect the influence of one tradition on the development of the other.

The picture of the evolution of epic which I have sketched in the foregoing paragraphs leaves little room for a tradition of hexameter epic on the mainland going further back than the eighth century, when Ionian epic became widely known and aroused an interest in the heroic past which had apparently been dormant. My account is thus in conflict with the fashionable opinion that the catalogue of ships is substantially a piece of Mycenaean poetry preserved by the Boeotians, a people supposedly addicted to catalogues beyond other Greeks. The Boeotian character of the catalogue of ships is inferred from three considerations: the initial position of the Boeotian section; the relatively full treatment which this section receives; and the association of catalogue poetry with the name of Hesiod. As to the last, it is to be remarked that the only poems of the Hesiodic corpus known to come from Boeotia are the two known to be by Hesiod; that none of them is a catalogue in anything like the same

sense as the [192] catalogue of ships; and that in any case they are all Ionic in language and metre. As to the second consideration, the fullness of the Boeotian section, it is simply the consequence of the first, its initial position.[32] As to the first, well, Homer had to start somewhere, and the fact that the fleet gathered at Aulis may have been the reason for starting from Boeotia.[33]

The antiquity of the catalogue is inferred from the fact that many of the places named are known to be Mycenaean sites, and none are known to be post-Mycenaean foundations; some were apparently unoccupied in the Dark Age; and some could not be identified by Hellenistic writers. But a Mycenaean site can only be tied to a Homeric name with any certainty where the name survived locally, whether or not there was continued occupation; in which case it was available to a poet of any period. There was little risk of a post-Mycenaean foundation being included even by a late poet, for the number of such places was small, and their recent origin would be well remembered. The Greeks were always aware, for instance, that the Asiatic colonies were post-Trojan. Moreover, if the catalogue dated from the Mycenaean age, ought we not to be able to find in it such a major Mycenaean site as Dendra? Certainly the lines which give the numbers of ships in each contingent are not early, for many of them use the relatively late Ionic form *νέες*.[34] This is sufficient to undermine the romantic notion that the catalogue preserves the actual muster of those who sailed against Troy—as if a Panhellenic expedition were credible. Yet no one can tell us what the list was designed for if not as a list of those who sailed against Troy; and if it was designed for that, then it dates from a time when the Trojan legend had snowballed into an affair involving most of Greece (though not yet Thessaly, if we may argue from Achilles' exclusion from the confederacy of suitors). That is to say, from a late period.

How does it stand with Hesiod? Of course he had many predecessors both in his theogonic and in his ethical-didactic composition, and perhaps his poems contain elements of Mycenaean tradition. But it must be repeated that the poetic form in which he

[32] The first items in series are commonly dealt with at the greatest length; the poet hurries up as he proceeds. Cf. for example *Il.* 16. 171–97; 18. 478–613; 23. 262–897; Hes. *Op.* 414–617.

[33] R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad* (Oxford 1970), 168.

[34] Cf. D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley 1959), 153.



writes is one that comes from Ionia, and it seems likely that in the tenth or ninth century poems foreshadowing his would have had to be sought in Ionia rather than in Boeotia. Even in his own time poems like his may have been composed in Ionia, Cyprus, or wherever you like. We have not the least reason to suppose that they were more common in Boeotia than anywhere else.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. For more developed treatments of these topics see now chapters 1–2 of my *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007).
2. Perhaps rather at the end of the century; see Catherine Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles* (Cambridge 1990), 126–47. The same applies to the Olympic Games, for which the traditional foundation date of 776 may be several decades too early.
3. These first two examples are bad ones, as *Διώρης* always has a long first syllable, and *φθάνω* < **φθάνϝω*. I might instead have quoted *Il.* 4. 202 *λαῶν οἵ οἱ ἕποντο Τρίκης ἐξ ἱπποβότοιο* (*Τρίκκην* 2. 729); 9. 414 *εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκωμαι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν*.
4. This early dating is no longer accepted. Two destruction levels have been identified, both after 1300, the second around 1200. Cf. V. Aravantinos, *SMEA* 38 (1996), 181; A. Dakouri-Hild, *BSA* 96 (2001), 81–122, esp. 99–101, 105–7.
5. Again the dates are too high. Troy VIIa may have been destroyed *c.*1200 and VIIb2 in the eleventh century. Cf. P. A. Mountjoy, *Studia Troica* 9 (1999), 295 ff.
6. See above, note s4.

# 2

# Curtains in the Wind:

## Three Reviews

### I

Norman Austin, *Archery at the Dark of the Moon: Poetic Problems in Homer's Odyssey.*

Lucian in his *True Narrative* amusingly relates how he met Homer in Elysium, asked him questions about himself and his work, and received some unexpected answers which showed that current Homeric scholarship had got it all wrong. Norman Austin ought to be no less reliable, for he has heard the poet speak on the coast of Malibu as the sun was slipping below the horizon and the ocean was suckling pacifically our mother Earth. But the answers are becoming still more surprising. Has the old fellow somehow got the idea that the Californians are good for a leg-pull?

Norman Austin is an Associate Professor of Classics and Comparative Literature, a misspeller of Greek and Old Norse as well as of English, and an adherent in some sense of structuralism, one of the bulkier bandwagons at present cluttering the road to truth: the view that structures and relationships discerned in a story are of more significance than its apparent content. It goes with this approach that one need not pay too much attention to the plain meaning of the narrative. Deeper meanings may be detected underneath. The idea that a literary work may reveal different levels of meaning is of course one that appeals to modern taste. But if it is to be applied to

*Times Literary Supplement* 4 June 1976, p. 678 (Austin); ibid. 8 August 1980, p. 893 (Nagy); *CR* 39 (1989), 144–5 (Haudry).



Homer, it must first be shown that he is a much more sophisticated poet than he is usually taken for. In the two opening chapters of *Archery at the Dark of the Moon*, accordingly, Professor Austin criticizes two of the most influential modern doctrines about Homer, both of which emphasize his lack of sophistication in comparison with later poets: Milman Parry's account of him as an oral poet composing strictly by formula, and Bruno Snell's account of the evolution of Greek thought about man's inner nature, in which Homer represents the first and least developed stage.

As for the first, a good case is made against the view (already softened by other American scholars since Parry) that formulas such as 'resourceful Odysseus' are chosen according to purely metrical criteria, without regard to context. But then there is an important question which Professor Austin fails to ask, namely whether the poet's use of a formula in harmony with the context is deliberate or instinctive. It may well be the second: if so, we have not made him a more sophisticated artist than before. As for Snell, he has probably gone too far in arguing from Homeric language to Homeric perception, and in putting Homer at the beginning of evolution. But he has at least a clearly defined method—more than can be said for Professor Austin, whose imagination often runs away with him in his quest for structural unities of thought in the multiplicities of Homer's expression. That the extended similes, the symbolic omens and dreams, and the drawing of parallels between present and past situations show a capacity for thinking in 'structural analogies', no one will deny (though not all would choose that way of describing it). But it is going too far to say that all spheres of thought are part of a single unity for Homer, so that anything may serve as a paradigm for anything else.

> Homer and his *dramatis personae* are always making their own interpretations of reality, transposing event into symbol, symbol into event, present into past, past into present. . . . The Homeric poems will always remain only graceful naturalistic tales unless we can ourselves enter into their kind of symbolism.

But in the cases where it is clear that symbolic or analogical thinking is taking place, it is made explicit what parallels what, it being the custom of Homer and of other early Greek authors to say what they are thinking. Once we depart from such firm ground, we are in danger of mistaking our own vistas for the poet's. To identify the

poet's, we must look for consistent patterns in his work, and not rely on fanciful *ad hoc* explanations of individual phenomena, like the dotty idea that Telemachus' journey in search of his father shares certain features with Odysseus' own journey because it is a piece of sympathetic magic. (Telemachus completing a journey to ensure that Odysseus will complete his journey too.) It does not occur to Professor Austin that one episode may resemble another structurally simply because it was composed by the same person.

He has nothing but cheap gibes for scholars who believe (on grounds more serious than in the case of the *Iliad*, and more serious than he realizes) that the *Odyssey* was *not* wholly composed by the same person. He considers their error to spring largely from their failure to appreciate that the main theme is not Odysseus' vengeance but the awakening of a husband, wife, and child. Elsewhere—indulging the modern predilection for the abstract—he says it is a poem about being in phase, about the use of language, about attitudes towards a saga; it is the progressive revelation of the meaning of *hora*, the first swallow-song, the first comedy, something akin to pastoral. Some of these volatile judgments are to be understood in the light of his central theory about the astronomical significance of Odysseus' homecoming. Odysseus is delayed by the anger of the sun, some of whose 350 cows and 350 sheep the sailors killed. Professor Austin follows the ancient interpreters who took the livestock to symbolize the days and nights of the year. The slaughter was thus 'an attack on, a negation of, time'. Odysseus is then marooned on Calypso's island for seven years, an exile from the cycle of time, which he re-enters when he leaves her. From a vague mention of the stars he steers by it is rather recklessly argued that it is late in the year, about October. The new moon at which he kills the suitors is claimed to mark the beginning of spring, because the bowstring sings out 'like a swallow', Athena flies aloft in the form of a swallow, and so on. (Professor Austin skates over the fact that according to the poem less than four weeks have passed since Odysseus left Calypso.) Penelope is regained; the hero renews his courtship in phase with the courtship of sun and moon.

A brilliant and beautiful construction, only not Homer's. Again the author has failed to think hard enough about the poet, his inheritance, aims, and methods. There may well be elements of solar mythology in the adventures of Odysseus, but it does not follow that Homer was aware of them as such. The sun's cattle may well



have represented days and nights once for somebody, but not in the *Odyssey*. It is one of the most certain results of Homeric scholarship that a number of Odysseus' adventures, and particularly those connected with the sun, were adapted from the story of the Argonauts. This is very pertinent to Professor Austin's inquiry, but he has not a word to say of it. He simply takes the poem as it is, out of all historical context. Besides ignoring the question of its antecedents, he has no qualms about interpreting it in terms of much later ideas: Athena is 'Consciousness', Antinoos is 'Antimind', Platonic daemon-theory is quoted to explain the meaning of the address *daimonie*. In pursuing the abstract, he shows too little respect for the concrete. He gives ample evidence of perception and imagination, but lacks the harness of discipline without which those excellent gifts gallop off the course.

## II

Gregory Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans.*

'The hero is an amiable young bureaucrat who . . .' An ancient Greek might have been puzzled to learn of some of the ways in which his word *hērōs* would one day come to be used. Yet his own usage has its puzzles for us. In Homer *hērōs* seems to mean 'warrior', in so far as it has a definite meaning at all. Outside Homer it means a dead person of sufficient importance for his spirit to be honoured or feared. We can see how to build a bridge between the two senses; the puzzle is the absence from Homer of any hint of the second one, coupled with the difficulty of assuming it simply to be a later development. Gregory Nagy's primary concern is with the greatest of Homeric warriors, Achilles, and his larger significance in epic and cult tradition. But he takes us on a tour—some might say for a ride—which takes in other figures such as Hector and Aeneas, Pyrrhus the son of Achilles who was killed at Delphi by Apollo and then worshipped, the anti-hero Thersites, and such unmilitary and indeed unlikely 'heroes' as Hesiod, Archilochus, and Aesop. The improbability of this gathering is a hint of the originality of the book and of its tendency to sprawl. It sprawls so that the reader is left wondering at the end what exactly it is about and how it hangs together.

Greek names have meanings, and the names of persons to whom mythical elements adhere may be particularly significant. But it is dangerous to assume that an apposite name must have been some sort of title. Sophocles, 'Clever-fame', certainly had the name before he earned it, and there was a banker in eighteenth-century England called Onesiphorus Winpenny. 'Hesiod' can be interpreted by the modern academic philologist as 'he who emits the Voice', but it is hard to follow Nagy's idea that his name was determined by a poetic tradition which required 'the ultimate poet' for its expression. Achilles is 'he of the grieving horde'; his behaviour in the *Iliad* does indeed have grievous consequences for the Greeks, and Nagy assumes the name and the theme to be integrally connected by virtue of long pre-Homeric tradition. More adventurously, he suggests that the Achaeans themselves are 'they whose force (*īs*) had grief', that is, brought grief upon their foes. One might remark that the winning side in any battle brings grief upon its foes, and that few peoples win all their battles. The Achaeans certainly did not when Achilles was making a charade of himself.

Achilles' death was the occasion of elaborate mourning, which was re-enacted in the ritual of his historical cult. Here again his name will be important, if this cult can be traced back to Homer's time. Homer does know something of hero-cults (though he does not call them that), and Nagy claims that a cult interest is reflected in references in the *Iliad* to a tomb by the Hellespont in which Achilles will lie. In fact they suggest a landmark rather than a cult site; the tomb will contain only bones and ashes, while Achilles' soul will go to Hades like everyone else's, or (according to another early tradition) he will dwell on a remote White Island in the unknown regions beyond the Bosporus, unconcerned with the world of men. When Nagy says that 'we now know the function of bones in Hellenic cult and myth is to symbolize ultimate regeneration', so that Achilles' bones show 'the promise of an ultimate immortality in store' for him, that is outrageous special pleading, and when he speaks of a light of salvation for sailors flashing from the tomb, that is a private construction of his own, as is Achilles' supposed 'cosmic affinity with fire and wind': a construction from a tissue of similes and associations which by no means justify it. The assumption is that they are all parts of a traditional organism, and that Homer's audience was equipped to understand them as such.

It is easy to dismiss a great deal of what our hero, Nagy I mean,



builds on this and related assumptions. On the other hand the *Iliad* is a sophisticated, humanist poem in which supernatural elements are very much played down and stylized. The circumstance that Achilles' mother is a goddess is treated in quite a matter-of-fact way, and it does not give him any magical powers. In earlier tradition he may have been a more miraculous figure, destined for immortality, and this might well leave echoes in Homer of the sort that Nagy claims to detect. The trouble is that there is no control. One can never prove anything with this kind of evidence, one can only suggest possibilities.

That may be a rewarding exercise, especially when there is a trail that leads towards Indo-European solar mythology. Solar heroes have been unfashionable for nearly a century. But Indo-European nature myth has left traces in the Greek Dawn-goddess Eos and her horses, and her sons Phaethon and Memnon. Memnon came to Troy from the land of the sunrise, was slain by Achilles, and made immortal by his mother. The epic *Aethiopis* which told that story went on to tell of Achilles' own death and his removal by his mother to his afterlife in the uncharted east. It is a reasonable view that Achilles' translation is modelled on Memnon's. For Nagy 'all that matters is that both are traditional themes that fit the essence of the hero in cult'. But are they both traditional? That is the crucial question. In his enthusiasm for the reconstruction of 'traditional themes' of indefinite antiquity he does not make enough allowance for the direct influence of one poem or story on another.

In general Nagy shows insufficient awareness of alternative explanations, including some which common sense would offer, of many of the facts that he cites in the course of his book. In fields like ancient religion and mythology an intelligent man, in the sense of one able to see connections between previously unrelated data, can go on indefinitely indulging this faculty and building mansions of many rooms that are labyrinths to anyone but their creator. The investigator needs to discipline himself. He needs to realize that, being so fertile in ideas, he can afford to look at them critically, as anyone else will, and discard those which are unlikely to carry conviction. And he will do well to choose some particular thesis that he wants to prove, and select his material accordingly, not go racing off in all directions like a dog in a forest full of exciting smells.

But when all is said and done, this is a learned, clever, and disturbing book. It may not go anywhere in a straight line, it may

contain some portentous discoveries of the obvious, and much that suggests an overheated brain; it does not materially affect our appreciation of Homer. Yet one is left with an uneasy feeling that curtains have parted in the wind, giving glimpses of unsuspected realities behind the apparently simple human face of Greek heroic poetry.

## III

Jean Haudry, *La Religion cosmique des Indo-Européens.*

The Indo-Europeans (according to Prof. Haudry's deductions) lived in the Arctic and professed a religion of coherent and systematic beauty unmatched in the fragmented doctrines of their descendants. They saw the diurnal cycle of night (black) and day (white), delimited by dawn and dusk (red), writ large in the annual cycle of winter (two months of circumpolar darkness) and summer, and larger still in a cosmic cycle by which the world is periodically destroyed and renewed. The white, red, and black skies are separate entities, each with its own set of deities, whose antagonisms are reflected in, for example, the Indo-Iranian opposition of *devas* (< **deiwós*, 'day-sky ones') and *asuras*, and the Greek myth of the displacement of Ouranos (night sky: οὐρανὸς ἀστερόεις) by Kronos ('Cutter', if one links the name with the root of κείρω), who makes a splash of red by castrating Ouranos, and who is in turn relegated to the underworld by Zeus (day sky). The three cosmic colours were secondarily applied to the three castes of IE society, gentlemen of course aligning themselves with the blond. And the annual cycle provides a model of human life itself: when our time is up, we pass away into the blackness. Certain exceptional individuals, however, succeed in 'crossing the waters of the winter dark', 'conquering the year', and emerging to a solar immortality. Heracles is the paradigm case in Greece.

What is most certain in all this is the daftness of locating the Indo-Europeans in the Arctic, a notion originally proposed by one Lokamanya Bâl Gangâdhar Tilak in 1903. It is inferred from myths of stolen dawns, from the fact that Eastern/*Ostern* by etymology means 'the dawns', and from the ten-month scheme of the old Roman and German calendars. It does not seem to have occurred to H. that



residence at the implied latitude of 70° N., i.e. in the frozen tundra of northernmost Siberia, hundreds of miles beyond any known penetration by prehistoric man, is quite incompatible with the pastoralism and peasant farming presupposed by common-IE vocabulary (cow, sheep, goat, horse, plough, etc.). The usual arguments as to the *Urheimat* (from knowledge of flora and fauna, etc.) are blithely ignored.

On the other hand the Indo-Europeans do appear to have had a theology and mythology more directly related to natural and seasonal phenomena than are those of the Greeks. Zeus was in origin the day sky. Hera is plausibly derived from the same IE root as 'year', and H. shows that many features of her cult and mythology make sense on the hypothesis that she began as [145] a personification of the (New) Year. This raises intriguing questions—which H. does not hesitate to answer—about ἥρως and Ἡρακλέης. An IE celestial myth certainly lies behind the story of Helen. In Homeric tradition everything has been humanized, even the gods themselves, but disguised cosmology may sometimes be suspected, as with the gods' twelve-day vacation in *Iliad* 1, or the Διὸς ἀπάτη, both interestingly discussed by H.

The investigation of such matters, however, calls for more critical methods than his. Clearly one must seek to identify what is oldest within Greek tradition, or Indian, or whatever. But for him Ovid is as good as Homer, the *Upanishads* or even the *Gītā* as good as the *Ṛgveda*; so indifferent is he to sources that he often cites myths simply from modern handbooks. Whatever is explicable from the grand theory is so explained, without consideration of alternatives and with little discrimination. Even the cranes who fly south to fight pygmies are given a cosmic meaning: the annual triumph of light. They are white birds with red heads, are they not, and pygmies are black; 'comme les dieux, ils traversent la nuit de l'hiver et sont, pour cette raison, symbole d'immortalité'. Heroes cannot cross rivers, let alone seas, without having the mystic formula, 'traverser l'eau de la ténèbre hivernale', pronounced over them as they reach the bank.

Yet it would be a pity if merriment over certain things in this book caused it to be ignored entirely. Those who (as I do) regard IE religion as a valid object of study, and who found food for thought in G. Nagy's *The Best of the Achaeans*, will browse as happily here, discovering much that is at least suggestive in relation to the hidden springs of Greek myth.

# 3

# An Unrecognized Injunctive Usage in Greek

The Vedic injunctive is the best preserved testimony to a primitive feature of the Indo-European verb, whereby a primary stem modified only by the so-called secondary personal endings was neutral in respect of tense and mood and could be used, when the context gave sufficient indication of function, with reference to past, present, or future, actual or imagined.[1] Relics of the injunctive in Greek are generally considered to be limited to (i) parts of the imperatival system (*φέρετε*, *φέρου*, *φέρεσθε*, *σχές*, etc.) and (ii) the use in high poetry, especially in narrative, of augmentless preterites.[2] I submit that a third category is to be recognized, namely: (iii) the use of present-stem injunctive forms in describing habitual (timeless) activities of gods or other supernatural beings.

Four examples can be quoted:

1. Hes. *Th.* 1–11

> *Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' ἀείδειν,*
> *αἳ θ' Ἑλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε,*
> *καί τε περὶ κρήνην ἰοειδέα πόσσ' ἁπαλοῖσιν*
> *ὀρχέονται καὶ βωμὸν ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος·*
> *καί τε λοεσσάμεναι τέρενα χρόα Περμησσοῖο . . .*
> *ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο*
> *καλοὺς ἱμερόεντας, ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν.*

*Glotta* 67 (1989), 135–8.

[1] K. Hoffmann, *Der Injunktiv im Veda* (Heidelberg 1967); O. J. L. Szemerényi, *Introduction to Indo-European Linguistics* (Oxford 1996), 263–6 with further literature.

[2] E. Schwyzer, *Griech. Grammatik* i. 640, 645; Schwyzer–Debrunner 315, 339; P. Kiparsky, *Foundations of Language* 4 (1968), 39–41; H. Rix, *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen* (Darmstadt 1976), 228 f., 264.



> *ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι κεκαλυμμέναι ἠέρι πολλῷ*
> *ἐννύχιαι στεῖχον περικαλλέα ὄσσαν ἰεῖσαι,*
> *ὑμνέουσαι Δία τ' αἰγίοχον κτλ.*

This is not a narrative (like 68 ff.) but a depiction of the Muses' regular activity; cf. 36–52.

2. Hes. *Th.* 267–9

> *ἠϋκόμους θ' Ἁρπυίας, Ἀελλώ τ' Ὠκυπέτην τε,*
> *αἵ ῥ' ἀνέμων πνοιῇσι καὶ οἰωνοῖς ἅμ' ἕπονται*
> *ὠκείῃς πτερύγεσσι· μεταχρόνιαι γὰρ ἴαλλον.*

3. *Hymn. Ap.* 1–6

> *Μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο,*
> *ὅν τε θεοὶ κατὰ δῶμα Διὸς τρομέουσιν ἰόντα·*
> *καί ῥά τ' ἀναΐσσουσιν ἐπὶ σχεδὸν ἐρχομένοιο*
> *πάντες ἀφ' ἑδράων, ὅτε φαίδιμα τόξα τιταίνει·*
> *Λητὼ δ' οἴη μίμνε παραὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,*
> *ἦ ῥα βιόν τ' ἐχάλασσε κτλ.*

4. *Hymn. Pan.* (19) 19–29

> *σὺν δέ σφιν τότε νύμφαι ὀρεστιάδες λιγύμολποι . . .*
> *μελπονται . . .*
> *ὑμνέουσιν δὲ θεοὺς μάκαρας καὶ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον·*
> *οἷόν θ' Ἑρμείην ἐριούνιον ἔξοχον ἄλλων*
> *ἔννεπον, ὡς ὅ γ' ἅπασι θεοῖς θοὸς ἄγγελός ἐστιν.*

In all these passages present tenses precede the injunctive and determine its function.[3]

Commentators have been disconcerted by the anomalous 'imperfects'.[4] They cannot in fact be explained from any known use of the Greek (augmented) imperfect. On the other hand, they do correspond to a well-attested use of the injunctive in the *Rgveda*, where

[3] Cf. Szemerényi 265 (after Kiparsky 34–5), 'verbal marks can be replaced by neutral forms when they have already been precisely expressed, and the neutral form is in fact the injunctive'.

[4] Cf. F. W. Schneidewin, *Die homerischen Hymnen auf Apollon* (Göttingen 1847), 4 ff.; G. Hermann, *NJb.* 52 (1848), 131 f.; A. Baumeister, *Hymni Homerici* (Lipsiae 1860), 119, 355; A. Gemoll, *Die homerischen Hymnen* (Leipzig 1886), 121; T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns* (London 1904), 70, 268; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916), 442 n. 2; F. Jacoby, *SPAW* 1933, 728 f. = *Kl. philol. Schr.* i (Berlin 1961), 193; T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns* (Oxford 1936), 201; F. Càssola, *Inni omerici* (Milan 1975), 486, 576; C. Sittl, *Ἐσιόδου τὰ ἅπαντα* (Athens 1889), 59; M. L. West, *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 155, 156.

it is frequently found, alternating with the present indicative, in just this function: 'Der generelle Inj. Präs. dient häufig zur Beschreibung allgemeiner Eigenschaften und Tätigkeiten von Gottheiten.'[5]

In the Veda both present-stem and aorist-stem injunctives are used in this way. The Greek examples I have quoted are of present-stem injunctives. We often find aorists used in such contexts, but they regularly have the augment, e.g. Hes. *Th.* 6 ἐνεποιήσαντο, 7 [137] ἐπερρώσαντο, 442 ὤπασε, 443 ἀφείλετο, 749 προσέειπον, *Hymn. Ap.* 6 ἐχάλασσε, ἐκλήϊσε, 8 ἀνεκρέμασεν, 10 ἔδωκε, and *Hymns* 5. 2, 3, 261; 11. 4; 19. 12–13; 33. 12–15; Solon 13. 18, 22, etc. It is true that in many cases the augment is not metrically guaranteed and might not be original, but it is guaranteed in some instances, and this is not true of the one unaugmented example I can quote, Hes. *Th.* 447 κἀκ πολλῶν μείονα θῆκεν. Other kinds of 'timeless' aorist, in similes and in gnomic utterances, also take the augment with very few exceptions.[6]

If these uses of the aorist, or some of them, derive from corresponding uses of the injunctive, some explanation seems to be required for the systematic application of augments to aorist-stem injunctives, when the few surviving present-stem injunctives are consistently augmentless. It appears paradoxical that Homer freely omits the augment, the past-signifier, from narrative aorists but hardly ever from timeless ones. I presume that this reflects the older and more formulaic character of his narrative diction, much of which was formed at an early period when the augment was still optional in the spoken language. The diction of similes and gnomic passages tends to be less formulaic, more modern,[7] and after the injunctive ceased to exist as a syntactic category, the aorist-stem injunctive came to be interpreted as an aorist indicative and accordingly augmented.[8] As an alternative to the aorist, only the present tense commended itself. The Greek aspectual system favoured the maintenance of this opposition in timeless contexts, while leaving no natural role for the

[5] Hoffmann 119; he sets out the evidence in the following pages.

[6] Cf. P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* i (Paris 1958), 484; M. L. West, *Hesiod, Works and Days* (Oxford 1978), 243.

[7] As demonstrated in detail by G. P. Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer* (Cambridge 1953, 2nd edn. 1972).

[8] Kiparsky 39 gives a somewhat different explanation.—The gnomic aorist may have been influenced also by the type of sentence exemplified in πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα, where the aorist may be a real preterite, 'it has often happened that . . .' (Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* i. 179).



imperfect which resulted from reinterpretation of the present-stem injunctive. Only in the special context of poetry about the gods and their typical activities did the present-stem injunctive, or augmentless imperfect, survive in occasional use into historical times.

The usage is quite anomalous in terms of historical Greek syntax, and it was soon to become extinct, as in India it became extinct [138] before the end of the Vedic period. Its preservation in Hesiod and two of the Homeric Hymns must be attributed to continuity of hymnic tradition from a much earlier period. It is well known that early Greek hexameter poetry and Vedic poetry show various signs of participation in a common heritage.[9] Most of the Greek evidence naturally comes from Homeric epic, and it is the tradition of heroic poetry that most readily reveals the antiquity of its origins. But beside it we must assume the existence of a distinct hymnic tradition. Homeric and Vedic hymns do not look very similar. Nevertheless it is possible, taking Hesiod and the gods of Homer into account as well as the corpus of Hymns, to isolate elements of literary form, divine epithets and predicates, and specific ideology, that are paralleled—sometimes remarkably—in the *Ṛgveda*, and thus point to a stronger hymnic tradition in early Greece than one might have supposed in the absence of the comparative evidence.[10] The present discussion adds a syntactical archaism to the list of shared features.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Another passage that might be considered in this connection is *Il.* 24. 340–4 (= *Od.* 5. 44–8):

> αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα
> ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια, τά μιν φέρον ἠμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν
> ἠδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν . . .
> εἵλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει
> ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει.

[9] See e.g. R. Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1967); id. (ed.), *Indogermanische Dichtersprache* (Darmstadt 1968); M. Durante, *Sulla preistoria della tradizione poetica greca* ii (Rome 1976); E. Campanile, *Ricerche di cultura poetica indoeuropea* (Pisa 1977); M. L. West, *JHS* 108 (1988), 152–6 [=below, Chapter 4].

[10] I hope to develop this argument in detail at some future date. [Cf. *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007), Chapter 8.]

As an imperfect, φερον can be explained as conditioned by the narrative context; cf. *Il.* 2. 448 ἠερέθοντο with ancient v.l. -ονται; 5. 729 πέλεν (πέλει Bentley); 14. 215 τέτυκτο. On the other hand we have presents in 343–4, and the poet no doubt thinks of Hermes' footwear and flying, just as much as his wand and his waking men or putting them to sleep, as permanent characteristics of the god.

# 4

# The Rise of the Greek Epic

My title is familiar as that of a book, and my subject may be thought to call for one. I hope in due course to explore the genesis of the Homeric poems in that format, and what I have to say here may take its place there in a maturer form (wiser, fatter). For the moment I offer merely a provisional attempt to trace out the stages by which the epic tradition developed, stopping short of any discussion of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* themselves. Any such attempt necessarily involves a certain amount of rehearsal of familiar arguments, and, if it is to be plausible, a fair measure of concurrence in familiar conclusions. But conclusions that are familiar are sometimes also controversial, and can be strengthened against their assailants by a fresh discussion; and I have certain doctrines of my own that are best presented in the context of a broad synthesis.[1]

To speak of the rise of the Greek epic presupposes that it did not always exist, at least not in the majestic form in which we see it in the Homeric poems. We know from the Russian *byliny*, the South Slavic epic songs, and other cases that oral traditions of heroic poetry can persist for many centuries.[2] Almost everyone accepts that the Greek epic tradition goes back at least to late Mycenaean times. In fact, as will be seen, there is reason to assume its existence as early as the fifteenth century, and before that an ancient tradition of poetry, which may have been in some sense heroic, going back to an Indo-European setting. In one sense, then, the rise of the Greek epic will

*JHS* 108 (1988), 151–72.

[1] To some extent I shall be using the same canvas as in an earlier essay, 'Greek Poetry 2000–700 BC', *CQ* 23 (1973), 179–92 [= above, Chapter 1].

[2] H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge 1932–40), ii. 12 f.; C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London 1952), 372 ff.

have to be dated no later than the middle of the second millennium. On the other hand it is scarcely to be supposed that the Homeric epics are simply late examples of something that had existed in much the same state for seven or eight hundred years. This is surely a tradition that, however old its roots, burst spectacularly into flower within the last few generations before Homer. It is an Ionian tradition, but it can be shown that the Ionians had not always had it. From about 750 we can see that this Ionian epic began to be widely known. It created a great impression on the Greeks of the mainland, as something to which they had nothing corresponding. It aroused in them an interest in the heroic past which had not been evident before. Bronze Age graves began to be treated with reverence, to be brought offerings, and in some cases to be identified as the graves of particular heroes of legend. Relics of Mycenaean buildings, often secular, became the sites of new shrines. Heroic scenes began to appear in art.[3] There can be no doubt that the diffusion of epic poetry of the Homeric type was responsible for this new consciousness of the past. It is reflected too in poetry of other genres. Hesiod, in his mythical scheme of metallic races of men, has to find room for the heroes who fought at Thebes and Troy (*Op.* 156–73); he cannot mention Aulis without adding 'where the Achaeans once gathered their great army against Troy of the fair women' (*Op.* 651–3); his catalogue of rivers includes a group of Trojan ones that he must have learned of from epic about Troy (*Th.* 340–5).[3a] Alcman refers to Ajax and Memnon (*PMGF* 68–9), Paris (70b, 77) and other Trojans (52, 71), Odysseus, Circe, and the Sirens (80),[4] and perhaps Helen and Nestor (1011). Alcaeus and Sappho show an obsessive preoccupation with the saga of Troy, and in the case of one brief fragment it is evident that Alcaeus had the *Iliad* in mind.[5]

[3] A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh 1971), 192–4, 397f.; *Archaic Greece* (London 1980), 38–40, 68–78; J. N. Coldstream, *JHS* 96 (1976), 8–17; *Geometric Greece* (London 1977), 341–57.

[4] I wonder, however, whether this hexameter fragment should not be attributed rather to the *Kirka* of Alexander Aetolus (J. L. Lightfoot, *Hellenistic Collection* (Cambridge Mass. 2009), 122).

[5] Fr. 44. 6–8 *μάτε[ρ' ἐξονομ]άσδων ἐκάλη νά[ιδ' ὑπερτάταν] | νύμφ[αν ἐνν]αλίαν. ἃ δὲ γόνων [ἀψαμένα Δίος] | ἰκέτευ[' ἀγαπά]τω τέκεος μᾶνιν [ἀπυστρέφην.]* (end of poem). This not only corresponds to events in *Iliad* 1 but implies the whole framework of the epic: Zeus' response to Thetis' prayer, granting the Trojans increasing success in battle until the Greeks are forced to plead with Achilles for his assistance. I draw attention to this because it is in my opinion the earliest text that clearly attests knowledge of our *Iliad* (as distinct from unidentified epic about the Trojan War). Corresponding evidence from art does not go back before about 630 (K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen 1967)).



[152] From the middle of the eighth century, then, Greece was captivated by a genre of heroic poetry that had achieved a new splendour from the efforts of Ionian bards. Here again is something that may claim to be regarded as the rise of the Greek epic. The object of inquiry is therefore a complex one. The task is to try to define and describe, so far as the evidence permits, the phases through which the epic tradition passed in the course of its long development.

## INDO-EUROPEAN PRAISE POETRY[152]

*ákṣiti śravaḥ, śrávo . . . ákṣitam*=*κλέϝος ἄφθιτον*. With that famous equation of a Rigvedic with a Homeric formula, Adalbert Kuhn in 1853 opened the door to a new path in the comparative philologist's garden of delights. In the years that followed he made a few more discoveries of the same sort, and also established a striking correspondence of content and style between certain Germanic incantations for sprains and broken limbs and one in the Atharvaveda. The concept of an Indo-European poetic language was beginning to emerge.[6]

Scholars have continued to add to these phraseological and stylistic comparisons between different IE poetic traditions, especially between the Greek and Vedic, and their findings now make a not inconsiderable collection.[7] Antoine Meillet in 1923 successfully got on to the track of IE metre and prosody, and this too has proved a fruitful line of research.[8] Studies of IE social institutions, religion,

[6] See Rüdiger Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1967), 6 ff., and in the introduction to the collection of articles edited by him under the title *Indogermanische Dichtersprache* (Darmstadt 1968), 21.

[7] Besides the works of Schmitt just cited see M. Durante, *Sulla preistoria della tradizione poetica greca*, i–ii (Rome 1970–6); E. Campanile, *Ricerche di cultura poetica indoeuropea* (Pisa 1977). (Cited hereafter as 'Durante', 'Campanile'.)

[8] Meillet, *Les Origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs* (Paris 1923), cf. his *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*[2] (Paris 1965), 145–52; R. Jakobson, *Oxford Slavonic Papers* iii (1952), 21–66 ≈ *Selected Writings* iv (The Hague–Paris 1966), 414–63; C. Watkins, *Celtica* 6 (1963), 194–249 = *Selected Writings* ii (Innsbruck 1994),

and mythology have also made intermittent headway, despite the special difficulties that arise in these fields. Philologists imbued with the idea that 'Indo-European' is a purely linguistic term reserved for their own use, and that it cannot meaningfully be applied to anything other than hypothetical, unspeakable language, nowadays find themselves a beleaguered species. In general it is conceded that, as it is certain that an IE parent language existed, it is equally certain that there must have been a historical people who spoke it, and furthermore that this people must have had social forms, poetry, mythology, and so forth, reflexes of which it is legitimate to seek among their heirs' effects.

Efforts to correlate the archaeological data of prehistoric Europe with the progress of the IE peoples towards their historical residences have not so far succeeded in evoking any agreement, either about these peoples' starting-point or about their movements in the fourth and third millennia, though certain models have emerged as the most plausible.[9] It is generally accepted that the story began somewhere in eastern Europe or the west Asiatic steppe. So far as southern Greece is concerned, there is something approaching a consensus that the first arrival of 'Greek'-speakers in substantial numbers is signalled by the destructions and changes at the end of the EH I[153] II period (*c.*2200 BCE),[10] and there is some reason to think that they came from the direction of Albania.[11] The initial invasions may have been followed by continuing infiltration during the MH period which does not show up so conspicuously in the archaeological record.

349–404; G. B. Pighi, *Studi di ritmica e metrica* (Turin 1970); M. L. West, *Glotta* 51 (1973), 161–87, cf. my *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982), 1–4; G. Nagy, *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter* (Cambridge, Mass. 1974).

[9] See e.g. V. Gordon Childe, *The Aryans* (London 1926); *Prehistoric Migrations in Europe* (Oslo 1950), 146–51; P. Bosch-Gimpera, *El problema indoeuropeo* (México 1960); G. Devoto, *Origini indeuropee* (Florence 1962), 71–156; M. Gimbutas, *American Anthropologist* 65 (1963), 815–36; S. Piggott, *Ancient Europe* (Edinburgh 1965), 78–97; various papers in R. W. Ehrich (ed.), *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago 1965) and in G. Cardona *et al.* (edd.), *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (Philadelphia 1970) and in R. A. Crossland and A. Birchall (edd.), *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean* (London 1973); Crossland in *CAH*[3] i(2). 868–73.

[10] J. L. Caskey, *Hesperia* 29 (1960), 302 and *CAH*[3] ii(1). 139; E. Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age* (Chicago–London 1964), 66–72; S. S. Weinberg in Ehrich (as n. 9), 305; R. J. Howell in Crossland and Birchall (as n. 9), 73–99; F. Schachermayr, *Griechische Frühgeschichte* (Vienna, 1984), 27, modifying his earlier views.

[11] N. G. L. Hammond, *BSA* 62 (1967), 77 f.; *Epirus* (Oxford 1967), 341 f.; *A History of Macedonia* i (Oxford 1972), 252–76, and in Crossland and Birchall (as n. 9), 189–97; R. J. Howell (as n. 10).



Greek culture and the Greek language were now developing on their own. Yet we cannot say that there was no further input from the Indo-European pool in which the ancestors of the Hellenes had been swimming with those of the Phrygians, Armenians, and Indo-Iranians.[12] The mythical conception that the sun travels in a chariot drawn by horses[13] cannot have come to Greece earlier than the chariot itself, which first appears in the second half of the sixteenth century. The chariot is a Middle Eastern invention of the early second millennium, thought to have come to Mycenaean Greece by way of Syria and Crete.[14] But the idea of the sun's chariot is Indo-European, in the sense that it achieved a wide currency especially among IE peoples as they became familiar with chariots: it is attested in the Ṛgveda and Avesta, the Edda, and Baltic and Slavic folklore, and there is archaeological evidence for its arrival in northern Europe before the end of the second millennium.[15] Apparently there was still a degree of intercommunication across large areas of the eastern and central IE territories that enabled a myth of this kind to spread fairly easily; and it spread to Greece. It follows that when we establish significant correspondences between Homeric and Indo-Iranian poetry, we are not necessarily getting back to something of an earlier date than the Greeks' arrival in Greece. No doubt some of these correspondences do reflect older inheritance, particularly, perhaps, in cases where parallelisms extend to Celtic poetry. But it seems that there were still possibilities of 'horizontal transmission' at a later period.

[12] These peoples together with the Greeks make up a distinct 'eastern' group within the IE family. Cf. P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen 1896), 169; E. Schwyzer, *Griech. Grammatik* i (Munich 1939), 56 f.; W. Porzig, *Die Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebiets* (Heidelberg 1954); J. Harmatta, *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestiniensis*, sect. classica 3 (1975), 9; Durante, ii. 16–87.

[13] Presumably pre-Homeric, though not mentioned in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* (Dawn's horses: *Od.* 23. 244–6); it is in several of the Hymns, Mimnermus, other archaic poets, and in art perhaps from the first half of the seventh century.

[14] J. Wiesner, *Archaeologia Homerica* I F: Fahren und Reiten (Göttingen 1968), 79 f.; R. A. Crossland, *CAH*[3] i(2). 873 f.; J. H. Crouwel, *Chariots and Other Means of Land Transport in Bronze Age Greece* (Amsterdam 1981), 148 f. It may be worth recalling that the first chariot mechanic in Greek myth, Myrsilos, has a Hittite name and comes to Greece from the east with Pelops.

[15] I refer to the Trundholm horse and sun-disc group discovered in 1902. See P. Gelling and H. E. Davidson, *The Chariot of the Sun* (London 1969), 14 ff.; P. V. Glob, *The Mound People* (London 1974), 99–103, who states that the hollow-cast bronze horse has contemporary parallels only in Mycenaean Greece.

The ideal of lasting *klewos* that underlies the Graeco-Aryan κλέος ἄφθιτον/*śrávo ákṣitam* formula was no doubt common to the warrior kings in most parts of the IE territories. Ancient proper-name compounds incorporating the elements *klewes-* or *kluto-* are documented not only in Mycenaean and Homeric Greek (*erikerewe*= *Ἐρικλέϝης*, *Ἡρακλέης*, *Κλυτομήδης*, etc.) and Indo-Iranian (Vedic Suśravas- = *Εὐκλῆς*, Pṛthuśrávas- = *Εὐρυκλῆς*, Upamaśravas-, Śrutárvan-, Avestan Haosrauuah-), but also in Slavic (Svętoslavъ etc.), Illyric (Vescleves), Runic Norse (Hlewaʒastiʀ = *Κλεόξενος*), Frankish (Chlodericus), and Celtic (British Clutorix, Old Irish Clothchú).[16] It was the poet who could provide this fame, both during the prince's life and after his death.[17] We should probably envisage the IE poet—besides other functions such as invoking gods at sacrifices, and reciting magical incantations for various community needs—celebrating the noble qualities and heroic enterprises of the king and his ancestors, in the expectation of [154] liberal reward.[18] Recalling famous battles of a previous generation would always provide inspiration if effort was needed in the present, or satisfaction if times were quiet. Tacitus' well-known references to the Germans whose *carmina antiqua* were their only form of history (*Germ.* 2), and who were singing of the deeds of Arminius a century or so after his death (*Ann.* 2. 88), are suggestive of the conditions in which IE poets might have celebrated *κλέα ἀνδρῶν* two thousand years earlier.[19]

Singing of heroic deeds by no means implies 'epic'. The Attic skolia on Harmodios and Aristogeiton illustrate the possibilities of minimalism. But comparative arguments imply an IE tradition of poems of somewhat greater substance, in which the ideology of the hero began to crystallize in a form foreshadowing Homeric epic.

[16] Cf. R. Schmitt, *Indogermanische Dichtersprache und Namengebung* (Innsbruck 1973); Durante, ii. 103; Campanile, 82.

[17] As Ibycus frankly explained to Polycrates: *κλέος ἄφθιτον ἐξεῖς ὡς κατ' ἀοιδὰν καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος*, *PMGF* S151. 47 f.; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 110–15, *Od.* 24. 196–8, *Hymn. Ap.* 171–5, Thgn. 237–52; Durante, ii. 180 f., who compares some Vedic and Germanic texts.

[18] Cf. Campanile, 37–47.

[19] One might also refer to the ancient Roman *carmina de clarorum uirorum laudibus* that according to Cato and Varro were once sung at banquets; but these are under suspicion of being a literary fiction. Cf. H. Dahlmann, *Abh. d. Ak. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. in Mainz*, Geistes- u. sozialwiss. Kl. 1950, 1191–1202.



He is 'man-slaying',[20] and 'of the famous spear'.[21] He stands firm and immovable in battle as a mighty tree;[22] he rages like a fire;[23] indeed his fury may manifest itself as a visible flame flaring from his head.[24] His weapons themselves are eager and greedy for blood.[25] He is the herdsman of his people,[26] and their protective enclosure.[27] His destiny is spun at his birth by a trio of supernatural spinsters.[28]

Graeco-Aryan comparisons contribute a series of further details. This may be, at least in part, because the texts available to us are much older (and somewhat more voluminous) than those of the Celtic and Germanic traditions, and accordingly likely to have preserved more in the way of ancient features. But it may also be a question of innovations among the eastern peoples which never reached the western. Here we find that the adversary who stands firm like a tree may also be felled like a tree, whether it is a tree struck by lightning (*Rgv.* 2. 14. 2, 6. 8. 5, *Il.* 14. 414) or one chopped down by a joiner (*Rgv.* 1. 130. 4, *Il.* 4. 482–7, 13. 178–80, 389–91).[29] Darkness

[20] Old Irish *oirgnech*, *oirgnid*, Gk. *ἀνδροφόνος*; Campanile, 118 f. In the Graeco-Aryan tradition the epithet was also applicable to martial gods: Vedic *nṛhán* (=*ἀνδροφόνος*) of Indra, Gk. *Ἐνναλίου ἀνδρειφόντᾳ*.

[21] Irish, Greek (*δουρικλυτός* etc.) Campanile, 122. Again transferable to divinities: *Ἀπόλλωνι κλυτοτόξωι*. Cf. Vedic *śrutáratha-* 'with famous chariot'.

[22] Irish, Welsh, cf. *Il.* 12. 131–5; Campanile, 119. The motif occurs in Russian *byliny* in the form that a hero, surprised that a mighty blow has no effect on his adversary, wonders if his strength is failing and tries smiting a tree, which falls. (I am indebted to Dr Paul Foote for this item.)

[23] Irish, Welsh, cf. *Il.* 13. 330 *φλογὶ εἴκελον ἀλκήν*, 17. 565, 18. 154; Campanile, 121.

[24] As with CúChulainn in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, quoted by R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge 1951), 157 f., in a wider context; *Il.* 5. 4–7, 18. 205–6.

[25] *Beowulf* 1521, *The Wanderer* 100, cf. *Il.* 4. 126, 11. 574, 15. 542–3, 21. 70, 168; Durante, ii. 145.

[26] *Beowulf* 610, 1832, al., *folces hyrde*; *Rgv.* 3. 43. 5 *jánasya gopāḥ* (cowherd); Gk. *ποιμένα λαῶν*; also Irish (Campanile, 25, 120, and *Études celtiques* 15 (1976/7), 18) and Near Eastern (C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East* (London 1948), 38 f.). Cf. J. Gonda, *ZVS* 73 (1956), 152; Durante, ii. 111.

[27] *Beowulf* 428, 663 *eodor Scyldinga*, 1044 *eodor Ingwina*; *Fáfnismál* 36. 3 *hers iaðarr*, *Helgaqviða Hundingsbana* ii 42. 3 *folcs iaðarr*, *Lokasenna* 35. 6 *ása iaðarr*; *ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν* in Homer only of Ajax (but adapted to Achilles with different syntax, *Il.* 1. 284). Old Irish *fál* 'enclosure' = 'king' (Campanile, *Studi e saggi linguistici* 14 (1974), 207). For Vedic analogues—less exact—see Durante, ii. 114.

[28] The Norns, *Helgaqviða Hundingsbana* i 2–4; Aisa or Moira, *Il.* 20. 127 f., 24. 209 f.; the (Kata)Klothes, *Od.* 7. 197 f.; Durante, ii. 112, who also cites an Anglo-Saxon echo of the concept.

[29] Durante, ii. 121. In the Vedic passages it is a god who thus fells his enemies.

comes upon him (*Rgv.* 10. 113. 7, *Il.* 5. 47, etc.), or he is put away into the darkness (*Rgv.* 1. 32. 10, 5. 32. 5, 8. 6. 17). To live is to 'see the sunlight' (*Rgv.* 1. 23. 21, al., *Il.* 5. 120, al.), or simply to 'see' (*Rgv.* 1. 116. 25; *Il.* 1. 88 *ἐμέο ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο*, etc.). But anguish brings darkness upon the spirit (*Rgv.* 5. 31. 9, *Il.* 17. 591, etc.). When he is ready for battle, the hero is 'clothed in valour' (*Rgv.* 4. 16. 14, 9. 7. 4, 80. 3; *Il.* 7. 164 al. *Αἴαντες θοῦριν ἐπιειμένοι ἀλκήν*).[30]

Verbal as well as conceptual parallels become identifiable. The *κλέος ἄφθιτον* formula is only one of several to do with fame. *μέγα κλέος* = Vedic *máhi śrávaḥ* (except for a difference of stem in the adjective); *κλέος εὐρύ* corresponds to *pṛthú śrávaḥ* 'broad fame', *pṛthú* (= Gk. *πλατύ*) having replaced the more archaic *urú*, which however still appears in this association in the (Purāṇic) I[155] proper name Uruśravas- and in the compounded *urugāyám ... śrávaḥ* ('wide-walking'), 6. 65. 6.[31] *ὄνομα κλυτός* corresponds to *náma śrútyaṃ* 8. 46. 14. There is a set of epithets for horses which correspond either etymologically or semantically: swift (*ὠκέες ἵπποι* = *áśvā ... āśávaḥ* 10. 119. 3), prize-winning, strong-hoofed; and a god's horses have golden manes. Chariots are well-wheeled (*ἐΰκυκλος* = *su-cakrá-*) or well-running. Of the Aśvins' chariot we read that it has a golden seat and golden reins:

> Golden are your handgrips(?), the shaft, the axle is golden,
> both the wheels are golden.

(*Rgv.* 8. 5. 29). And of Hera's (*Il.* 5. 724 ff.):

> *τῶν ἤτοι χρυσέη ἵτυς ἄφθιτος ...*
> *δίφρος δὲ χρυσέοισι καὶ ἀργυρέοισιν ἰμᾶσιν*
> *ἐντέταται ...*
> *τοῦ δ' ἐξ ἀργύρεος ῥυμὸς πέλεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄκρωι*
> *δῆσεν χρύσειον καλὸν ζυγόν, ἐν δὲ λέπαδνα*
> *κάλ' ἔβαλε χρύσεια.*

In the phrase *ἱερῶι ἐνὶ δίφρωι* (*Il.* 17. 464), *ἱερός* has its primitive sense of 'full of impetus'; the corresponding Vedic word *iṣirá-* is applied to the Aśvins as charioteers, *Rgv.* 5. 75. 5. Various other

[30] On all this see Durante, ii. 114–19.

[31] After Homer we find *ἀθάνατον κλέος* (Bacch. 13. 65), *κλέος ἀγήρατον* (Eur. *IA* 567, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 52 *κῦδος ἀγήρατον*), corresponding to Vedic *śrávo ... amṛtam ajuryáṃ* (3. 53. 15).



archaic uses of *ἱερός* in Homer, including *ἱερὸν μένος* (in periphrastic phrases for heroes) have analogues in the *Rgveda*.[32]

It may be that a few further traditional elements are preserved in the *Mahābhārata*, much later though it is as a composition. V. Pisani[33] draws attention to an account of a battle in which the warriors fall 'yielding up their dear breath'. This is certainly reminiscent of Homer's characteristic use of *φίλος*, as in *φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν*. He also compares the death of the Brahman Droṇa with that of Patroklos. It is accompanied by portents: an earthquake, storm-winds, a meteor; Droṇa's weapons flash with lightning and his chariot thunders, while his horses shed tears. He feels his strength gone, and stands in dismay.[34] Perhaps more remarkable than this is the occurrence in the *Mahābhārata* of the myth that the earth once complained to Brahmā of the ever-increasing weight of mankind, and Brahmā created death to alleviate the problem. Elsewhere 'lightening the earth' stands for war and slaughter. In the *Cypria* a similar reason was given for Zeus' decision to bring about the Trojan War.[35] However, in this case the motif is established in Babylonian mythology, and common influence from this quarter upon Greece and India in the first millennium BCE may be the likeliest hypothesis.[36]

Before passing on to consider Mycenaean heroic song, I may remark that one or two stylistic patterns that occur from time to time in Homer probably have their roots in IE poetry. One is the verse consisting of three names, the last of which is accompanied by an epithet or other amplification,[53] e.g.

[32] On all this, and more, cf. Durante, ii. 93–7. I grant that not all of what I have mentioned need be evidence for heroic as distinct from e.g. hymnic poetry, and I pass over a number of other parallel phrases of which the same is true: immortal gods, immortal and unaging, god(s) giver(s) of blessings, broad heaven, broad earth, boundless earth, Zeus' rain, the sun's wheel, the sun that sees all, good disposition (*μένος*/*mánaḥ*), bold disposition, etc.

[33] *ZDMG* NF 28 (1953), 133 = R. Schmitt (ed.), *Indogermanische Dichtersprache* (as n. 6), 163 f.

[34] Cf. *Il.* 16. 459 (raindrops of blood); 805 f. *τὸν δ' ἄτη φρένας εἷλε, λύθεν δ' ὑπὸ φαίδιμα γυῖα, στῆ δὲ ταφών*; 17. 426 ff. (Achilles' horses weep on learning of Patroklos' death); Pisani, 130 f. = 159 f. On heroic and lachrymose horses see Bowra (as n. 2), 157–70.

[35] The comparison was made by R. Köhler, *Rh. Mus.* 13 (1858), 316 f. Cf. Pisani, 127 f. = 156 f.; W. Kullmann, *Phil.* 99 (1955), 186.

[36] See W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass. 1992), 100–6.

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|---|---|
| *Il.* 3. 147 | Λάμπόν τε Κλυτίον θ' Ἱκετάονά τ' ὄζον Ἄρηος. |
| 4. 52 | Ἄργός τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρυάγυια Μυκήνη. |
| $I^{158}$ *Hyndluljóð* 18 | Fraþmarr oc Gyrðr oc Frecar báðir, |
| | Ámr oc Iǫsurmarr, Álfr inn gamli. |
| *Beowulf* 61 | Heorogār ond Hrōðgār ond Hālga til. |

This is a special case of O. Behaghel's 'Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder', convenient to the versifier because it gives him some room for manoeuvre in the clausula.[37] Then there is the device of pairing (often with asyndeton) adjectives which share the same fore-element, in particular *ἀ-* privative, *εὐ-*, or *πολυ-*. This is closely paralleled in the Veda and Avesta, and evidently an inherited Graeco-Aryan feature:[38]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Il.* 2. 447 | ἀγήραον ἀθανάτην τε |
| | *Rgv.* 1. 113.13 *ajárā-(a)mṛ́tā* (unaging, immortal) |
| *Od.* 15. 406 | εὔβοτος εὔμηλος |
| | 1. 35. 10 *sunīthāḥ sumṝlīkāḥ suávān* |
| *Il.* 5. 613 | πολυκτήμων πολυλήϊος |
| | 6. 34. 2 *puruhūtó yáḥ purugūrtá . . . purupraśastáḥ.* |

## EARLY MYCENAEAN EPIC

It has long been apparent that the Homeric tradition preserves a few reminiscences of early Mycenaean culture, from a period well before the destruction of Troy VIIa.[39] The most important items of archaeological evidence are the *φάσγανον/ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον* and the tower shield especially associated with Ajax, which would seem to have gone out of use before the end of the fourteenth century.[40] Since the decipherment of Linear B, the evidence of archaeology has

[37] O. Behaghel, *IF* 25 (1909), 110ff. Cf. H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik* i (Heidelberg 1927), 126. G. Morgan, *Folklore* 94 (1983), 44–56, has identified a similar triadic pattern as a widespread feature of popular verse, from ancient Irish and Welsh to modern American.

[38] Durante, ii. 151 f.

[39] Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London 1933), 158; D. H. F. Gray in M. Platnauer (ed.), *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1954), 28 f.; J. V. Luce, *Homer and the Heroic Age* (London 1975), 101–7, 119.

[40] H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950), 152 f., 273 f.; D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1959), 232–5; H. Borchhardt, *Archaeologia Homerica* I E: Kriegswesen (Göttingen 1977–80), 25 f.; S. Foltiny, ibid. 237.



been reinforced by that of language. What is significant here is not so much the appearance in the tablets of elements of 'Homeric' vocabulary and morphology, such as *pakana φάσγανα* or the instrumental plural ending *-pi -φι*, because we do not know how much longer they continued in use. The significant thing is that certain features of the epic language appear to belong to an *earlier* stage of Greek than the language of the Linear B tablets:

(i) Epic preserves some freedom in the placing of preverbs, as in *ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσεν, πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν, λιπὼν κάτα πατρίδα γαῖαν*. This does not have its origins in poetic artifice but in the original independence of the preverbs, the situation still prevailing in the Veda. The Mycenaean tablets already show the developed state of dependence that obtains in classical Greek, with the preverb regularly treated as a prefix of the verb.[41]

(ii) Certain words and phrases are unmetrical as they stand, but would have been metrical at an earlier stage of Greek when *ṛ* existed as a syllabic vowel: when

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Ἐνναλίωι ἀνδρειφόντηι* | was | **Enūwaliōi̯ anrq$^{w}$ʰóntāi,* |
| *ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην* | was | **anṛtā́t' ide yēg$^{w}$ʰān,* |
| *Νὺξ ἀμβρότη* | was | **Núx amṛ́tā,* |
| *ἀμβροτάξομεν* | was | ** hamṛtáxomen.*[42] |

$I^{157}$ In the Mycenaean tablets that stage is already past; that dialect at least has moved irrevocably towards *or* or *ro*, *topeza τόρπεζα*, *qetoropopi q$^{w}$ετρόποπφι*, *anoqota Ἄνορq$^{w}$ʰόντας*.[43]

The phrase *ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης* is less obviously offensive to the metre. But short scansion before *βρ*, though admissible at a pinch, is a departure from the epic norm. It is very likely that the epithet was originally **amp$^{h}$imṛ́tās*. And here philology chimes nicely

[41] G. C. Horrocks, *Space and Time in Homer* (New York 1981). Horrocks shows that the Homeric use, though freer than the Mycenaean, is subject to limitations, only certain types of positioning being admitted. On pp. 153–61 he points out the advantages to bards in preserving the ancient freedom of arrangement in the flexible-formula system which they used.

[42] J. Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* (Göttingen 1953–79), 1116 n. 1, 1170 n. 1. On the substitution of *ἰδέ* for *καί* see below, n. 54.

[43] C. J. Ruijgh, *Études sur le grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien* (Amsterdam 1967), 69 f.; P. Wathelet, *Les Traits éoliens dans la langue de l'épopée grecque* (Rome 1970), 171 f.; Durante, i. 89; Horrocks (as n. 41), 162; H. Mühlestein, *Homerische Namenstudien* (Frankfurt am Main 1987), 186 f. For a dissenting view see A. Heubeck, *Acta Mycenaea* ii (= *Minos* 12) (1972), 55–79 = *Kl. Schr.* (Erlangen 1984), 406–30.

with archaeology; for 'shield that encircles a man' can only describe that body shield which had its heyday in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries.[44] This provides some confirmation of the antiquity of the phrases which presuppose the sonant *r̥*. There may well be others wearing the disguise of Attic correption, e.g. *δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι* (**dweyelóisi mr̥tóisi*), *ἐπένειμε τραπέζῃ* (**tr̥pézāi*), *κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε* (**tʰr̥nons qʷe*).[45,54]

Another feature of Homeric versification that presumably goes back to the Mycenaean age, though not necessarily to an earlier stage than the Linear B documents, is the occasional operation of a 'phantom consonant' where once there was an initial *s-* or *y-* (normally leaving an aspirate in classical Greek).

| *Homeric* | *Linear B Era* | *original* |
|---|---|---|
| *πότνια Ἥρη* | | **Yērā? Sērā?* |
| *θεὸς ἥ̃ως* | *yo(s), o(s)* | **yṓs* |
| *Διὶ μῆτιν ἠτάλαντος* | — | **Diwei mḗtim sm̥tálantos.*[55] |

The hiatus in *πότνια Ἥρη* is anomalous, cf. *πότνια μήτηρ*, *πότνια Κίρκη*, *πότνια νύμφη*, *πότνια θηρῶν*, and in the Hymns also *πότνια Λητώ*, *Μαῖα*, *Δηώ*, *Λήδη*, and in Hesiod *πότνια Τηθύς*, *Πειθώ*.[46] It is certain that Hera's name never had a wau. The comparative particle *ὥς* < **yṓs* is frequently treated as if it had an initial consonant: *θεὸς ὥς* (∪ – –), *λύκοι ὥς*, *ὄρνιθες ὥς*, etc.[47] In *Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος* the original **sm̥-* may have developed to *sa-* or *ha-* before the formula was coined, but it was coined when there was still a consonant there, and apparently when the original dative *Diwei* still existed.[48] The *h-* which developed from *s-* and from *y-* no doubt retained for a time the prosodic value of a full consonant. (I will indicate this by *ḥ*.) In the tablets forms of the relative stem are

[44] So W. Helbig, *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*[2] (Leipzig 1887), 315 n. 2; Lorimer (as n. 40), 189; D. H. F. Gray, *CQ* 61 (1947), 120; Durante, i. 90.

[45] Cf. E. Crespo, *Elementos antiguos y modernos en la prosodia homérica* (*Minos* Suppl. 7, Salamanca 1977), 24.

[46] *πότνια Ἥβη Il.* 4. 2 and *πότνια Ἠώς Hymn. Aphr.* 223, 230, were no doubt modelled on *πότνια Ἥρη* after the hiatus became accepted, though in principle *πότνια Ἥβη* (< **yéǧʷā*) could be as old as *πότνια Ἥρη*. Cf. C. J. Ruijgh in A. Morpurgo Davies and Y. Duhoux (edd.), *Linear B: a 1984 Survey* (Louvain-la-neuve 1985), 155.

[47] Durante, i. 82 f.

[48] Ruijgh (as n. 43), 53. Linear B still for the most part uses *-e* (*-ει*) as the dative ending, though *-i* (originally locative) has begun to make inroads.



written with *yo-*, but not consistently. Otherwise both *s-* and *y-* have gone, and *h-* is ignored in the writing system, except that the sign *a*$_2$ often represents *ha*, and an intervocalic *h* is suggested by spellings such as *pawea*$_2$, *φάρ*$^{F}$*εha*, *apeeke* (?) *ἀπέhηκε* (< **é-gʷeke*, cf. Hom. *ἕηκε*). Homeric compounds such as *ἀγχίαλος*, *ἀμφίαλος* (< **-ḥalos* < **-salos*; Myc. *apia*$_2$*ro*), *ἀμφίεπον* (< **-ḥepon(t)* < **-sepont*) besides *ἄμφεπον*, *ἐπιάλμενος* (< **-ḥál-* < **-sál-*) besides *ἐπάλμενος*, presumably go back to the same stage of the language.[49] *ὑπείρ ἅλα*, *εἰν ἁλί*, *εἰνάλιος* may do so (*ḥuper ḥála*, *en ḥalí*),[50] though here metrical lengthening is available as an alternative explanation.

*Ὀδυσσῆος ἱερὴ ἵς* in [Hes.] fr. 198. 2 looks like another example. *ἱερός* derives from **isirós*,[51] preserving in the formula *ἱερὴ ἵς* its old sense (above, p. 154). After it became **iḥirós/iḥerós*, the aspirate was transferred to the beginning of the word.[52] That this had happened before the time of the Linear B tablets is indicated by the regular spelling *iyero-*, *iyere-*, since *iḥe-* would have [158] been represented by *ie-*.[46] *Ὀδυσσῆος ἱερὴ ἵς*, therefore, although appearing only in an extra-Homeric tradition, has every chance of being a Mycenaean formula, *Oduk'ẽwos ḥierā́ wīs*, and it may have been the primary model for the Odyssean *ἱερὴ ἵς Τηλεμάχοιο*. It would be a conclusive case of consonantal *ḥ*, as *ἱερός* never had initial *s-*.[53]

What inferences can we draw from this little collection of fragments of Mycenaean verse? Firstly, that Mycenaean heroic poetry was cast in hexameters from at least as early as the fourteenth century. There is a fair likelihood that such lines as

*Αἴας δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε φέρων σάκος ἠΰτε πύργον*

and

*Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίωι ἀνδρειφόντηι*

are simply modernized versions of lines that have come down whole from that era:

[49] Durante, i. 85; Crespo (as n. 45), 23.

[50] Ruijgh (as n. 43), 53 and (as n. 46), 158.

[51] O. Szemerényi, *SMEA* 20 (1980), 207–11.

[52] Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* i. 219 f.

[53] This assumes that the Homeric licence of lengthening a final syllable such as *-os* in the princeps position before a vowel was a post-Mycenaean development, or at any rate that it would not have been used in a formula.

*Aiwans d' engúʰen élʰe pʰerón ssakos (twákos?) éwute púrgon.*
*Mārionās ḫatálantos Enūwalióy anṛqʷʰontāi.*

Perhaps the same is true of the remarkable couplet, used only of Patroklos' and Hektor's deaths (*Il.* 16. 856 f., 22. 362 f.), about the soul flying off to Hades from the *φρένες* (an obscure and clearly very old word):

*psūkʰā d' ex ḫreʰéhōn ptaménā Ḫāwidósde gʷegʷākē*
*ḫwón pótmon gowáonsa, liqʷóns' anṛtāt' ide yégʷān.*[54]

The prosodic rules that obtained at this period were probably more archaic than those prevailing in Homer. Mute and liquid combinations presumably always made position, as in Vedic verse.[55] Initial *ḫ* made position with a preceding final consonant, or prevented hiatus, as does Vedic *h* (which has a different origin). Final long vowels and short diphthongs commonly suffered correption before an initial vowel, as in Vedic, but long diphthongs did not: the *i*-element became consonantalized and prevented hiatus, just as in Vedic the *-ai* and *-au* of the written text, representing original *-āi -āu*, become *-āy* and *-āv* (i.e. *-āw*) in hiatus.

As for the content of this poetry, we can infer that it told of battle and death in battle,[56] of gods and of heroes with qualities commensurate with the gods'. There were similes at least of the short type *ἐναντίον ὦρτο λέων ὥς*. (The use of some longer ones is implied by what I have said about the Graeco-Aryan heritage, but is not directly inferable from the Greek evidence.) Of the heroes who figure in the Homeric tradition, Ajax at least has every appearance of

[54] The substitution of *ide* for *kai* (Ruijgh (as n. 46), 163) avoids the anomalous correption before *y/ḫ*.

[55] Hence the periphrases *gʷíā Ḫēraklewehéiā, Wīpʰiklewehéiā* had to be created to stand for unmetrical *Ḫērakléwēs, Wīpʰikléwēs*: Durante, i. 117–19. But when did Klytaimestra get into the tradition?

[56] In this connection a further observation may be made. Ruijgh, *L'Élément achéen dans la langue épique* (Assen 1957), 74–89 (cf. Wathelet (as n. 43), 307–10; *aliter* M. Peters in *o-o-pe-ro-si* (Festschr. E. Risch, Berlin–New York 1980), 308 n. 20), has made it probable that *-ξω -ξα* in the future and aorist of *-ζω* verbs with dental stems is neither Aeolic nor Ionic but goes back to the 'Achaean' phase of the epic language. The *ἀμβροτάξομεν* which I have mentioned is one example. The other verbs are *(ἐξ)αλαπάζω, πτολεμίζω, πελεμίζω, (ἐξ)εναρίζω, δαΐζω, κτερεΐζω, ὀνοπαλίζω, ἐγγυαλίζω, στυφελίζω, ἐλελίζω, μερμηρίζω*—nearly all verbs of war. The last in the list suggests that the recurrent Homeric motif of pondering alternatives is an early feature.



belonging to the early Mycenaean age.[57] To the familiar arguments—his special association with the tower shield; the gigantic aspect which he shares with figures such as the Lapiths, Herakles, Orion, the Gigantes, Hesiod's Bronze Race;[58] the use of *Αἴαντε* in certain passages in a way that reflects a very ancient usage, 'the Ajax pair', i.e. Ajax and his brother—we may add the observation that of the six passages in the *Iliad* where his name occurs in the dative, no less than three give it the [159] metrical value – – –, with the second syllable in the biceps (14. 459, 15. 674, 17. 123). This must go back to the time when the dative and locative still had their different endings, and the dative of this name was *Aiwántei*.[59] It may also be recalled that the very ancient formula *ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν* (p. 154) is applied to Ajax alone, and *ἐπειμένοι ἀλκήν* (ibid.) only to *Αἴαντες*.

The two Cretan leaders, Idomeneus and Meriones, have only a slightly less clear claim to great antiquity. They are often associated with Ajax in the narrative, especially Idomeneus, who is six times named in the same line as Ajax or the Aiante. He is a grandson of Minos himself. Meriones, as we have seen, rides about in a formulaic verse of pre-Linear B vintage. He is the owner of the boar's-tusk helmet described in *Il.* 10. 261 ff., a notoriously Mycenaean piece of headgear, though not exclusively early Mycenaean.[60] We seem to have here a pair of genuine Minoans from the heyday of Knossos.[57]

Odysseus too would seem to be an early figure. His very name bears the stamp of antiquity.[61] The old formula *Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος* is regularly used of him, except in *Il.* 7. 47 = 11. 200 where it is used in the vocative of Hektor; we have also referred to *Ὀδυσσῆος*

[57] So e.g. P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*[3] (Leipzig 1921–3), 263; Page (as n. 40), 234–8; T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London 1958), 101, 115; Durante, i. 115 f.

[58] This may be connected with his status as a cult hero; see P. Von der Mühll, *Der grosse Aias* (Basel 1930).

[59] P. Wathelet, *L'Antiquité classique* 31 (1962), 13. The figures for *Αἴαντα* and *Αἴαντε* are as follows: *Αἴαντα*, seventeen occurrences, of which four scan – – –, but all before *πρ-* (3) or *μ-* (1, *Αἴαντα μεγαλήτορα* adapted from the dative formula?). *Αἴαντε*, seventeen occurrences, of which four scan – – –, but all before *πρ-* (3) or *ν-*.

[60] Cf. also Webster (as n. 57), 101, 117 f.; Durante, i. 94.

[61] L. R. Palmer, *Serta philologica Aenipontana* 3 (1979), 260 f., derives it from an old prepositional prefix *ὀ-* and the obsolete root **deuk-/duk- = ducere*; cf. Polydeukes, and Idomeneus' father Deukalion. He takes no account of the variant forms Olysseus, etc. (common outside the epic tradition), Pol-lux, Leukarion (Epicharmus p. 73 and Dinolochus p. 179 Kassel–Austin); the d/l variation may point rather to a non-IE provenance. Cf. R. Gusmani, *SMEA* 6 (1968), 16.

ἱερὴ ἶς. Like Ajax's brother Teukros, and Meriones, Odysseus is noted as an archer. It is to him that Meriones lends the boar's-tusk helmet. And he is uniquely implicated in the only distinctive episode of Ajax's life: his death.

The network of associations also entangles Meges, Odysseus' neighbour in the western isles. We find him in the company of Ajax (*Il.* 15. 516 ff.) and again of Meriones (5. 59 ff., 19. 239); at 15. 301–3 we have practically the whole gang together,

> οἳ μὲν ἄρ' ἀμφ' Αἴαντα καὶ Ἰδομενῆα ἄνακτα,
> Τεῦκρον Μηριόνην τε Μέγην τ' ἀτάλαντον Ἄρηϊ
> ὑσμίνην ἤρτυνον.

(θοῶι) ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηϊ, a variant of ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίωι ἀνδρειφόντηι, is applied both to Meges (twice) and to Meriones (thrice).[62]

One might continue to build along these lines, but it is a dangerously open-ended game. Perhaps enough has been said to justify the general thesis that the poetry of the high Mycenaean age already featured some of the heroes familiar to us from Homer, with their characteristic epithets and weaponry. It told of warfare involving Minoans: the Mycenaean conquest of Crete? It told of the hulking strength of Ajax and the Zeus-like μῆτις of Odysseus: was their fatal antagonism already a subject of song? For the most part we can only speculate about the stories in which these men played a part.

## LATE MYCENAEAN AND AEOLIC EPIC

In principle it is only to be expected that what has come down to us as a story about Troy should have absorbed material from other, unrelated sagas of varying antiquity, pre-Trojan and perhaps post-Trojan. The same kind of thing has happened in other epic traditions.[63] However, it seems strange that in a poetic tradition inherited from early Mycenaean times, the sack of Troy [160] should play such a prominent part, while the catastrophic destructions of so

[62] Also to Pylaimenes and Automedon (once each), and predicatively, not as a name-formula, to onsets of Patroklos and Hektor. Hektor is often claimed as another pre-Trojan hero, transferred from a Greek setting: F. Dümmler, *Kl. Schr.* ii (Leipzig 1901), 240–9, and others.

[63] Bowra (as n. 2), 519–36.



many major Greek palaces in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, Thebes, Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, Iolkos, have scarcely left an echo. There is a celebrated story of an attack on Thebes, but it was an attack that failed; the story of the successful assault by the Epigonoi stands very much in the shadow of the other, and has a makeshift and secondary air. The throne of Mycenae is occupied by a usurper for a few years, but there is no damage to buildings. Iolkos is sacked by Peleus. Herakles captures or sacks a number of cities: Troy, Cos, Oichalia, Ephyra, Elis, Pylos, Orchomenos, but these are mere incidents in his career. His sons take all the cities in the Peloponnese (Apollod. 2. 169). Some of this may have originated in the prose mythographers without basis in the epic tradition. To the extent that it did have such a basis, one has the impression that the poets responsible, while conscious that certain towns had been sacked, had in most cases no more idea than we have of who sacked them.[64] They attributed such achievements to the legendary Herakles in the same spirit as the building of massive walls was attributed to the Cyclopes.

In two cases, however, more genuine recollections may be involved. One is the sack of Pylos, in which all the sons of Neleus perish except Nestor. There are fabulous elements in the story: Herakles wounding Hades (*Il.* 5. 395 ff., cf. Pind. *O.* 9. 31–5) and Ares ([Hes.] *Scut.* 359–67), the metamorphoses of Periklymenos (ps.-Hes. frr. 33–5), the Molione (*Il.* 11. 709, 750). But these are merely the embellishments of what seems to have been a substantial saga-cycle on the wars of Neleus' Pylos with its Elean and Arcadian neighbours.[65] There is surely a historical basis to this material—I hardly think it was all invented by poets for lack of other matter—and the sack of Pylos, although (unavoidably) glossed over by Nestor at *Il.* 11. 689–93, was evidently an integral part of it. The other case is the sack of Iolkos by Peleus of Phthia. Peleus' life is a bundle of myth and folktale (Apollod. 3. 163–73, after ps.-Hesiod and Pherecydes), but he himself is a man without any supernatural abilities or particular celebrity as a warrior: he was nevertheless remembered as the man who sacked Iolkos, with no large army.[66] His name looks like

[64] The sackings may have been done by freebooters who left no visiting-cards. Cf. F. J. Tritsch in Crossland and Birchall (as n. 9), 233–8.

[65] *Il.* 7. 133–56, 11. 670–762, 23. 629–42; cf. Paus. 6. 25. 2.

[66] [Hes.] fr. 211; Pind. *Nem.* 3. 34 μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς cannot be literally true, but could be an exaggerated version of a true coup. Apollod. 3. 173 (Pherec. fr. 62 Fowler) does speak of an army.

a genuine Thessalian one, not related to Pelion (*Πήλιον*) but to Aeolic *πηλ-* = *τηλ-*; cf. names such as *Τηλέας*, *Τηλεκλῆς*, Boeotian *Πειλέμαχος*, *Πειλεκλίδας*.

Now between Pylos and Iolkos there is a remarkable mythological connection. Neleus, the king of Pylos in the generation before its fall, and Pelias, the king of Iolkos in the generation before its fall, are *twin brothers*.[67] What can this mean? It means, I think, that the poetic tradition about the Pylian wars of the thirteenth century later became part of the same wider tradition as the Iolkos cycle. In other words it migrated, by way of Aetolia and the Spercheios valley, to Phthiotis, to join the reservoir of late Mycenaean Thessalian epic which, as will be seen, must be postulated as the main source of the later Ionian tradition. Here poets forged a link between the two unconnected cycles by making Neleus and Pelias the sons of a single mother and of a god. The local Thessalian repertory must have included the war of the Lapiths and Centaurs, whose Thessalian designation *φῆρες* survives in Homer;[68] the story of Pelias, Jason, and the Argonauts who sailed from Pagasai; the funeral games for Pelias; the exploits of Peleus. The sack of Iolkos belongs 'at some time during the twelfth century',[69] so we are now thinking of the period 1150–1050.

The regions through which I have suggested that the Pylian cycle travelled to Phthiotis are [161] themselves rich in epic saga. There was a cycle based in Aetolia which included Oineus' slaughter of the sons of Porthaon, the Calydonian Boar Hunt, the war of the Aitoloi and Kouretes, the story of Meleager, and Herakles' meeting with him in Hades. This led to Herakles' marriage to Meleager's sister Deianeira, to win whom he had to fight the river Acheloos. Then he won Iole by sacking Oichalia, up in the north of Aetolia, and the tale continued

[67] *Od.* 11. 235–57, [Hes.] frr. 30. 31–33a. They were conceived in the river Enipeus, and there is some confusion about whether it was the Thessalian Enipeus or the tributary of the Alpheios. See M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985), 142 f.

[68] *Il.* 1. 260–73, 2. 743, *Od.* 21. 296–304. We now see that Nestor's participation in the event is not an extravagant autoschediasm of Homer's (D. Mülder, *Die Ilias und ihre Quellen* (Berlin 1910), 47, and others), but a reflex of the Pylian hero's reception into Thessalian poetry. I do not know if it is so significant that at the start of the Trojan War he appears at Peleus' house as a recruiting officer together with Odysseus (*Il.* 11. 765 ff.).

[69] V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages* (London 1972), 100; cf. *CAH*³ ii(2). 666.



inexorably to his death upon Mount Oita. Other stories linked him with Keyx of Trachis. Thus we can map out a more or less continuous swathe of territory, from Pylos up to Aetolia and across to Oitaia, Phthia, and Iolkos, that is characterized by epic saga—saga that was actually treated in epic poems—of a kind that is absent from Arcadia, Laconia, Attica, Euboea, Phocis. I take this to be a swathe of territory in which heroic poetry was actively cultivated in the late Mycenaean age or from which it drifted towards Thessaly. It was by this channel, I suspect, that Odysseus became established in the larger epic tradition; in the twelfth century Cephallenia and Ithaca enjoyed a communion with the Mycenaean cultural world that later lapsed.

The sack of Troy probably became a subject of epic song not later than the middle of the twelfth century, if the usual assumption is correct that the starting-point was the historical destruction of Troy VIIa; it now seems that this should be dated between 1210 and 1170.[70] Evidence from other traditions tends to show that the commemoration of historical events in epic generally begins soon after they have happened.[71] As Phrynichus and Aeschylus, a few years after Salamis, recognized in the Persian defeat a subject worthy of treatment in tragedy, which normally concerned itself with stories from the remoter past, so, I suppose, some enterprising bard saw the sack of Troy as a worthy and promising new theme, and others took it up. Many of the Homeric formulae for Troy and the Trojans were no doubt created (on older models) within a short time, if not by the first Troy-poet.[72]

[70] There is a small amount of LH IIIc pottery in Troy VIIa (C. B. Mee in L. Foxhall and J. K. Davies (edd.), *The Trojan War: Its Historicity and Context* (Bristol 1984), 48). In Cyprus LH IIIc pottery appears between two destruction levels conjectured to correspond to the Sea Peoples' two attacks on Egypt, which are nowadays dated *c.*1209/8 and 1176/5; at Ugarit, on the other hand, where the destruction is associated with the second of these dates, the latest Mycenaean ware is LH IIIb (J. Mellaart in the same volume, pp. 63–6).

[71] J. B. Hainsworth in Foxhall and Davies, 114; cf. Durante, i. 48. An early start is no guarantee of historical reliability. A survey published in the *Sunday Times* for 25 May 1980 revealed that, 35 years after the end of the Second World War, 34 per cent of the public thought that Dunkirk was a British victory; 18 per cent thought that the atom bomb was dropped by Britain, Russia, Germany, or Japan; Montgomery was identified by some as the British Prime Minister or an American soldier, Eisenhower as President of France or a Russian leader, Mussolini as a Russian general, a Czech communist leader, or a Jew.

[72] They have been studied by Page (as n. 40), 251 f.; Bowra, *JHS* 80 (1960), 16–25 = *On Greek Margins* (Oxford 1970), 1–13; C. W. Blegen, *Troy and the Trojans* (London 1963), 16–18; J. Pinsent in Foxhall and Davies (as n. 70), 137–62.

I must leave aside the profound problems of who sacked Troy and by what stages the legend grew. My burden is the evolution of epic as a genre. I will just observe that if we assess the *dramatis personae* on the Achaean side not by their rank or human-interest value in Homer but by whether, taking the cycle as a whole, they are bound up with cardinal events, or make a decisive contribution by reason of distinctive individual qualities, we may consider that the following have the strongest claims to be 'organic', as belonging to the primary framework of the story:

*Critical agents*

Protesilaos, the first to land at Troy and the first to be killed.
Philoctetes, without whose bow Troy could not be taken.
Odysseus, who stole the Palladion, who conceived the idea of the wooden horse, and who led its crew.
The Oileian Ajax, who desecrated the sanctuary of Athena.

*Providers of useful skills*

Calchas as seer.
The two sons of Asklepios as healers.
Nestor as experienced adviser.

[162] The expedition is led by Agamemnon and Menelaos—in response to the abduction of Menelaos' wife—yet they do nothing in particular for the mechanism of the story. Achilles, Diomedes, and the Telamonian Ajax are champion warriors such as every epic needs, but again they seem to have no unique role to fulfil at the 'deep structure' level. Others, such as Idomeneus, Meriones, and Tlepolemos, have merely supporting parts.

Now of the eight listed here as 'organic', five (Protesilaos, Philoctetes, Ajax the son of Oileus, and the Asklepiadai) belong to Thessaly, or in Ajax's case Locris, forming a group with a striking geographical coherence. For two others, Nestor and Odysseus, I have suggested that Thessalian poetry was the defile through which their fame was channelled to posterity. As for Calchas Thestorides, his origins are obscure in the Homeric tradition, but Thestor was the Argonauts' seer in one version of the story instead of the more familiar Idmon,[73] so here again we find a Thessalian connection.

[73] Sch. A.R. 1. 139–44a. Pherecydes reconciled the variants by making Thestor Idmon's son; Chamaileon fr. 17 Giordano did so by making Idmon a nickname of Thestor.



In these eight heroes, I suggest, with their particular talents and particular roles in the saga of Troy, we may identify eight primary members of the personnel of an eleventh-century Thessalian *Iliad*, from which the eighth-century Ionian *Iliaka* developed by the accretion of additional characters, episodes, and sub-plots. We may detect a certain typological similarity between this hypothetical young Troy-epic and the Argonautic saga: an expedition by sea to a land in the east, crowned with success after manifold difficulties, and conducted by a company of heroes endowed with various complementary talents and coming into individual prominence at certain cardinal points in the narrative. The similarity may owe something to common origins in late Mycenaean Thessaly. It may indeed have been in that milieu that Greek bards first advanced from the heroic lay or epyllion of a few hundred lines to the extended epic of several thousand, based on a multiple-episode story.

These conclusions about the role of Thessaly in the development of epic are in happy accord with the well-known fact, deduced from analysis of the Homeric language, that the Ionian phase of the tradition was preceded by an Aeolic phase. This was seen by F. W. Ritschl more than 150 years ago, and substantiated by G. Hinrichs (1875), K. Witte (1913), and others. Perceptions of what are and are not true Aeolisms have become more refined with the passage of time, and some features that were once classified as Aeolic, such as the wau and the genitive ending -οιο, are now recognized as being simply old Greek. Attempts have occasionally been made, as notably by Klaus Strunk in 1957, to dispose of all Homer's Aeolisms by arguing that each of them might be accounted for in some other way. But a good number of them have withstood the severest scrutiny.[74] From the fact that they do not appear merely as ornamental alternatives to Ionic forms, but either provide useful metrical alternatives (like ἄμμε for ἡμέας, πόδεσσι for ποσ(σ)ί) or represent non-Ionic vocabulary (like θεά, πεμπώβολα), it has usually been inferred that they are just a residue left after Ionian poets had adapted an Aeolic poetic language into their own dialect as far as it would go. This is, I have no doubt, the correct interpretation. One or two scholars have wished to make the Aeolic and Ionic traditions not

[74] See P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* i[3] (Paris 1958), 509–11; A. Hoekstra, *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes* (Amsterdam 1965), 147; P. Wathelet (as n. 43), 63–369; Durante, i. 24–38.

successive but concurrent and continuingly interactive.[75] On this view the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are representatives of an Ionian tradition (of Mycenaean ancestry) which has borrowed some useful words and morphemes from an Aeolic tradition that was still flourishing next door to it in Asia Minor. Mycenaean tradition is transmitted to Ionia by a direct route: Pylian refugees carry it to Athens, and from there to the new colonies.[76] But a simple linear development from Mycenaean to Ionian epic is absolutely excluded by certain fundamental features of the Homeric language: the use of *-αο -άων* and not [163] *-ηο -ήων*, of *πότι* and *πρότι* not *πόσι* and **πρόσι*, of *ἄμμες ὔμμες* not *ἡμές ὑμές*.[77] These forms make the assumption of an Aeolic phase unavoidable. In a continuous tradition from proto-Ionic, the metrically convenient alternatives to later Ionic *-εω -έων*, *πρός*, *ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς* would no doubt have been preserved, but in the forms *-ηο -ήων*, *π(ρ)όσι, ἡμές, ὑμές*. As it was, spoken Ionic must already have lost those forms by the time the Ionian singers started to compose in the epic language, and they therefore had to adopt the Aeolic forms.

Certain of the Aeolisms in the epic language appear to be specifically Lesbian. I cite the following features, starting with the most probable and going on to some that are more doubtful. In each case I give page-references to Wathelet's survey (see n. 43), where the relevant facts are set out.

(i) *ἱρός* (W 356 f.). This is enshrined in the frequent formula *Ἴλιος ἱρή / Ἴλιον ἱρήν*. Thessalian and Boeotian have *ἱερός* or *ἰαρός*. Unless they reverted to trisyllabic forms under North-West Greek influence, this suggests that Aeolic still had uncontracted **ihirós* or **hiirós* at the time when Lesbian split off.

(ii) Genitive *-o(h)o* (W 239–42). The old ending *-οιο* persisted longest in Thessaly. Ionic is likely to have already had contracted *-ō* by the time it replaced Aeolic as the dominant constituent of epic, just as it had contracted *-εω* < *-αο*. If so, epic *-οο* (metrically

[75] J. Hooker, *The Language and Text of the Lesbian Poets* (Innsbruck 1977), 70–82; D. G. Miller, *Homer and the Ionian Epic Tradition* (Innsbruck 1982), 23 f., 75 ff., 147 f.

[76] Lorimer (as n. 40), 458 f.; Page (as n. 40), 220 with 265 n. 6; Webster (as n. 57), 140 f., 153–5, 159–62; Miller (as n. 75), 22.

[77] Cauer (as n. 57), 158 f.; J. Chadwick, *Greece and Rome* 3 (1956), 47; C. J. Ruijgh, *Lingua* 18 (1967), 96 f.; Wathelet (as n. 43), 104, 180 f., 290; Durante, i. 28, 34, 54; R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* (Cambridge 1982), 89 f.



necessary in eighteen places, but restorable in very many[78]) is from Lesbian in its transitional phase between old Aeolic *-οιο* and historical Lesbian *-ω*. Again the feature appears in an Ilios formula, *Ἰλίοο προπάροιθεν*.

(iii) *τοίσδεσσι* (W 293 f.). This monster has its nearest parallel in Alcaeus' *τωνδέων*, and seems unlikely to go back to the common Aeolic stage. Its distribution in Homer is limited (*Doloneia, Odyssey*).

(iv) Psilosis (W 218–21). Common to Lesbian and east Ionic, but in the Homeric text associated with Aeolic forms (e.g. *ἄμμε, ὔμμε*) and in general with poetic forms (*ἐπάλμενος, ἠέλιος*, etc.); see P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* i. 184–8. Apparently the tradition has been through a psilotic phase and then had aspiration selectively restored. But it is hard to prove that the psilotic phase was Aeolic and not Ionic. See J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Göttingen 1916), 40–52.

(v) Barytonesis (W 221–8; Chantraine 189–92). The situation resembles that obtaining with psilosis, except that it is even harder to determine when the accentuation of a given form became established in the text. Some cases seem to have been decided by the Alexandrian editors on *a priori* grounds, while others seem to represent genuine rhapsodic tradition from a much earlier time.

(vi) Reflexes of the Lesbian change /CριV/ > /CερρV/ (W 207 f.). Very doubtful.[79]

Some other features are characteristic of Lesbian but may be suspected of having been common Aeolic, either because they look very old or because we cannot show that Thessalian had something different: (vii) infinitive *-μεναι* (W 315–24);[80] (viii) *ὅππως, ὅττι*,

[78] J. La Roche, *Homerische Untersuchungen* ii (Leipzig 1893), 164 f.

[79] Wackernagel's derivation of the suffix *-τερρα* < *-τρια* is uncertain; and if this change had been accomplished during the Aeolic phase of epic, we should expect to see *Πέρραμος* or (to preserve the original metre) *Πέραμος*, as in Sappho and Alcaeus, for how could Ionian poets, without an epic tradition of their own, have restored *Πρίαμος*? At most it is conceivable that *Ἕκτορι Πριαμίδῃ*, with *Πρ* failing to make position, reflects the initial stage of the Lesbian shift, i.e. *Ἕκτορι Πῑ̯αμίδᾱι* or *-μίωι* (with metrical lengthening of ῐ̯). Ionians would probably have interpreted *Πῑ̯αμος* as *Πρίαμος*. But more likely *Ἕκτορι Πριαμίδῃ* is an Ionian formula.

[80] Often explained as a Lesbian innovation, a conflation of *-μεν* with Ionic *-ναι* (Porzig). But (*a*) there are traces of the same ending in Doric areas, (*b*) the Lesbian restriction to athematic forms with monosyllabic roots agrees with the profile of Vedic *-mane* (Wackernagel).

etc, going l[164] back to **yod-q*-* (W 294 f.);[81] (ix) ἐμέθεν, σέθεν, ἕθεν (W 287 f.); (x) *-σθα* in the second person singular of the present tense (W 311 f.).

'Lesbian' is of course a shorthand term for the dialect of all the Aeolic settlements in Asia Minor and adjacent islands. These settlements were multiplying in the Dark Age, down to 1000 or 950 (Smyrna), but it is not clear that they were all new. At Mytilene, at least, occupation may have been continuous from the Mycenaean age.[82] It is quite conceivable that poetry about Troy took root in that region before the end of the twelfth century and became well established in the course of the eleventh, taking nourishment from other pieces of saga brought in by new colonists from Thessaly, Locris, or other places. We have seen that some of the Ilios (or rather Wilios) formulae appear to be creations of the Lesbian phase. This implies an early beginning for that phase in relation to the Troy tradition as a whole.

It may well have started early enough to overlap with the last few decades of Troy VIIb2, when the city was inhabited by a mixture of the older ('Luwian'?) people with a new one, the bringers of the much-derided Knobbed Ware, which has affinities with some local wares of the lower Danube region. I conjecture that these immigrants, who arrived *c.*1170–1130, were the Illyrian people known as the Dardanoi. Homer speaks constantly of *Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι*, and it is the Dardanian leader Aeneas whose descendants are to rule in Troy after its sack (*Il.* 20. 307 f., *Hymn. Aphr.* 196 f.). These prophecies are usually taken to reflect claims to Aenead lineage by rulers of Troy VIII in the eighth or seventh century, and indeed it is likely that such claims were made. But the legend fits the facts of Troy VIIb so well that it is tempting to trace it back to an eleventh-century origin.[83] If Tros, Ilos, and Priam are all made descendants of Dardanos (*Il.* 20. 215 ff.; *Δαρδανίδης Πρίαμος* is formulaic), this may merely reflect the ascendancy which the newcomers had achieved over the old 'Luwian' stock.[84]

[81] C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago 1955), 102 § 129. 2, mentions a Boeotian ὅττω, which I cannot trace. Corinna *PMG* 655 i 6 has ὅττι, for what it is worth.

[82] J. M. Cook, *CAH*[3] ii(2), 778.

[83] Troy VIIb was destroyed (by fire, like its predecessor) sometime between about 1080 and 1020, to go by the excavators' estimate of the duration of the settlement (C. W. Blegen *et al.*, *Troy* iv (1) (Princeton 1958), 143) in conjunction with the revised date for the end of Troy VIIa (above, n. 70).



Of the heroes to whom I have tentatively assigned roles in the original epic of Troy, several are confirmed by linguistic indicators as going back at least as far as the Aeolic phase of epic. Philoctetes, the Locrian Ajax, and Nestor all appear with patronymics of the Aeolic type, *Ποιάντιος*, *Ὀιλήιος* (or *Ὀίλειος*? transmitted *-λῆος*), *Νηλήϊος*; and an adjectve *Νεστόρεος* (with Aeolic ρε from ρι) is used of Nestor's possessions. In the *Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε* (*Il.* 2. 731) we perhaps have a case of Lesbian *-οο*. Another who must have appeared in the Aeolic tradition is Ajax Major, not so much because of *Τελαμώνιος* as because of his epithet *πελώριος* with its initial labial from labiovelar (Wathelet 66). We may probably add Achilles and Agamemnon in view of *Πηλείων*, *Ἀτρείων*, and Hektor in view of the possessive adjective *Ἑκτόρεος* (though this might have been created at any stage on the model of *Νεστόρεος*—as we must assume for *Ἀγαμεμνόνεος* with *-εος* for expected *-ιος*). Perhaps also Thersites with his Aeolic *θερσ-* for *θαρσ-* (W 357 f.); it may be recalled that after killing him in the *Aethiopis*, Achilles sailed to Lesbos to be purified.

As regards narrative style, Durante has drawn attention to the evident antiquity of the formulaic line

*αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο*,

with its archaic vocabulary, tmesis, and the specifically Aeolic (Lesbian) *ἔρος*.[84] He rightly infers from it that the Aeolic poets had already developed an ample manner, a technique of alternating battle scenes with description of routine activities, sacrifices and meals, with whatever came after them, discussions, retirement for the night, etc.

Clearly there was a considerable degree of continuity between the Lesbian epic of the early l[165] Dark Age and the Ionian epic of Homer. The language of the early Lesbian epic, however, must still have presented a markedly different appearance, with original *ā* unmodified throughout, wau stoutly maintaining itself in all positions, and forms such as *τύ* for *σύ*, *ποτᾱ́ὐδα* for *προσηύδα*, *ἐνς* for *εἰς*, *Μόνσα* for *Μοῦσα*, *ἔχοντι* for *ἔχουσι*. The rules of prosody must have changed in one detail from those of the early Mycenaean period: *h* can no

[84] Durante, i. 55 f. He might have mentioned that the specialized sense borne here by *ἐξίημι* is paralleled in Sappho 94. 23 *ἐξίης πόθον*.

longer have had consonantal value, seeing that it was on the way to disappearing altogether in Lesbian. This change had happened by the time the formulae *Fίλιος ἱρά, ποτὶ Fίλιον ἱράν* were created. But long diphthongs were still resistant to correption: *ἐνὶ Τρωϊᾶι εὐρεΐϊᾶι, ἐν Τρωϊᾶι ἐριβώλακι*.[85] Attic correption was presumably still avoided as strictly as it is in the Lesbian lyricists, except for special cases like *βροτοῖσι* < **mṛtóisi*.

What about the musical accompaniment and the manner of delivery? Hard evidence is lacking, but it is reasonable to suppose that here too there was a strong continuity through the Dark Age. The technique of performance cannot be separated from the technique of composition, and when the latter proves to have been extraordinarily conservative, there is a presumption that the former was likewise. *ἀFείδω* was certainly traditional as the verb for what the bard did,[86] and his Muses with their Olympian or Pierian location must go back at least to the Thessalian phase of epic. The four-stringed phorminx that was evidently the instrument used by the eighth-century aoidos is a primitive-looking object, and it became obsolescent not much later. It cannot at present be traced in the archaeological record before the later Geometric period;[87] nor can it be derived from the seven- or eight-stringed Minoan–Mycenaean cithara, which was a much more elegant and sophisticated article.[88] It does, however, seem to have a forerunner in the seven- or eight-stringed lyre represented by a bronze votive model from a LH IIIc tomb at Amyklai.[89]

[85] Contrast the adaptation *Τροίηι ἐν εὐρείηι Il.* 24. 256=494, which is untraditional also in not placing *Τροι-* (< *Τρωϊ-*) in the biceps.

[86] I have discussed the problem of what this was in *JHS* 101 (1981), 113–25 [abridged in Chapter 11 below].

[87] The massive three-stringed lyre shown on an early geometric Cypriot amphora (V. Karageorghis and J. des Gagniers, *La Céramique chypriote de style figuré* (Rome 1974), 97; D. Paquette, *L'Instrument de musique dans la céramique de la Grèce antique* (Paris 1984), 104 f.) has more the structure of a cithara.

[88] See M. Wegner, *Archaeologia Homerica* III U: Musik und Tanz (Göttingen 1968), 25–7.

[89] Chr. Tsountas, *Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ.* 3 (1892), 14 and pl. 3 no. 5; Lorimer (as n. 40), 456; Vermeule (as n. 10), 308, 312 fig. 49a; Wegner (as n. 88), 15 fig. 3i, 27, 82 no. 139. It is not the number of strings that is significant so much as the structure of the frame and sound-box.—On the antiquity and affinities of the word *φόρμιγξ* cf. Durante, i. 159.



## IONIAN EPIC



It is convenient to speak in schematic terms of the Aeolic phase being 'succeeded' by the Ionic. Of course this did not happen overnight. There must have been a period of concurrence. Indeed, we can see that a Lesbian tradition of some sort continued long enough, and in sufficient independence from the Ionian, to develop Priam's name into *Πέρραμος*/*Πέραμος*, and for these forms to be familiar to Sappho and Alcaeus. On the other hand it is clear that the epic poetry which overran Greece from about 750 was Ionian epic and that it had no serious rival in Lesbian or any other dialect. The one Lesbian epic poet who is named, Lesches of Mytilene, seems to have written in Ionic.[90]

The Ionic element in the epic language tends to be passed over without much reflection. Ionia to most people means Asiatic Ionia, and that is after all where Homer was believed to have come from. Certainly the *Iliad* shows a knowledge of Asia Minor, from the Hellespont to the Cayster, that strongly suggests that its author lived somewhere between those limits. And what could be more natural than the spread of heroic poetry from the Asiatic Aeolians to their southern neighbours?

I[166] But this simple construction ignores a crucial fact about epic-Ionic: it is not East Ionic, it is Central or West Ionic. A clear criterion for differentiating the two is provided by the different treatment of the original labiovelar in *πού, πῶς, πότε, ποῖος*, etc. In the eastern area these words had *κ* instead of *π*, and this is what we find in those elegiac and lyric poets who come from that area (Callinus, Mimnermus, Semonides, Hipponax, Anacreon), as also in Herodotus. Those from further west, writing in the same genres, use *π*-forms (Archilochus, Euenus, Solon, and the non-Ionian mainland elegists Tyrtaeus and Theognis). The epic language uses only *π*-forms (Homer, Hesiod, all the Hymns, and the epic parody in Hipponax 128. 3, 129 W.). Here it seems not to vary (as in elegy) according to the provenance of the individual poet, but to be a fixed feature. It will not do to say that the Asiatic Ionians simply took it over from Aeolic epic. In all other respects the Ionian poets adapted the epic dialect to

[90] It is true that Clement quotes *Il. Parva* fr. 14 West in the form *νὺξ μὲν ἔην μεσάτη, λαμπρὰ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελάνη*, but this conflicts with all other evidence for the fragment and for the poem. It is not convincing Aeolic in any case.

the norms of their own speech so far as was possible. If they had been Asiatics, it is inexplicable that this one feature should have been left unchanged.

Two other phenomena support this conclusion. One is the occasional absence of compensatory lengthening following the loss of postconsonantal wau: ἐνάτη for εἰνάτη, ἄοιτο, ξενίη, etc.[91] This must be either Lesbian or West Ionic (Euboean or Attic). But it is very likely that postconsonantal wau was still maintained throughout the Lesbian phase of the tradition. The instances of short scansion mostly occur in the *Odyssey*, and they are in general non-formulaic, except for the Odyssean μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι. Wathelet rightly concludes that they are probably Euboean. The other relevant phenomenon is 'Attic' correption. Its occurrence in Homer is again limited, but it is admitted in formulae such as ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (replacing Aeolic *ποτᾱύδα), Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω (with Ionic -εω). The indications are that it is more of a western than an eastern licence. Archilochus, Semonides, and the Lesbians are all stricter in avoiding it than Solon and Theognis—and stricter than Homer.[92]

The first of these three features is all-pervasive, and the other two are too deeply embedded in the text to be dismissed as surface barnacles (as can be done with most of the sporadic Atticisms that are to be found). Taken together, they point in the direction of Euboea as the area in which the epic language acquired its definitive and normative form. I know of no counter-indications that would favour Asia Minor.[93]

Over the last twenty or thirty years it has come to be appreciated that for much of the tenth, ninth, and eighth centuries Euboea was the most prosperous and progressive region in Greece, with commercial connections extending in many directions. In particular, contacts with the Aeolians to the north and north-east are detectable

[91] K. Meister, *Die homerische Kunstsprache* (Leipzig 1921), 202 f.; Chantraine (as n. 74), i. 161–3; Wathelet (as n. 43), 154–7 and *L'Antiquité classique* 1 (1981), 819–33.

[92] M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin–New York 1974), 113 f. In the later sixth and fifth centuries Attic correption becomes more frequent on both sides of the Aegean.

[93] Nothing can be argued from the fact that Euboea, or a part of it, had ρρ and ττ for ρσ and σσ in the classical period (A. Thumb–A. Scherer, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* ii (Heidelberg 1959), 264 f.). The first is an innovation shared with Attic, the second is shared with Attic and Boeotian; neither need have been tenth- or ninth-century Euboean.



at an early date. From the second half of the eleventh century down to the ninth there is clear evidence of relations with southern Thessaly, especially the gulf of Pagasai and Iolkos. For a time they form an area of common culture which extends to Skyros (the scene of a well-known Achilles story) and the northern Cyclades, Andros, Tenos, Rheneia, and Delos. And in the late tenth and early ninth centuries there are indications of contacts with Lesbos.[94] Here we have historical conditions that would be thoroughly favourable to the passage of heroic poetry from Thessaly, Skyros, and Lesbos down into Euboea. Wealth attracts wandering bards. The anonymous king whose huge hero-shrine (containing *inter alia* weapons, horse remains, and a lady festooned with gold) has been unearthed at Lefkandi[95] would surely have welcomed into his dining-hall singers who could entertain him and his [96] companions with epic tales of Meleager or Achilles, of the sack of Pylos or Troy. Or the war of the Lapiths and Centaurs: a terracotta centaur, originally carrying a branch, and with a knee-wound, also found at Lefkandi, dates from about 925–900.[96] Or Herakles' capture of Oichalia: at some stage this episode was relocated in Euboea, which makes no sense in terms of the geography of the Deianeira story, but was to be the version followed by Creophylus, Hecataeus, and Sophocles.

Mention of that king of Lefkandi prompts me to note that the notorious discrepancy between Bronze Age and Homeric burial practice—inhumation being as regular in the former as cremation in the latter—is best accounted for if the epic tradition acquired its definitive form in an area where cremation was established relatively early. The areas with the best claim by this criterion are Euboea and Attica, where cremation became the fashion from the eleventh century. The Lefkandi hero was cremated (though his lady was not), and he no doubt expected to hear the same of his epic predecessors.[97]

[94] Desborough (as n. 69), 206–15, 346 f.; Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, 43, 45; M. R. Popham and L. H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* i (London 1980), 360, 362. The statement about Lesbos is based on hearsay and I have not yet been able to obtain confirmation of it.

[95] M. R. Popham, E. Touloupa, and L. H. Sackett, *Antiquity* 56 (1982), 169–74; *Arch. Reports* 1981/2, 15–17 and 1982/3, 12–15; first half of the tenth century.

[96] V. R. d'A. Desborough, R. V. Nicholls, and M. R. Popham, *BSA* 65 (1970), 21–30; *Lefkandi* i. 168–70, 215–16, 344–5, 362, pl. 169 and frontispiece. Chiron's knee wound: Apollod. 2. 85.

[97] We must infer, however, that references to warriors' burials were not such a firmly entrenched feature of older epic tradition as references to bronze weapons.

So far I have spoken as if the whole legacy of Mycenaean epic had gathered itself into Thessaly like a blob of mercury, leaving no remnants in other parts. I believe this to have been the main channel of tradition, and I have ruled out a continuous Ionian tradition. But we cannot by any means exclude the survival of epic poetry at some level in other regions. An important saga zone not yet mentioned is the one connecting Thebes and the Argolid. There is the story of Oedipus and his sons and the attack on Thebes from Argos; there is the story of Herakles' birth at Thebes and his Labours in the Peloponnese for Eurystheus of Mycenae; and there is the story of the Pelopids, of Agamemnon's murder and Orestes' revenge. Much of this has its origins in myth and folktale rather than in any historical events, and so may have been 'epicized' only at a comparatively late date.[98] But it would not be surprising if Boeotia or other parts of central Greece harboured epic bards to some extent during the Dark Age. Here, after the inroads of the Dorians, we might expect the Aeolic poetic language used by such bards (like the ordinary language, but to a much lesser extent) to be open to penetration by a certain number of West Greek elements, just as in the language of Hesiod, which is in principle that of Ionian epic, we find a certain number of non-Homeric Aeolisms and West Greek forms attributable to his personal background. If, now, in the tenth or ninth century such bards participated in the general movement into Euboea, it would be possible for a few convenient linguistic forms of West Greek origin to find their way into the crucible where the language of Homer was being forged.

In fact such forms do occur in Homer, though scholars have persistently closed their eyes to them because in conventional accounts of the development of epic in Asia Minor their presence would be inexplicable.[99]

[98] For an (oriental) mythical component in the story of the Seven against Thebes cf. W. Burkert, *Kl. Schr.* i. 150–65; *The Orientalizing Revolution* (as n. 36), 106–14.

[99] Cf. K. Strunk, *Die sogenannten Äolismen der homerischen Sprache* (Diss. Cologne 1957), 111, 'ein Zusammenhang des Westgriechischen mit dem epischen ἐσσεῖται ist noch nie behauptet worden; und eine solche direkte Beziehung ist wohl zu Recht nicht in Betracht gezogen worden, denn ein dorischer Einfluss auf das Epos ist nicht gut denkbar'; Wathelet (as n. 43), 51 n. 62, 287, 322, 368, al. I must except W. F. Wyatt, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφ. Σχολῆς τοῦ Ἀριστοτ. Πανεπιστ. Θεσσαλονίκης* 14 (1975), 143, 'scholars have not looked for Doric forms, and one or two do exist'.



(i) The second-person pronominal forms τύνη, τεοῖο, τεΐν. These are all based on a strong form of the stem, **tū *tew-*, which seems to have been discarded in favour of the weak forms **tū *tw-* throughout pre-Dorian Greece but retained in W. Greek, leaving traces in literary Doric and Boeotian.[100] Moreover, the -νη suffix in τύνη, paralleled only in Boeotian τύνει (Schwyzer, *Dielectus* no. 445A) and Laconian τούνη (Hesych.), is an innovation based on ἐγών-η, ἐμίν-η, which are themselves attested only in Doric dialects and Corinna's Boeotian. (Similarly Boeot. τούν after ἐγών.) And the dative ending -ίν in τεΐν is a peculiarity of W. Greek dialects (ἐμίν, τίν, *F*ίν), unknown in others.

(ii) The reflexive forms ἑέ, ἑοῖ (instead of ἕ, οἷ). These are based on the strong stem **sew-*, and so parallel to the second-person forms discussed above. The only parallels outside epic appear to be ἑοῦς and ἑΰν in Corinna, best interpreted as Boeotisms of W. Greek origin.

(iii) The possessive adjectives ἀμός and ὑμός. These are inherited forms, but they can only have reached Homer by way of W. Greek or Boeotian, because in Ionian tradition ἀμός would have become **ἠμός*, and in Aeolic they become ἄμμός ὔμμός.[101]

(iv) πρότι. This is an inherited form (=Sanskrit *práti*), but it was preserved only in Doric (Argive πρότι, Central Cretan πόρτι), Pamphylian (πέρτι), and proto-Ionic (>**πρόσι>πρός*); Achaean and Aeolic discarded it at an early date in favour of its equally ancient rival πότι (>Myc. *posi*>Arc. πός). Either it was preserved in the poetic language from the Middle Helladic era, as a useful metrical alternative, or it entered it in the first millennium from W. Greek.

(v) ἐσσεῖται. A purely W. Greek type of future, apart from a limited group in Attic (πλευσοῦμαι, etc.).[102]

[100] τέος and τεοῦς in Sophron, τεοῦ and τεῦς in Epicharmus, τίω and τίως in Rhinthon, τεῦς and τεοῦς in Theocritus, τεύς and τεοῦς and probably τεΐν in Corinna.

[101] Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer*, 50–2, as he does not consider the possibility of W. Greek, is forced to assume that the text originally had the Aeolic forms. So too Chantraine, *Gramm. hom.* i. 272.

[102] Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* i. 786 f.; Buck, *Greek Dialects*, 115; A. Thumb–E. Kieckers, *Handbuch der griech. Dialekte* i (Heidelberg 1932), 72 f.—An unscrupulous person might add to the above list the adverbs χαμάδις, ἄμυδις, and ἄλλυδις, as the suffix -δις is otherwise found only in οἴκαδις Epicharm. 32. 13 K.–A., Ar. *Ach.* 742, 779 (the Megarian), and four other words cited as Doric by Herodian. But the υ of ἄμυδις and ἄλλυδις suggests an old Achaean origin; see Strunk (as n. 99), 121–4. Peloponnesian Doric -δις may be inherited from the Achaean substrate.

There is no longer any need to deny the W. Greek origin of these Homeric forms *a priori*. Other considerations have led us to establish a model which can accommodate them without difficulty.

One important amplification of the Troy saga that was presumably due to the initiative of poets in or close to Euboea was an account of the gathering of the Achaean fleet at the narrowest point of the Euripus, between Aulis and Chalcis. That it gathered there was a matter of local pride, as we sense from Hesiod (cf. above, p. 151), and it is not likely to have been anything but a local invention. The invention included a catalogue of ships and contingents, a later version of which Homer sang and eventually adapted to a Trojan setting in his *Iliad*. The idea that the catalogue goes back to some kind of Mycenaean 'document' is a wistful error. It is an Ionian composition, as the very first name in it suggests (*Πηνέλεως*, unmetrical in any other dialect) and as the repeated reliance on the form *νέες* confirms; *ἐνενήκοντα* (602) points to Euboean Ionic, as was remarked earlier, and similarly *ἐνάτῃ* (313) in a passage that also belongs to the Aulis narrative. And of all the twenty-nine contingents in the catalogue, none is so fully and distinctively characterized as the Euboean (536–44):

> *μένεα πνείοντες Ἄβαντες . . .*
> *θοοί, ὄπιθεν κομόωντες,*
> *αἰχμηταὶ μεμαῶτες ὀρεκτῆισιν μελίηισιν*
> *θώρηκας ῥήξειν δηίων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσιν.*

That the region round Chalcis and Aulis was still an influential centre of poetic activity in the late eighth century can be inferred from analysis of the major genealogies included in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Ehoiai*.[103] The genealogy of the Atlantids artificially unites in one great family the pedigrees of Helen, the Atreidai, Priam—and the minor local heroes of Chalcis and east Boeotia. In other words it reflects the desire of people in those districts to put themselves in a genealogical relationship with the celebrities of the Trojan War; and the construction achieved [169] some currency. We can see that there was also Euboean interference in the genealogy of Io.[104] It was at the same period, or a little earlier, that the sons of Amphidamas, king of Chalcis, offered prizes for poetry at his funeral games, and Hesiod competed there with other poets. Though not himself a singer of

[103] M. L. West (as n. 67), 155–62.

[104] Ibid. 145 f., 149 f., 153.



heroic poetry, he does recommend for diverting the bereaved the bard who sings the *κλεῖα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων* (*Th.* 98–103); no doubt these were to be heard in plenty at that Chalcidian gathering.

To the picture that I have been building up of the sources of Homeric poetry, one thrilling pigment is still to be applied. I have to offer some account of those affinities with Near Eastern poetry which have struck many scholars—almost all, in fact, who have cast an eye at the oriental texts—and of which I have recently written that they 'now clamour for attention from Homerists'.[105]

The observed parallels are chiefly with Sumero-Akkadian, Hurrian–Hittite, and Ugaritic narrative poetry. Some of them are of a general character and relate to compositional technique and conventions of style: alternation between the divine world and the human; treating the gods as a corporation who feast and debate together and who argue among themselves with some vigour; large use of direct speech, with formulae for introducing it; messengers who repeat their message in full as they have been given it; appeals by a god to a higher god to take action concerning a hero; dreams and prophecies; similes (including some extended ones), especially from lions, leopards, bulls, etc.[106] Other parallels are more specific, ranging from the formular to the thematic level.[107] It is noteworthy that most of them relate to attributes or activities of the gods. It is hardly going too far to say that the whole picture of the gods in the *Iliad* is oriental. At any rate it has far more in common with the picture presented in oriental poetry from the second millennium than with either the religion of the Aryans or that of archaic and classical Greece.

It is not easy to avoid the conclusion that at some stage of its history the Greek epic tradition has been strongly influenced by contacts with the eastern tradition. Suitable historical conditions for such influence to occur would have existed in the Mycenaean age

[105] In reviewing Burkert, *Die orientalisierende Epoche*, *JHS* 106 (1986), 234.

[106] See L. A. Stella, *Il poema di Ulisse* (Florence 1955), 107–23, 134–47, 157–68, 195–248; *Tradizione micenea e poesia dell'Iliade* (Rome 1978), 88, 362–8, 374–91; Webster (as n. 57), 69–76; Burkert (as n. 36), 114–20.

[107] See (e.g.) C. H. Gordon, *AJA* 56 (1952), 93 f.; Webster, 82–8; I. McNeill, *Anatolian Studies* 13 (1963), 238 f.; E. Ullendorff, *Bull. John Rylands Library* 46 (1963/4), 242–7; P. Considine, *SMEA* 8 (1969), 85–159; M. Maróth, *Acta antiqua* 23 (1975), 65–76; Stella, *Trad. mic. e poesia dell'Il.* 96, 122 f.; Miller (as n. 75), 16–21; Burkert in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century BC* (Stockholm 1983), 51–6, and (as n. 36), 88–106.

before about 1100, and again in the ninth and eighth centuries. Webster and Stella assumed that it was the Mycenaean period that was decisive. When Webster wrote, it was not appreciated how early Graeco-oriental contacts started to grow again after the Dark Age; the 'orientalizing period' seemed to fall too late to be connected with any major reshaping of Homeric epic. This constraint no longer binds us. Even if we suppose the orientalization of epic to have been completed by 750 (which is not demonstrable), there is still a good century and a half available if we wish to diagnose it as a post-Dark Age development.

Nor is it necessary to opt for one period to the exclusion of the other. Eastern influence may have operated both during the Mycenaean period and after 900. Some things in Homer look both oriental and early. The pattern of speeches with their framing formulae, so like the Hittite

> (And) X to Y (words) (again) began to speak . . .
> (And) when X (Y's) words had heard,[108]

must be quite an old feature of Greek epic; if *προσηύδα* in the formula *ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα* has replaced *ποταύδα*, that takes us back at least to the Aeolic phase. The antiquity of lion similes, at least of the short type, is implied by the linguistic antiquity of phrases such as *ἐν-ἀντίον ὦρτο λέων ὥς*, *λέων ὥς ἄλτο θύραζε*, *λέων ὡς ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς* (cf. above p. 157 on I[170] *ὥς*). The formula *νεφεληγέρετα Ζεύς* also has an archaic appearance, but the title seems to be borrowed from a title of Baal in Ugaritic epic, *rkb 'rpt*, which can be interpreted either as 'cloud-gatherer' or as 'cloud-rider'.[109] 'Father of gods and men' may be a similar case. The Vedic Dyauḥ is invoked as 'father', various individual gods are called his son or daughter, and he and Pṛthivī (Earth) are together twice called parents of the gods. But the Greek formula has closer parallels in Sumerian ('father of gods and men', of the moon-god Sin), Hittite ('father of the gods', of Kumarbi), and Ugaritic ('father of gods', 'father of men', both of El).[110] 'Broad-wayed' (*εὐρυάγυια*) as an

[108] McNeill (as n. 107), 238; cf. Gordon, *AJA* 56 (1952), 93; Webster, 74; Stella, *Trad. mic. e poesia dell'Il.*, 363.

[109] Ullendorff (as n. 107), 243 f.; S. P. Brock, *Vetus Testamentum* 18 (1968), 395–7; Maróth (as n. 107), 68.

[110] McNeill (as n. 107), 239; Ullendorff (as n. 107), 246; Burkert (as n. 36), 116. Óðin is 'father of all gods and men' in Snorri, *Gylfaginning* 9, cf. 20.



epithet of cities (mostly Troy, also Mycene and Athens) is certainly not Indo-European, as the Indo-Europeans had no cities; it corresponds to *Uruk rebītim* 'broad-marted Uruk' in *Gilgameš* (Old Babylonian version). Similarly 'wally Tiryns', 'well-walled Ilios' correspond to *Uruk supūri* 'ramparted Uruk',[111] and 'steep Ilios' to 'steep Wilusa' in a Luwian fragment.[112] All these formulae must have been established in Greek epic before the Ionian phase.

On the other hand it is hard to believe that the extensive thematic parallels with oriental texts all reflect Mycenaean borrowings that were faithfully preserved through five centuries or so of Greek tradition: the destruction of mankind to relieve the earth from the burden of overpopulation; a debate scene in which an angry hero makes to raise his weapon but is physically restrained by two goddesses; a hero who appeals to his divine mother to intercede with a higher god on his behalf (and she, in doing so, laments her son's danger-courting nature); the goddess of love crying and complaining to her parents, Sky and Mrs Sky, of maltreatment by a mortal, and receiving an unsympathetic response from her father; a goddess dressing up in fine clothes and jewellery made by the gods' smith, in preparation for an amorous encounter; this smith (who uses bellows and tongs, and works with precious metals, and builds houses for the gods) making special weapons for a hero at the request of the hero's parent; the divine messenger who takes his staff in his hand and puts his shoes on his feet; the hero who at the death of his beloved companion tears his hair and clothes and rages in the night 'like a lion deprived of its cubs', and is visited by the companion's spirit coming up from the nether world, and embraces it, and learns the meaning of death. There is a freshness and vividness about all this as it appears in the *Iliad* which suggests that it is comparatively modern material; the analysts in their day classed most of it as 'young'. It is not associated with the 'old' heroes such as Ajax and Nestor but above all with Achilles and Patroklos; in the *Odyssey* also with Odysseus, but in the context of an untraditional set of adventures. I believe that Burkert is right to treat it in the context of an 'orientalizing period' conceived not merely as an archaeological phase but as a time when Greek culture as a whole received important new stimuli from the Levant—new religious ideas and practices, new technical skills, alphabetic writing, and more.

[111] Calvert Watkins, *Selected Writings* (Innsbruck 1994–2008), ii. 713–17.

The route is now moderately clear. It was from the shores of Syria and Cilicia by way of Cyprus and either Rhodes or Crete, not to the Ionians of Asia Minor, who lagged behind in oriental contacts, but towards Attica and above all, as we know today, Euboea. From the tenth century onwards oriental artefacts—Assyrian, Syro-Palestinian, Egyptian, Cypriot—were reaching Euboea, and Euboean pottery was arriving in Cyprus and Tyre. By the late ninth century there were apparently Phoenician craftsmen resident in Euboea as well as in Crete and Attica,[112] and the trading station at Al Mina had been set up; the earliest pottery from the site is Euboean. After about 760 there is a conspicuous increase in Greek contacts with the east. Euboea is again among the progressive and prosperous regions, importing Cypriot ceramic and Phoenician scarabs, importing or imitating oriental wares, and sending its own merchandise to Cyprus and Al Mina.

If there was anywhere where eastern mythological poetry might have run up against Greek l[171] in the generations before Homer, it was Euboea—just where, as I have argued, the old Greek heroic tradition was entering a marvellous new creative phase between the late tenth and the mid-eighth century. The combination becomes yet more compelling when we recall the phenomenon of Hesiod, who, even more than Homer, shows the extraordinary extent to which these oriental currents were able to affect a Greek poet who happened to stand in their way. His whole *Theogony* is built on the framework of an oriental history of the gods, his whole *Works and Days* on the pattern of an oriental wisdom poem, his myth of Ages is oriental (and Iron Age), and so are the calendrical superstitions of his *Days*. In my youthful edition of the *Theogony* I argued that the Succession Myth was a Mycenaean import, but in my middle-aged edition of the *Works and Days* I moved away from this view.[113] I stressed that Hesiod was writing in an Ionian poetic tradition, and I nominated Euboea as the proximate source from which this tradition was likely to become known in Boeotia. The theogonic allusions in the *Iliad*, 1. 396–406, 14. 201–7, 246, 15. 187–93, while differing from

[112] J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, 56, 66, 80, 100, and in H. G. Niemeyer (ed.), *Phönizier im Westen* (= *Madrider Beiträge* 8, Mainz 1982), 261–72.

[113] *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 28 f., cf. *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford 1971), 205; *Hesiod, Works and Days* (Oxford 1978), 27–30, 177; cf. *Actes du X^e congrès de l'assoc. Guillaume Budé, Toulouse 8–12 avril 1978* (Paris 1980), 117 f.



Hesiod's account, are equally oriental,[114] and to be seen as part of the same wave of cultural influence.

But how was this influence transmitted from one poetic tradition to another across the language barrier? There is no doubt that such transfers can occur between neighbouring traditions, even when the languages involved are not closely related. One may think of the passage of material and motifs from Serbo-Croat to Albanian epic in recent centuries, from German to French in the Middle Ages, from Sumerian to Akkadian to Hurrian to Hittite in the second millennium BCE. But how? I see no alternative to the assumption of a certain number of bilingual poets, probably easterners who had settled in Greece and learned to compose epic in the Greek manner. We are after all dealing with the transfer not merely of mythical themes and story patterns but of specific poetic techniques, including verbal formulae and similes embedded in a particular context. The first poet who described Achilles raging over Patroklos' body 'like a lion whose cubs have been stolen', and later embracing his friend's ghost, must surely have been acquainted with the *Epic of Gilgāmeš*.[115] This poem had been widely known in the Near East for many centuries, and translated into several languages. It also provides the model for the episode in *Iliad* 5 where Aphrodite complains to Zeus and Dione of her maltreatment by Diomedes.[116] In other instances we seem to detect close relationships between Homeric or Hesiodic passages and other 'classic' Babylonian texts such as *Atraḫasīs* and *Enūma eliš*.[117] To account for them we must surely postulate poets educated in the Levant who subsequently became Hellenized and practised in Greece. This is exactly parallel to what a number of archaeologists have been concluding for some time about immigrant Phoenician jewellers and metalworkers in the ninth century. J. N. Coldstream has written:

[114] Burkert in Hägg (as n. 107), 53–5, and (as n. 36), 88–96, 104–6.

[115] Probably in its Assyrian form, where the narrative that included the ghost episode, originally a separate Sumerian poem, is incorporated with the main epic as Tablet XII.

[116] Considine (as n. 107), 88–91, 147; G. K. Gresseth, *CJ* 70 (1975), 14 n. 24; Burkert (as n. 36), 96–100. Aphrodite, 'the Cyprian', is herself an oriental immigrant in the Homeric pantheon, probably post-Mycenaean. Cf. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass. 1985), 152–4. Hers is one of the few Homeric names that involves Attic correption.

[117] Burkert in Hägg (as n. 107), 53 f., and (as n. 36), 88–94.

We need not suppose that these eastern craftsmen dwelt apart from the local population, working in exclusive guilds; on the contrary, to judge from the speed with which their techniques were assimilated in Attica and Crete, there is every reason to think that they at once shared their expertise with their Greek pupils, merging quite quickly with their new environment, and eventually passing on their craft to their Hellenized sons and grandsons.[118]

[172] Burkert in *Die orientalisierende Epoche* (*The Orientalizing Revolution*) has enlarged the picture to include seers and healers, priests and charismatics. We need not necessarily set up a separate category of poets. Even a priest or a jeweller might learn how to compose hexameter verse.

We are accustomed to think of the Greek epic tradition as being highly conservative. In many respects it was, as is shown by the numerous features of language, metre, style, and content preserved from Mycenaean times and earlier. But we must also reckon with a considerable degree of innovation and transformation, especially, I suggest, in the final Ionian phase that brought the epic to its astonishing acme in the eighth and seventh centuries. Cross-fertilization with oriental poetry brought about a dramatic mutation in the way the gods were handled. Other innovations may have been caused by the new success and popularity of epic itself: I have in mind the epicization of what had been cult myths or folktales. Legends of heroes overcoming monsters were dressed up in hexameters; travellers' tales from far and wide, of being marooned on an island with a beautiful nymph, of outwitting a one-eyed giant or a brace of seductive Sirens, were not only epicized but attached to a hero of the Trojan War and put in a relationship with that war.

Not all of this development need be thought of as taking place in Euboea. From the mid-eighth century the new epic became Panhellenic, its dialect and conventions now fixed and available for imitation by poets everywhere. The *Odyssey* might well be a Euboean poem. (Where else would a poet be likely to imagine *Euboea* as the Phaeacians' furthest horizon, 7. 321–6?) But the poet of the *Iliad*, to all appearances, lived in Asia Minor. The *Cypria*'s title, *τὰ Κύπρια* (*ἔπη*), proclaims it to have come from Cyprus, and a Cypriot was

[118] In Niemeyer (as n. 112), 268. On the same page he refers to a gold diadem from the Teke treasure found in a tomb at Knossos, 'perhaps made locally, but wholly oriental in style and theme: two Mesopotamian heroes, perhaps Gilgamesh and Enkidu, stand back to back as each one slays a lioness' (cf. his pls. 26 f).



named as its author. Other epics were attributed to poets from Miletus, Mytilene, Corinth, Troezen, Lacedaemon, and elsewhere. Whether the ascriptions can be taken at face value, whether even 'Homer' is the name of a real poet,[173] cannot be considered here. But it is clear that epic was no longer the regional phenomenon that it had been during the Dark Age and the earlier Geometric period. Its final maturity was a national glory.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. But see below, Chapter 18, and *The Making of the Iliad* (Oxford 2011), 264.
2. This section represents a preliminary exercise for what became my book *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007).
3. On this phenomenon see my paper in A. Bierl, A. Schmitt, and A. Willi (edd.), *Antike Literatur in neuer Deutung* (Festschrift für Joachim Latacz anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstags, München–Leipzig 2004), 33–49), and *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 117–19.
4. *θρόνος*, however, may not have contained a sonant *r*; see D. Haug, *Les Phases de l'évolution de la langue épique* (Gottingen 2002), 57 f.
5. Note that the apparent metrical anomaly is eliminated in the presumably later formula *θεόφιν μήστωρ ἀτάλαντος*.
6. In fact *i-e-re-u-* is also found.
7. Meriones' name may = *maryannu*, a Hurrian word (from an Indo-Aryan root) that spread all over the Near East in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries as the designation of the elite chariot warrior: F. Schachermeyr, *Atti e Memorie del I Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia* (Rome 1968), 306. See indexes in *CAH*[3] ii parts 1 and 2 s.v. *mariyanna*. It occurs as a personal name at U'garit (which traded with Crete).
8. Against this, the presence of *Drdny* as Hittite allies at the Battle of Qadesh in 1275 implies that they were already settled in Asia Minor at that time.
9. This actually means 'Uruk (of) the sheepfold'.
10. See below, Chapter 28.

# 5

# The Descent of the Greek Epic: A Reply

In *JHS* 110 (1990), 174–7, Dr John Chadwick expresses scepticism about certain lines of argument followed in my article 'The Rise of the Greek Epic' (*JHS* 108 (1988), 151–72 [=above, Chapter 4]). . . . [A few lines omitted here.]

His first point is that the spelling conventions of our text of Homer (use of *ει* and *ου* for long *ε* and *ο*, elimination of qoppa, etc.) cannot go as far back as the seventh century. The text therefore underwent 'various modernisations' before reaching the Alexandrian editors. In this process, he claims, forms such as *κως*, *ὅκου*, if Homer had used them, would have been replaced by *πως*, *ὅπου*, so that there is no force in my argument that the absence of the *κ* forms aligns epic Ionic with Central or West Ionic as opposed to the Ionic of Asia Minor.

Chadwick fails to distinguish between orthography and phonology. To replace *ϙορε* by *κούρη*, *χσενος* by *ξεῖνος*, etc., is merely a matter of spelling. There is no doubt that modernizations of this sort must have occurred in the Homeric tradition, even though we do not know what kind of alphabet was used in the original written text. But to replace *κως* by *πως* is not a matter of spelling—*π* is not another way of writing *κ*—it is a substantive change from one dialect form to another. That a change of this sort was effected in the pre-Alexandrian written tradition is an unsubstantiated hypothesis, and one that raises awkward questions. *Why* should *κως* and *κου* be changed to *πως* and *που*, when they were perfectly familiar as 'Ionic' forms from Herodotus and other authors? Why were they *not* changed in Callinus, Mimnermus, Semonides, Hipponax, and Anacreon?[1] If we

*JHS* 112 (1992), 173–5.

[1] Cf. p. 166 of my article.



did not know where these poets came from, we could infer correctly from their use of *κ* forms that they came from the East Ionic area,[2] by contrast with Archilochus, Tyrtaeus, Theognis, and Solon, who have *π* forms. Why should this criterion be deemed inapplicable to the epic dialect?

Chadwick writes: 'West might have supported his thesis of a Euboean origin for the Homeric text by pointing to the aspiration which is guaranteed by consonant changes resulting from contact with initial aspirate (type *τίφθ' οὕτως*). Psilosis is normal in East Ionic, but the aspirate is partially preserved in Central Ionic and fully in West Ionic.' I must point out firstly that I was not arguing for 'a Euboean origin for the Homeric text',[3] but for 'Euboea as the area in which the epic language acquired its definitive and normative form' (my p. 166). Chadwick then proceeds to attack the argument I did not use in support of the thesis I did not propound: 'But aspiration in Homer is quite obviously the consequence of editorial interference with the tradition, so that this proves nothing about the origin of the text.' Actually the question of aspiration and psilosis in Homer is more complex than he implies. I dealt with it briefly, and I think sufficiently for my purposes, on my p. 163.

The usefulness of linguistic features as pointers to the past would indeed be diminished if, as Chadwick supposes, some generations of oral transmission intervened between 'the monumental composer' and the establishment of a complete written text, which he thinks only happened towards the end of the sixth century. This is of course the theory of G. S. Kirk, and it was courteously demolished by Adam Parry a quarter [174] of a century ago.[4] I do not see why Chadwick finds 'further evidence' for it in the phenomenon of diectasis (*ὁρόω*, *ὁράαν*, *φόως*, etc.). I agree with him that these 'spellings', as he calls them, represent the actual pronunciation of rhapsodes; but why not of Homer?

It is well known that metrical and prosodic anomalies in Homer

[2] Amorgos belongs here as a Samian colony.

[3] I did suggest that the *Odyssey* might be a Euboean poem, but I made it clear that I believe the *Iliad* to have been composed in Asia Minor (p. 172).

[4] 'Have we Homer's Iliad?', *YCS* 20 (1966), 175–216, reprinted in J. Latacz (ed.), *Homer. Tradition und Neuerung* (Darmstadt 1979), 428–66, and in A. M. Parry, *The Language of Achilles and Other Papers* (Oxford 1989), 104–40. Cf. M. L. West, 'Archaische Heldendichtung: Singen und Schreiben', in W. Kullmann and M. Reichel (edd.), *Der Übergang von der Mündlichkeit zur Literatur bei den Griechen* (Tübingen 1990), 33–50 [English version below, Chapter 14].

often disappear when we replace linguistic forms of the transmitted text by the older ones from which they evolved. Early verse inscriptions such as the Ischia cup[5] show that many such anomalies had already come into being by the late eighth century. Chadwick thinks it reasonable to assume that all previous eras were equally tolerant of 'loose metrical practices', and he infers that it is not justified to argue back from metrically irregular formulas to older forms that would have been regular. Thus he disputes the usual assumption that *Ἰλίου προπάροιθεν* and *Αἰόλου κλυτὰ δώματα* go back to *Ἰλίοο* and *Αἰόλοο*. He says that this view 'has been somewhat damaged by the revelation that Mycenaean knew only a genitive in *-οιο*'. I cannot detect any damage. No one, I think, maintained the *-οο* genitive to be Mycenaean. It is the logical intermediate stage between earlier *-οιο* and later *-ου*. It might have happened that when the intervocalic *ι* disappeared, the two short o's immediately merged into a long one. But the Homeric evidence points clearly to the existence of a phase at which poets used uncontracted *-οο*. Chadwick regards *Ἰλίου* and *Αἰόλου* as examples of a licence to treat names scanning – ∪ – as – – –. There is evidence of this in inscriptions where an awkward name had to be accommodated. But anyone who seeks to account for Homer's *Ἰλίου* and *Αἰόλου* in this way must explain:

(*a*) why the licence is only used in the genitive singular (eighteen instances, not only proper names but also various nouns and adjectives); why never molossic *Ἰλίωι*, *Δαρδάνων*, *δυσμενής*, etc.? And

(*b*) why the following word almost always begins with two consonants, if not to lengthen the second o of *-οο*. In two of the three exceptions the following word begins *μεγα-*, which is equally capable of lengthening a preceding short open syllable. The remaining case is *Iliad* 2. 731, *Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε*.

It cannot be fortuitous that metrical irregularities *in formulas* constantly resolve themselves when antecedent forms are reconstructed. In some cases we have to go back a long way, even to forms earlier than those represented in the Linear B documents. We should welcome this evidence for the age of the epic tradition, which is consistent with the findings of Homeric archaeology. Chadwick

[5] *CEG* 454; see P. A. Hansen's addenda and corrigenda in *CEG* ii (304), where Risch's supplement (favoured by Chadwick) is refuted.



himself seems to accept that the tradition goes back to the Mycenaean period.

He is more doubtful about the thesis that an Indo-European tradition lies behind it. He emphasizes that the hexameter, so far as our evidence goes, appears to be a Greek invention. I never suggested otherwise. The hypothesis of a continuity of poetic tradition from Indo-European times is not understood by its many adherents as excluding changes of metre. On the other hand, when Chadwick writes, 'To prove that poetry existed among the undivided Indo-European peoples we should need to demonstrate the existence of similar metres, or at least similar metrical phrases in at least two traditions', he is stating a requirement that has long been satisfied. Only a few lines earlier he has cited Meillet's monograph *Les Origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs*, where the strong similarities of Vedic and Aeolic metres were pointed out. Meillet's work has been successfully extended by Roman Jakobson, Calvert Watkins, Gregory Nagy, and others. Perhaps Chadwick, like G. Zuntz, is unimpressed by Meillet's comparisons.[6] If so, he should try to convince us that they are invalid, not speak as if nothing of the kind had ever been published.

As for the comparison of poetic phrases in different national traditions, he again ignores most of what his fellow philologists have done in this field. He mentions only the 'hoary example' of *κλέος ἄφθιτον* ~ Vedic *śrávo . . . ákṣitam*, calling it 'almost unique'. 'The coincidence is striking', he concedes, 'but we should surely demand a string of such coincidences before accepting . . .' Anyone acquainted with the literature cited on my p. 152, nn. 6–7, will know that such strings are available.

Chadwick's concluding remarks on dialectal developments in Greek are somewhat elliptical, and it is not entirely clear to me what in my arguments is being criticized. If the implication is that I have assumed the dialect groupings of the first millennium to be equally valid for the second, or that I am unaware that in identifying regional elements in the epic language one must distinguish between inherited archaism and innovation, I plead not guilty.

[6] G. Zuntz, *Drei Kapitel zur griechischen Metrik* (Österr. Akad. Sitzungsber. 443 (1984)) 12 n. 10. Zuntz asserts that the Indian metres adduced are 'so variabel, dass sich für jede denkbare Form eine Parallele finden dürfte'. I cannot agree. They have characteristic rhythms which make a verse easily recognizable as such, and Meillet's comparisons are based on standard, not aberrant forms.

A second paper written in reaction to my article appears in the present volume: W. F. Wyatt, 'Homer's Linguistic Forebears'. By courtesy of the author and the editor I have been granted a preview and the opportunity to respond. I will content myself with a few points and, for the rest, leave it to our readers' discernment to judge between Professor Wyatt's interpretation of the facts and mine.

My view of the development of the epic tradition is not quite so compartmentalized as Wyatt makes it appear. I do not conceive of Mycenaean culture and Mycenaean epic as being confined to the Peloponnese, and while I speak of an accretion of epic themes from the south to a late Mycenaean Thessalian poetic tradition, I do not think in terms of a specific migration of bards in the context of some refugee movement. Nor do I imagine a 'translation' from Achaean into Aeolic. The differences between Achaean (if this is taken to mean the language of the pre-Dorian Peloponnese) and Aeolic [175] (the language of Boeotia and Thessaly) will still have been quite small at the period in question. Such regional differences as existed in speech would naturally be reflected in local uses of the epic language, and in Thessaly the epic language naturally took on Aeolic features as they developed.

Wyatt maintains that there never was an Aeolic epic, on the grounds that it 'has not left a trace', that we do not hear of any pre-Homeric Lesbian poets (but then, we do not hear of any Ionian ones either), and that there is no hint of any epic poetry lying behind Sappho and Alcaeus, 'save reminiscences of Homer'. Even if the screen were as blank as he suggests, it would prove nothing: there would be no difficulty in the hypothesis that a Lesbian epic tradition flourished in the eleventh, tenth, or ninth century but had died out by the seventh. But I must once again draw attention to the Lesbian poets' *Πέρραμος* and *Πέραμος*, forms that could only have developed in a Lesbian tradition of poetry about Troy, the first by the regular Lesbian sound-change */CριV/>/CερρV/*, the second by accommodation of the new form to formulas requiring the original scansion with short initial syllable.[7]

Wyatt does not deny that there are Aeolic and even Doric forms in the epic language. The question is how they got there. His notion

[7] Cf. *CQ* 23 (1973), 191; *JHS* 108 (1988), 163 n. 79, where I point out that this sound-change must have been completed relatively late, after *Πρίαμος* had become established in Ionian poetry.



is that Ionian poets brought them in deliberately, partly to replace 'difficult' archaisms (but why should an Ionian audience have found *ἄμμες* and *ἀμός* easier than **ἦμές* and **ἦμός*?), partly for thematic reasons (Thessalian Achilles, action situated around Lesbos, Lesbian spoken not far from the Troad). This is to attribute to the bards a measure of linguistic self-consciousness and artifice worthy of the Alexandrians. We are asked to imagine an Ionian poet who, in retailing a story of Thessalian Centaurs, takes it into his head to call them *Φῆρες* instead of *Κένταυροι* without there having been any Aeolic poetic tradition to supply him with this gloss. No. Thessalian mythology, reference to Lesbos in the context of the Trojan War, and interest in Troy itself are not merely contingent phenomena that encouraged an Ionian epic tradition to sprout a few Aeolisms: they themselves point to prior Aeolic epic, and the linguistic Aeolisms point with them. Why fight it?

# 6

# Immortal Helen

Euripides' *Helen* is set after the end of the Trojan War. Helen has not, however, come away from Troy; nor is she in Troy. For the play is based on the thesis that she never went to Troy in her life, but was miraculously transported to Egypt at the time of her supposed abduction and remained there till after the war was over. What Paris took to Troy with him, what the Greeks fought for for ten years, according to this story, was a mere phantom substituted by the gods. The real Helen was innocent of all infidelity.

In his latter years Euripides was capable of writing plays in which, while the characters were taken from mythology, the plots were invented from beginning to end. The plot of the *Helen* is largely his invention. But the story that Helen went to Egypt instead of Troy and was replaced by a facsimile was not invented by Euripides. It was told a century earlier by Stesichorus, to say nothing of a dubious testimony that the phantom went back to 'Hesiod'.[1] Herodotus argues that even Homer knew the tale that Helen spent the war years in Egypt, but suppressed it as being unsuitable for his epic. There is a passage in the *Iliad* which refers to Paris' having brought her to Troy by way of Sidon, and Herodotus—justifiably—points to this as evidence that Homer knew of wanderings in eastern waters.[2] In the

Inaugural Lecture, Bedford College, London, delivered on 29 [*sic*] April 1975 and published by Bedford College. I omit the first few introductory paragraphs. The text begins on p. 4.

[1] Stes. *PMGF* 192–3; [Hes.] fr. 358. On the Stesichorean version see C. M. Bowra, *CR* 13, 1963, 248 ff. = *On Greek Margins* (Oxford 1970), 91 ff.; A. M. Dale *Euripides Helen* (Oxford 1967), xix–xxiii.

[2] *Il.* 6. 289–92; Hdt. 2. 116. In Herodotus' account, which is a rationalized version of Stesichorus', Helen accompanies Paris as far as Egypt and is there arrested and interned by King Proteus. On this see D. Fehling, *Herodotus and his 'Sources'* (Leeds 1989), 59–65.



*Odyssey* and the 1st Epic Cycle, Menelaus and Helen spend seven whole years in Egypt and nearby regions on their way home after the war. So even in the Homeric poems, although Helen does go to Troy, it is from Egypt that she comes back to Sparta.[3] That is to say, the oldest tradition available to us knows of her stay in the land of the Nile. Some say she went there as well as going to Troy, others say she went there instead of going to Troy: everyone says she went there. Some say she went with Paris, some say she went with Menelaus, some say she went by herself: everyone says she went.

What lies behind this persistent tradition, which seems to have no organic connection with the saga of Troy? I have a theory which I should like to put before you and which I hope you may find it diverting to digest together with your tea. Whether or not it is right, the investigation of the question will give me the opportunity to call your attention to some interesting and little-known facts; and I shall feel I have done as much as can be asked of a lecturer if a few of you go on your way, as the Sirens claim that their listeners go, 'entertained and knowing more'.

In Greece generally, Helen belonged to mythology as an early queen of Sparta. But at Sparta itself she belonged to religion. She was worshipped there as a goddess. She had two shrines, the chief of which stood on the site of a Mycenaean palace shrine. She was associated with trees, in particular the plane-tree.[4] There is reason to believe that her wedding, which in the general tradition appears as a historical event, was a recurring festival at Sparta, celebrated in spring or early summer by a company of girls who hung garlands on her holy tree and poured olive oil on the ground at its foot.[5] She was also worshipped on the island of Rhodes, under the title 'Helen of the Tree', Helena Dendritis. There was a story that she actually hanged herself on a tree there. This was no doubt invented to explain a cult practice of hanging her image on a tree.

[3] *Od.* 3. 299–312, 4. 81–9, 125–32, 227–32, 351–586, 618–9; Proclus' summary of the *Nostoi*.

[4] Sam Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig 1893), 340 ff.; M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*[2] (Lund 1950), 528–31; *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig 1906), 426 ff.; *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* i[3] (Munich 1967), 315.

[5] Theoc. 18. 43–8 implies these acts by giving what is evidently meant as their aition, and the context of the poem indicates their connection with Helen's nuptials. If the ὑάκινθος of line 2 is the *orchis quadripunctata* (Gow on 10. 28), it flowers in April and May.

Now, if the mythical queen corresponds to a Spartan goddess, and her mythical marriage corresponds to a Spartan ritual marriage of the goddess, it is not far-fetched to suppose that the story of her abduction and subsequent recovery likewise corresponds to something in the Spartan religious calendar: to a temporary absence of the goddess. Scholars have long since made this supposition,[6] and a number of considerations support it. Firstly, the abduction of a goddess who is associated with seasonal growth has a clear parallel in the myth of Persephone the corn-maiden, who was abducted by Pluto and because of that, ever since, has had to spend a third of every year in the underworld. Secondly, the myth of Helen's abduction is not solely connected with Paris and Troy. There was also a story that she was carried off by Theseus.[7] Here she is not married to Menelaus or [6] anyone else, but a virgin (like Persephone). The fact that she is taken away, then, is something more basic and essential to the myth than her marital status or the identity of her abductor. Theseus' involvement, however, is significant, because he is also involved in stories of two other abductions or attempted abductions of goddesses. One of these is none other than Persephone. Theseus went down to the underworld with his friend Pirithous to try to obtain her as his or Pirithous' wife; but the enterprise was not a success.[8] The other is Ariadne, who eloped with Theseus from her home in Crete. Like Helen, she has been made into a mortal princess by the storytellers, but we know that she was worshipped as a goddess in several places, and she is now generally regarded as an old Minoan nature-divinity.[9] Thus we have a series of overlapping myths. Persephone is abducted by Pluto. Persephone is abducted, or nearly so, by Theseus and Pirithous. Ariadne is abducted by Theseus. Helen is abducted by Theseus. Helen is abducted by Paris. They are all variations on one theme.

This is all well known; and there is no room for doubt about the relationship between the Spartan goddess and the errant queen of epic legend. It is not that the Spartans celebrated the memory of an

[6] M. P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Berkeley 1932), 75; cf. H. Usener, *Sitz.-Ber. Österr. Ak.* 187(3), 1897, 12.
[7] Alcm. *PMGF* 21, Stes. *PMGF* 191, Pind. fr. 258, etc. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* v(2). 116 f.
[8] *Minyas* frr. 1 and 7 = [Hes.] fr. 280, Critias *TrGF* 43 F 1 ff., Isoc. 10. 20, etc.
[9] Nilsson, *Min.-Myc. Rel.*, 523–8, *Gesch.* i. 314 f.; my note on Hes. *Th.* 949.



adulteress who caused a long and ruinous war by elevating her into a goddess and associating her for some reason best known to themselves with trees, while the Rhodians, whose queen she had never been, independently did the same. No, it is that an old nature goddess, of a type represented in classical times only by scattered survivals, came to be remembered by most Greeks just as someone exceptionally beautiful who was abducted from Sparta, by Theseus, Paris, or whoever, and afterwards brought back again. The story was more interesting and more readily disseminated than the cult that it originally belonged to. So Helen sank to the status of a mortal; was given a place in the heroic age; and was brought into connection with the saga of the Trojan War. The excavation of the city of Troy has given us reason to believe that the story of the war had some basis in historical fact. But Helen must be excluded from it. It remains possible, and some romantics like to believe, that the war was fought over a woman; but if so, it was not Helen of Sparta. This was not, after all, the face that launched those thousand ships.

It is time to consider her stay in Egypt. It seems to me altogether unlikely that anyone should have invented this story after she had become attached to Troy. Egypt is not by any stretch of the imagination on the way between Sparta and Troy—it is like sailing from Southampton to Calais by way of northern Spain—and Helen's arrival in Egypt is accommodated in the Trojan saga only by having Paris or Menelaus blown a very long way off course, or else by [7] separating her from both of them. It makes better sense to suppose that the Egypt story existed earlier, before Helen's attachment to the Trojan War, and so had to be worked in with it. It makes better sense to suppose that it was originally a quite independent story, unconnected with the Trojan War, and that it was in fact simply another version of the myth of the Disappearing Goddess. In Stesichorus it was bound up with the fact of Helen's divinity. He had previously sung of her going to Troy with Paris, as in the Homeric account, and she, the goddess Helen, punished him, so it is said, by striking him blind. When he produced a new cantata denying the Homeric account and affirming that she never boarded Paris' ship and was in Egypt throughout the war, he recovered his sight. The Egypt story, then, was the goddess's version; and since it was principally in Sparta that the goddess flourished, it may have been a Spartan version. There is other evidence that Stesichorus visited

Sparta, sang before a Spartan prince, and adopted Spartan accounts of certain matters.[10]

If the visit to Egypt originally existed independently of the Trojan saga, how was it explained? Was it an abduction, or what? There are different possibilities. One curious feature of the usual legend is that Helen's lover has two alternative names, Paris or Alexander, Alexander being in Homer four times as frequent as Paris. Nilsson suggested that he had two names because two separate myths had been conflated: Paris, which does not look like a Greek name, was the name of the Trojan prince, and Alexander, which does look like a Greek name, was the name of the person who abducted the goddess in the older cult myth.[11] This may be on the right lines, except that Hittite tablets show that there really was a prince with a name very like Alexander who lived in a town with a name rather like Ilios round about 1300 BCE. So the Trojan prince may have been Alexander from the start; if so, the name Paris is available for the abductor of the goddess, and one possibility is that it was he who took her to Egypt. But another possibility is that no one took her, that she just went to visit the Egyptians. There are other examples of gods whose absences are explained by saying that they have gone to visit a people in some remote part of the earth. In Homer, Zeus and the other gods go from time to time to feast with the Aethiopians. Until they come back, they are unavailable. These Aethiopians do not live in the country now called Ethiopia but at the eastern and western extremities of the world, beside the river that was supposed to encircle the earth. Another example, which actually involves a seasonal disappearance, is Apollo's desertion of Delphi every winter to visit the Hyperboreans in the far north. However, the Aethiopians and Hyperboreans are both mythical peoples, situated right outside man's ken, whereas Egypt for the Greeks is very much part of the known [illegible] world. We seem to need some more particular explanation of why Helen might suitably depart in that direction.

First we must take account of some remarkable facts about her which have not yet been mentioned. She is the daughter of Zeus, the

[10] *ZPE* 4 (1969), 146–9. One of the chief relevant texts, P. Oxy. 2735 fr. 1, has been ascribed by Sir Denys Page with increasing confidence to Ibycus (*PCPS* 15 (1969), 71; 17 (1971), 89–94; *SLG* no. 166 (*PMGF* p. 248)). He is not otherwise associated with Sparta, and the close metrical similarity between the fragment and Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* seems to me to outweigh Page's arguments.

[11] *Homer and Mycenae* (London 1933), 252; more cautiously, *Gesch.* i. 476 n. 1.



highest of the gods, even in the tradition which makes her a mortal, although no other mortal woman can claim Zeus as a father. To make love to her mother Leda, he took the form of a swan, and Leda accordingly laid an egg (large), out of which Helen hatched. Or in a different version the mother is Nemesis, who changes into many shapes to try and avoid Zeus but is taken by him when she is in the form of a goose.[12] Another important thing about Helen is that she has two brothers, twin brothers, Castor and Polydeuces, the Dioscuri or Sons of Zeus, commonly worshipped as gods. Their outstanding characteristic is that they ride everywhere on horses or on a horse-drawn chariot. Alcman calls them the 'masters of swift colts, skilled horsemen'; Alcaeus addresses them as 'Castor and Polydeuces, who go over all the broad earth and sea on your swift-footed horses'; in the Homeric Hymns they are 'riders on swift steeds'. Their outstanding function is that they rescue men from danger, especially those in peril on the sea, but also those at war. They often bear the title Protectors, *Anak(t)es*, or Saviours, *Sōtēres*.

The Dioscuri and Helen represent the rarest thing in Greek mythology, but a thing which has every right to be found there: a nugget of Indo-European mythology, preserved from a time long before the Hellenes came to Greece.[13] No other hypothesis can explain their detailed similarities to figures who appear in the mythologies of two other peoples remote both from the Greeks and from each other, both speakers of Indo-European languages of a particularly archaic and conservative character, and thus peoples who might be expected, if any do, to have preserved elements of the most ancient beliefs of the Indo-European communities. The source-texts for these mythologies are on the one hand the hymns of the *Rigveda*, which are older than any surviving Greek poetry, and on the other hand the folk-songs of Latvia. Latvia is a part of Europe that remained fully pagan till the thirteenth century; and although it then came under German domination, the social gulf between the Lettish people and their German masters was such that side by side with the written literature created by the German clergy from the sixteenth century onwards, a quite separate native tradition of mythological songs and ballads continued to flourish with full vigour in oral form down to the nineteenth century, when scholars began to realize their

[12] Apollod. 3. 10. 7. A shepherd found the egg and gave it to Leda. This may have come in the *Cypria*, frr. 10–11 W. In Sappho 166 Leda herself finds the egg.

interest and to collect them. Some 60,000 of these songs have been published, with 350,000 variants—a substantial body of material—and so conservative is the tradition that the old gods frequently appear in them undisguised or only thinly disguised.[13]

[9] Everyone knows that the Greek Zeus is ultimately identical with the Indian sky-god Dyaus. Other identifications of Greek with Indian gods are less generally admitted. But suppose there were among the gods of the Vedas a pair of twin brothers, intimately connected with horses, invoked as 'car-borne, best charioteers', whose principal function was to bring help and deliverance to men in distress, in particular at sea and on the battlefield, and suppose further that those brothers were the sons of Dyaus: is there anywhere in the world of learning such a churl, such a sullen curmudgeon of a man, as would decline to believe that they were identical in origin with the Greek Dioscuri? Well, there is precisely such a pair: the Aśvins, whose name means 'having horses'. And they are no minor or obscure members of the pantheon; on the contrary, they are among the most prominent deities in the Rigveda.[14]

In the Baltic songs there is frequent reference to two figures called the sons of God, where the word for God is related to the root of Zeus and Dyaus.[15] They are constantly saddling their grey steeds. So they resemble the Dioscuri and the Aśvins; but there is something else that puts their identity with them beyond doubt. Both they and the Aśvins are the suitors of a divine maiden known as the Daughter of the Sun.[16] In both traditions there is competition for her hand between them and the Moon, and after being promised to one party she is carried off by the other. In the Latvian songs it is the Moon

[13] See W. Mannhardt, 'Die lettischen Sonnenmythen', *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie* 7 (1875), 73–104, 209–44, 281–330; M. Jonval, *Les Chansons mythologiques lettonnes* (Riga 1929); D. J. Ward, *The Divine Twins* (*Folklore Studies* 19, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1968), and 'An Indo-European Mythological Theme in Germanic Tradition', *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (Third Indo-European Conference, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1970), 405–20.

[14] See A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Strasbourg 1898), 51. Help in battle: *Rgv.* 1. 112. 1, 10; 8. 8. 21, 9. 13; 10. 143. 2.

[15] Latvian *Dieva deli*, Lithuanian *Dievo suneliai*. Their number is not fixed at two; in places there are four of five of them, and often only one.

[16] This is her commonest appellation in the Vedas, though sometimes she bears the name Sūryā, which is a feminine form of the Sun's own name. In Latvian, where the Sun is feminine anyway, 'the Sun' and 'the Daughter of the Sun' sometimes alternate in variants of the same song. Ward says that in both traditions the girl is called the twins' sister, but he cites no evidence, and I have found none.



who comes off best. He stole the bride, or switched the rings during the wedding feast, or the Sun had a change of mind after promising the girl to the Son of God.—The *Son* of God, because although several songs refer to the Sons of God as joint suitors, the ones which refer to the marriage eliminate the element of bigamy, either by making the Sons of God singular or by making the Daughter of the Sun plural. The Indians, on the other hand, accept the celestial *ménage à trois* without demur. Their story is that the Sun intended to give his daughter to the Moon for a wife; but all the gods wanted her, so the matter was settled by organizing a race. The first to reach the Sun was to have the girl. The race was won by the Aśvins.[17] According to other accounts, she chose them herself, and mounted their chariot, where she rides with them.

What has all this to do with Helen? Well, the agreement between the Baltic myth and the ancient Indian one indicates that from a remote Indo-European antiquity the twin sons of the sky-god *Dyēus were associated with a divine maiden, the Daughter of the Sun, who was much sought after in marriage and was transferred from husband to husband (or husbands). She was, moreover, the paragon of beauty and general desirability, as is illustrated by the Lithuanian saying applicable to someone who finds fault with everything: 'he wouldn't [10] even be satisfied with the Daughter of the Sun'.[18] In Greek religion and myth the same divine twins appear, in a perfectly recognizable form; and here too they are associated with a divine maiden who is much sought after in marriage and who transfers herself from one husband to another. I take it that these correspondences are not mere coincidence, any more than the similarities between the Greek, Sanskrit, and Baltic languages are coincidence. There is also an Estonian myth, probably derived from neighbouring Latvia, which may suggest that the Daughter of the Sun was born from an egg. The story concerns a maiden of wondrous beauty called Salme, who was indeed born from a goose-egg, and who was wooed by the Sun, the Moon, and the eldest son of the Stars; she rejected the first two and chose the third.[19] It has been

[17] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 4. 2. In a late hymn, *Rgv.* 10. 85. 9, the rivals are reconciled: the Aśvins arrange the marriage for the Moon-god.

[18] A. Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen* (Weimar 1857), 179. The Russians say 'as beautiful as the Sun's sister': G. Krek, *Die Wichtigkeit der slavischen traditionellen Literatur* (Vienna 1869), 83.

[19] Mannhardt, 314 f.; K. Krohn, *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 3 (1903), 15–44. There are many variants.

suggested that her name Salme is nothing but a corruption of the Latvian *Saules meita*, Daughter of the Sun. At any rate she is sought in marriage by the Moon and others, and her birth from an egg, like Helen's, is most easily understood as a mythical symbol of her relationship to the Sun.[20] Finally, there is one Greek writer, though a singularly disreputable one, who says that Helen was the daughter of Leda and the Sun.[21]

In ordinary Greek tradition she has become the daughter of Zeus and thus the sister of the Dioscuri. They cannot, therefore, appear as her suitors. They do, however, seize for themselves two other girls who had been promised to somebody else. These were the Leucippides or White Horse Maidens, daughters either of Leucippus 'Whitehorse' or of Apollo. They were betrothed to Idas and Lynceus, but the Dioscuri carried them off from the wedding feast in their chariot. There is rather a close connection between the Leucippides and Helen. Like her, they were worshipped at Sparta in conjunction with the Dioscuri; and in their temple, suspended from the roof, there was to be seen an egg, said to be the very one from which Helen came.[22] Their names, Phoibe and Hilaeira, would be supremely suitable names for daughters of the Sun.[23] Phoibe, 'Shining', actually occurs elsewhere as a daughter of the Sun; Hilaeira is otherwise found only as an epithet applied to fire or to the moon. The name of their father, Whitehorse, is an epithet applied to Dawn or Daylight, and equally appropriate to the Sun. The rape of the Leucippides, then, appears to be a doublet of the rape of Helen, another version of the old myth of the Daughter of the Sun, a version in which the Sons of Zeus still appear as rival suitors. There was a further legend according to which they were the rivals in love of certain sons of Hippocoon. We do not know whom they wanted to marry in that story; we do however hear that one of these sons of Hippocoon once

[20] For the sun as an egg see F. Lukas, 'Das Ei als kosmogonische Vorstellung', *Zeitschr. des Vereins für Volkskunde* 4 (1894), 227–43. One Neocles of Croton (*ap.* Ath. 57f) said that Helen's egg fell from the moon, and Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 637b mentions 'poets' who said it fell from the sky; cf. Eust. 1488. 21. At any rate it was fertilized by the Sky-god.

[21] Ptolemy Chennos *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 149a 31.

[22] Paus. 3. 16. 1; Wide (as n. 4), 326ff. Cr. also Ar. *Lys.* 1308–15 (Helen ~ cult dancing by 'colts') with Hesych. $\pi$ 4496 ('colt' worshippers of the Leucippides); A. F. Garvie, *CQ* 15 (1965), 185f. Eur. *IA* 50 makes Phoibe a sister of Helen and Clytemnestra.

[23] Garvie, 187 with literature.



assaulted Helen.[24] There is one tradition in which the Dioscuri do unequivocally dispute with somebody else over the possession of Helen. I mean the story of her abduction [11] by Theseus. Of course the story says that they are acting here as her brothers, not as prospective bridgerooms; that was the only form in which it made sense to the Greeks of the historical period. But it need not always have been so. The parallels suggest that originally they wanted her as a wife.

In the classic story in which more or less all the kings and princes of Greece assemble to bid for her hand (for she is to be given to whoever offers the largest gifts in exchange), the Dioscuri play an active part as organizers of the event,[25] but they have been displaced from the role of leading suitors by another pair of brothers, the Atreidai, Agamemnon and Menelaus. Helen only marries one of them, of course, but they make their suit jointly, Agamemnon putting in a massive bid on Menelaus' behalf.[26] The wedding is completed without misadventure. The abductor comes later in the shape of Paris. The Atreidai go after him, just as the Dioscuri went after Theseus. Some say that the Dioscuri went after Paris as far as Lesbos, or that they pursued him to Africa and seized Helen there.[27] The characters in the drama are now mortal heroes, and the whole business has been given the appearance of history. But we can still discern the outlines of the Indo-European myth in which the events were enacted in heaven.

There is yet a further dimension to be added to the structure. A number of the Latvian songs describe how, when the wedding of the Sun's Daughter is celebrated, the Sun herself or the Sons of God decorate all the trees as they make their way there with green cloth, gold rings, and similar ornaments.[28] Wilhelm Mannhardt in his pioneering study of these texts took this decoration to be merely a picturesque allegory of the glowing colours imparted to the forests by the rays of the setting sun. Yet, not long before, he himself had collected a mass of evidence from all over northern and eastern

[24] Euphorion fr. 31 Lightfoot; perhaps Alcm. 1. 1ff.; D. L. Page, *Alcman, The Partheneion* (Oxford 1951), 31–3; Plut. *Thes.* 31. 1.

[25] 'Hes.' frr. 197. 3f., 198. 8, 199. 1. Cf. the Aśvins' role in the late Vedic hymn cited in n. 17.

[26] 'Hes.' fr. 197. 1–5. His own wife is Helen's sister. Both he and Menelaus were gods at Sparta: Wide (as n. 4), 333ff.

[27] Dares 11; St. Byz. p. 233. 20 Meineke.

[28] Mannhardt, nos. 13–15, 83; Jonval, nos. 358ff.

Europe for the practice of decorating trees with cloth, garlands, and trinkets not at a certain time of day but on a certain day of the year, namely the beginning of summer.[29] One of the songs indicates that that was precisely when the wedding of the Daughter of the Sun was supposed to take place:

> Today the Sun is moving
> Warmer than on other days.
> Today they are taking the Sun's Daughter
> From the Daugava to Germany.[30]

The Daugava or West Dvina is the principal river of Latvia; the distant country of Germany is regularly given as the place of the wedding. The wedding, then, takes place on the day the sun grows warm, at the beginning of summer; and clearly the decoration of trees by the Sun or Sons of God corresponds to the actual decoration of trees customary [12] at that season. We have established a link between the myth and a ritual. Now you will remember that at Sparta too the wedding of the goddess Helen was celebrated in spring or early summer by garlanding a tree. The correspondence is complete. Not only does the myth of Helen go back to the Indo-European myth of the Daughter of the Sun: her ritual is revealed as part and parcel of the same tradition.

When one has once realized this, it becomes impossible to read through Mannhardt's account of the various customs observed on May Day, or whichever day the seasonal celebrations have settled on, without being struck by the number of points at which they are paralleled in either the myth or the cult of Helen. Let me indicate them with all brevity.

1. The festivities commonly begin early in the morning, and the last one out of bed becomes the object of mockery.[31] The young people in this country used to get up early on May Morning to gather the may, and if you are in Oxford the day after tomorrow at 6.00 a.m. you will find, if the weather is fine, that several thousand people have risen very much earlier than they do on any other day of the year, to partake in the traditional merrymaking. Similarly the girls of Sparta used to get up early in the morning to pick the flowers for the garlands they were to hang on Helen's tree.[32]

2. Among the various things hung on the May-tree, or on the May-pole, which is nothing but an attenuated form of the May-tree, it is or was the custom in several parts of Europe to hang or place there a rag doll or similar effigy, which then remains through the summer or throughout the year.[33] As I mentioned earlier, a similar practice is implied by the Rhodian myth of Helen hanged on a tree.

3. The celebration of May Day is often the occasion for paying public tribute to beautiful or beloved girls, especially in the shape of the May Queen or May Bride. A typical form of ceremony is to choose the most beautiful girl in the district as the May Queen and a popular youth as her royal consort, and to celebrate them as a newly-wedded pair.[34] At Sparta too the day of the dawn flower-gathering and the tree ceremony is the day of the wedding of a 'king' and 'queen', the queen being the most beautiful girl in the country.

4. In various rural parts of Germany it was the custom on May Day or Easter Monday to auction girls, starting with the prettiest. Each girl became the 'May-wife' of the young man who bid most for her, and all through the summer she was his exclusive dancing-partner. In some places she could signify her approval of him by attaching a bunch of flowers to his hat.[35] In the story of Helen's wedding, a whole crowd of suitors assemble at Sparta and offer what they can for her; the highest bidder gets her (though his married [13] bliss is only temporary). This was not, of course, the normal Greek procedure for arranging a marriage. According to another version, she was allowed to indicate which of the suitors she preferred by putting a garland on his head.[36] This surely reflects a 'May Day' custom related to the one I have cited.

5. Eggs play a conspicuous part in the springtime festivities. In particular, they are collected from householders by a begging procession, and painted eggshells are commonly used to decorate the May-tree, May-branch, or May-pole.[37] The fragile glass globes which

[29] *Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin ²1905), i. 155 ff. Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii. 59 ff.; A. Dieterich, *Kl. Schr.* (Leipzig–Berlin 1911), 327 ff.

[30] Jonval, no. 356. Another (Mannhardt, no. 77) relates that the Sun married the Moon in the spring, but they soon separated.

[31] *Wald- u. Feldkulte*, i. 319, 321, 351, 353, 392, 397, 438; Frazer, ii. 60, 67.

[32] Theoc. 18. 39 ff.

[33] Mannhardt (as n. 29), i. 156, 173, 210, 408 f., 431; Frazer, ii. 73.

[34] Mannhardt, i. 422 ff.; Frazer, ii. 87 ff.; Dieterich (as n. 29), 331 f.

[35] Mannhardt, i. 449 ff.

[36] Hyg. *Fab.* 78; cf. Eur. *IA* 68–70, Arist. fr. 549, Chares *FGrH* 125 F 5.

[37] Mannhardt, i. 181, 256, 260, 263 f., 281, 353, 427, 429; 156 f., 160, 165, 169, 177, 181, 241, 245, 271; Frazer, ii. 63, 65, 69, 81, 84 f., 92, 96, ix. 269; Dieterich, 324, 327 ff.

we hang on our Christmas trees are a modern substitute for these painted eggshells, just as the fairy at the top corresponds to those effigies of which the hanging Helen is another reflection. The Christmas tree which is set up for the Yule festival when the days begin to grow longer is the twin of the May-tree which marks the start of summer.[38] Another manifestation of these spring-festival eggs is the coloured Easter egg, now commonly made of chocolate. Easter is Eostre, the old Germanic goddess of the Dawn. Her joyous springtime festival, which must have involved rising before dawn, was no doubt a celebration of the rebirth of nature.[39] The egg made an obvious symbol of rebirth or of the reborn sun. Christianity, unable to beat these pagan hilarities, joined them, and solemnly explained that the egg symbolized the resurrection of the Sun of righteousness.—Helen, too, the goddess of the Greek festival, is born from an egg. It may well be that eggs played a part in the traditional ceremonies associated with her.

However that may be, I think it is clear from all this that what we know of Helen's cult belongs firmly to the same tradition as the various springtime celebrations recorded since the Middle Ages right across Europe from Ireland to Russia. It does not stand alone. A number of other ancient Greek springtime rituals belong no less clearly to the same tradition, though I cannot go into them here.[40] I have still to follow Helen a little further.

If her wedding takes place in the spring, she abides with her partner through the summer, and her abduction presumably comes later in the year. One would naturally suppose that it corresponded to the demise of vegetation in winter, as did Apollo's absence from Delphi and Persephone's disappearance below the earth. We are now getting close to an answer to the question why, according to one tradition, Helen went to Egypt. She is the daughter of the Sun. If she goes away in winter, perhaps she goes where the sun goes.

The early Greeks thought of the sun as a relatively small body moving over the face of the earth, nearer to different countries at

[38] Mannhardt, i. 224 ff.

[39] Possibly she was identified with the Daughter of the Sun. Helen's beauty is likened to that of Dawn (Theoc. 18. 26), and she might be the Aotis of Alcm. 1 (Jack Lindsay, *Helen of Troy* (London 1974), 245). On Etruscan mirrors the rising Dawn is portrayed above her.

[40] See Dieterich, 337–44; Nilsson, *Gesch.* 1. 122–7; my *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford 1971), 70–4.



different times. In winter, when it was obviously further away to the south than in the summer, they believed it to be in Africa. Hesiod says that at that time of year it 'goes to visit the country of the black men, and shines more tardily for the Greeks'. Two and a half centuries later, Herodotus tells us that in winter the stormy weather drives the sun out of the middle of the sky and deep into Africa.[41] Now, the only part of Africa that the Greeks were familiar with before the seventh century BCE was Egypt. It is not the nearest part of the continent to Greece as the crow flies. But the Greeks did not sail as the crow flies. They liked to keep close to land, and their natural route to Africa was following the southern coast of Asia Minor round past Cyprus and Syria.[42] If you go that way, Egypt is the nearest part of Africa, and for a long time it was as far as the Greeks got. What lay to the west was *terra incognita*. They may have had an exaggerated notion of how far south you would have to go across the open sea from Greece to reach Egypt. According to the *Odyssey* Menelaus was carried there by wind and wave across the open sea, and Nestor says of him: 'He has recently returned from abroad, from those peoples from whom a man would not expect to return, once the storm-winds have diverted him into that great open sea, from where not even the birds come back in the same year, for it is great and fearsome'.[42] The months that elapse before the migrating birds return are taken as an indication of the vast extent of the sea that Menelaus crossed.

Egypt was thus for a time the most southerly known region of the earth. As such, it was the most suitable country as a winter retreat for a divinity connected with the movements of the sun. A myth that told of a journey of the Daughter of the Sun over the sea to the south, whether as a victim of abduction or for purposes of her own, would naturally take her to the land of the Nile. Helen evolved into something very different from the Daughter of the Sun. But Stesichorus and Euripides still related that she went from Greece to Egypt not as an ordinary person would go, by ship, but borne through the sky, as befits a celestial being.

The questions I have been discussing are 'academic' questions: that is to say, questions upon the answers to which nothing further depends, so far as anyone is at present aware. But progress in the humane sciences, as in the natural sciences, is often made by finding a use for items of existing knowledge that appeared useless. This is

[41] Hes. *Op.* 527 f., Hdt. 2. 24–6.

[42] *Od.* 3. 318–22. Contrast 14. 252 ff.

one reason why we—not just we students of the ancient world, but all we who honour learning and discovery—must take care to preserve the knowledge that already exists. It is not enough to have it stored away in libraries. It is of no use there unless we sometimes read the books. Knowledge ceases to be knowledge when there is no one about who actually knows it. It was no fool who said, 'When a new book is published, read an old one'. We are sometimes told that the total sum of human knowledge is now doubling every fifteen years. The statistic is absurd; knowledge is not quantifiable; but in any case it regards only what is being scooped up at the bows of the ship, and takes no account of what is being jettisoned at the stern. The evidence from Baltic folk-songs which I have used to throw light on the origins of Helen and the Dioscuri was adduced for that purpose exactly a hundred years ago. At one time it was referred to in every discussion of those deities. Today it is almost entirely unfamiliar to classical scholars; I find no mention of it even in the 3,698 pages of A. B. Cook's *Zeus*, possibly the only book weighing eight-and-a-half kilograms to have been written by a former holder of this chair.

This dereliction of knowledge comes about partly because each generation develops its own preferences among the available avenues of study, and turns away from those in which its predecessors most obviously made idiots of themselves. In the nineteenth century it was common to interpret all Greek myths as nature myths. Splendid ingenuity was employed on working out, for example, that Odysseus was the sun, Penelope the earth, and her 118 suitors the days of winter (118 being a third of 354, the number of days in a lunar year). Odysseus appeared among them in beggar's garb, i.e. shining weakly, and liberated the earth from winter; the twelve axes that he shot through in order to reclaim her represented, naturally, the signs of the zodiac.[43] As a general approach, this is rightly discredited; but conversely it tends to be assumed nowadays that *no* Greek myth is to be traced back to a nature myth, and evidence pointing in such a direction is consigned to oblivion. Similarly, in the nineteenth century the successes of Indo-European philology and advances in knowledge of the ancient civilizations of the Near East inspired over-ambitious attempts to discover Sanskrit cognates for the names of Greek gods, or Mesopotamian or Egyptian sources for Greek myths

[43] See Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig–Berlin 1884–1937), iii. 653.



and philosophies. So much of this was wrong that it became bad form to inquire in these directions at all.

In most areas of Greek studies it is not necessary to look outside the spatial boundaries of the Greek world or to delve into prehistory. In other areas, however, it is necessary to view the Greeks in a larger spatio-temporal context. We are better placed to do this than scholars a hundred years ago. The outlines of prehistory have become more definite thanks to archaeological and linguistic research. Oriental texts are known in greater quantities and better understood. We must not be afraid to cross boundaries. The boundaries between different branches of knowledge are seldom firm. I would hesitate to dismiss any branch of knowledge as having nothing to contribute to the rest. May the same respect be accorded by others to the area of knowledge of which we are the curators on behalf of mankind, the knowledge of antiquity.

When I say curators, I do not mean to suggest, what some people may assume because we deal with a past civilization and its products, that our business is simply to conserve a static body of learning that becomes progressively less relevant to the modern world—like those Byzantine grammarians who conscientiously passed on Herodian's doctrine touching the correct accentuation of 'bow wow'.[44] The data from which we work—ancient literary texts, documents, inscriptions, artefacts, complete or fragmentary—are continually being added to; there is much in them which is not fully understood; and there are many questions still to be asked of them. We have made enormous advances since the Renaissance, and we continue and shall continue to advance. A few minutes ago I used the phrase 'humane sciences'. The word Science in this connection is less familiar here than on the continent, where they speak unblushingly of *Sciences humaines*, *Scienze morali*, *Geisteswissenschaften*. But however un-British the usage may be, it is perfectly proper. Science is the critical pursuit of knowledge by whatever methods are appropriate to the case. Like those who investigate the ecology of the earth or the spectra of the stars, we observe the phenomena, organize, analyse, make inferences and deductions, devise tests to apply, formulate principles and procedures. If we still quaintly refer to the object of

[44] John Philoponus, *Accentual Instructions* p. 32. 33 Dindorf (Hdn. i. 495. 1 Lentz), καὶ τὸ βαύ κατὰ μίμησιν κυνὸς ὀξύνεται· "βαύ βαύ καὶ κυνὸς φωνὴν ἐείς" (Adesp. iamb. 50).

our study as 'the classics', it is not because we claim a unique educational or literary value for the ancient poets and historians, philosophers and orators. Some of them were very great writers. But we are not just concerned with great writers. We are concerned with the ancient world as a whole. We study it because we, and many more who do not study it, find it deeply interesting. All men, said Aristotle, reach out for knowledge: it is in their nature. So long as that remains true, there will be those who direct their curiosity towards antiquity. It is indeed essential, as man blunders into the future, that he should keep account of his past, that great fabric which he has woven day by day and cannot unravel at night. No one can take away the past; no one can ever by any means remove from it that particularly rich and well-documented part which is ancient Hellas. Ancient Hellas is like Helen: beautiful, perpetually fascinating, and immortal. It will always be there. That is why there must always be, somewhere on this hospitable planet, professors of Greek.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. For what follows see now my *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007), 225–37, 434–6.
2. This is incorrect. Because of prevailing winds and currents, the easiest route was over the sea from Crete (returning via Syria). It remains true that Egypt was the natural first landfall. Cf. *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 3 n. 4.

# 7

# History and Prehistory: The Troy Saga

You all know the story of the Trojan War: how Helen, the most beautiful woman in the world, was abducted to Troy by Paris; how her husband, King Menelaos of Sparta, and her brother-in-law, King Agamemnon of Mycenae, gathered a large army from all of Greece and the Aegean islands and sailed against Troy in over a thousand ships; how they fought there for ten years and at last, after many toils, took and burned the city of Priam and returned the repentant sinner Helen to her husband. So Homer and other Greek and Latin authors related, and they were widely believed. But how does it stand with the story? Does it perhaps contain a grain of history?

It used to be customary to begin Greek history from the year 776 BCE. That was supposedly the date of the first Olympic Games, and it counted as the earliest fixed point of chronology. A firm chronological framework is a precondition for the writing of history; it is not much use establishing that this and that once happened if one does not know when they happened, in what sequence, at what intervals, in what context. We expect of history not only truth but precision: precise location in time and space, the names of the persons involved, and so forth.

Such detail, however, is only rarely obtainable, let alone verifiable, for an era from which there are no written records. Where there is only oral tradition and memory, there can be no proper history. Written testimony can to some extent be assessed and in favourable cases checked; one can weigh up what it says, who wrote it and for

An English version of a lecture 'Geschichte und Vorgeschichte: die Sage von Troia' delivered on 23 April 2004 at a celebration in Basel of Joachim Latacz's 70th birthday and published in *Studia Troica* 14 (2004), xiii–xx. I omit the first paragraph, which is untranslatable. The footnotes are new.

what purpose, and how it relates to other evidence. Oral tradition, on the other hand, is fluid and unstable; the aspects that mean most to the narrators are elaborated, much subsidiary material is forgotten, exact data are lost, alien elements creep in. The objective is an appealing narrative. Proper Greek history still begins only in the eighth century BCE, when the written tradition starts up. One can of course write introductory chapters about the cultures of Neolithic Greece from 6000 BCE and the early Bronze Age from 3000 BCE; but that is all prehistory. One certainly has to give an account of the Mycenaean age, where we are in a position to describe in outline the rise of a wealthy warrior society, discern trade routes and overseas connections, list various place-names, identify the power centres, understand to some extent the social conditions and the administrative system of the great palaces, and observe the catastrophic destruction of these palaces around 1200 BCE. But that still falls far short of being what we mean by history. We are not able to describe a single historical event of this period, or name a single ruler of Mycenae or Pylos or Thebes; we have no idea who destroyed the palaces, or why. Unless, that is, we put our faith in the legends that the poets related many centuries later. They may certainly contain a historical element. But the epic tradition is |[xiv] not itself a historical source and not to be treated as such. We have another word for it: saga.

The equivalent German word, *Sage*, is an old one (OHG *săga*, MHG *săge*), meaning basically what is said. In medieval usage it could denote the faculty of speech, an utterance, a declaration or attestation, a common saying; the oral report of a matter, sometimes with an implication of unreliability; a tale of the past that might or might not be historically sound. In the early nineteenth century scholars such as the brothers Grimm and Philipp Carl Buttmann took up this archaic word to designate stories that relate to significant events and persons of the past and have been elaborated in poetic or popular tradition. They made a threefold distinction between myth, saga, and folktale (*Märchen*). Myth, in their view, dealt with gods and other supernatural beings. Saga was legend set in a definite time or locality, having to do for example with specific persons from the past, with the history of a particular town or people, or with the origin of an existing custom. Folktale, by contrast, was floating narrative without attachment to historical time and space: 'once upon a time. . .'. Books were published with titles such as *Deutsche Sagen* (Wilhelm und Jacob Grimm, 1816–18), *Die deutsche Heldensage* (Wilhelm Grimm, 1829), and simultaneously from Buttmann a *Mythologus* with the subtitle *Gesammelte Abhandlungen über die Sagen des Altertums*; and volumes by Ludwig Bechstein from 1823 on.[1]



So far as the terms myth and folktale are concerned, we have long moved on from those scholars' definitions; I will not go into them further. Their concept of saga, however, remains useful, and it is very well suited to the characterization of the Greek legends as transmitted in Homeric epic. They are set in real towns and regions, if one leaves aside Odysseus' wanderings. They claim to represent the events of a particular era, thought of as lying some six or eight centuries back. These events are narrated in quite believable terms; the gods play a part in them, but not to the extent that the action is determined by miracles. The saga has a semblance of history.

Homeric epic certainly has a long tradition behind it. Its language is full of very archaic vocabulary and grammatical features that presuppose development over many centuries. The heroic world as portrayed in Homer corresponds in many respects not to the world in which the poets lived but to a much older one. Towns such as Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, and Troy, appear as the great power centres, which they no longer were after about 1200, while the Ionian towns of the Asiatic coast, which were in full bloom in the eighth century, are not yet given recognition. Swords and spear- and arrow-heads, which after the eleventh century were made of iron, are in Homer still made of bronze; Hesiod indeed recalls a time when everything was made of bronze, as iron did not yet exist (*Op.* 150–1). Certain other details of the Homeric heroes' armature point as far back as 1400 BCE. So it is clear that the poets of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are continuing a tradition that had been preserved without interruption from the heyday of Mycenaean civilization.

It is accordingly quite credible that genuine reminiscences of historical events of that period could be present in the epics. Would

[1] The English cognate of the German word (*sagu*, *sa3e*, *saue*, etc.) was current up to the fifteenth century with a similar range of meanings. It survives now only as 'saw', as in 'remember the old saw'. 'Saga' is a learned borrowing from Norse, at first applied only to the Nordic sagas. From 1845 it came to be used of other traditional narrative in the Germanic sphere, of the subject matter of *Beowulf* or the medieval German epics, and presently of traditional tales from other parts of the world. The extension of usage was obviously influenced by contemporary German scholars' use of *Sage*.

it not be reasonable to accept at least the main outlines as historical memories: the abduction of a Greek queen to Troy; Agamemnon as king of Mycenae and leader of a major expedition against the wrongdoer's city; the participation of other rulers such as Ajax, Odysseus, Diomedes, Achilles, Nestor; the city's capture and destruction?

But steady, we need to be careful. Heroic saga is *not history*. In cases where we are in a position to check it against documentary records, it turns out to be capable of so falsifying the facts of history that without the documents one would never have got to the truth.[2] Germanic saga, known to us mainly from Norse poems of the ninth and tenth centuries and from south German epic, provides a pertinent example. It contains memories of real events and persons from the time of the great migrations: the fall of the Burgundian kingdom, the Huns' penetration into central Europe, the tribulations of the Ostrogoths. It preserves the names of Ermanarich, Gundihari, Attila, Odoacer, Theoderich. But it muddles things. Ermanarich from the fourth century and Attila from the fifth are made contemporaries. Similarly in the French *Chanson de Roland*, nobles from the tenth and eleventh centuries are made into contemporaries of Charlemagne. In the Russian heroic poems various men from the ninth to the sixteenth century are brought together in the entourage of Vladimir, who lived around 1100. In the Serbian songs Marko Kraljević fights against opponents who actually lived much later. The same may well have happened in the Greek saga tradition. The great heroes who take part in the Trojan War, even if they all really existed, did not necessarily all live in the same generation; they may have been brought together from different sagas in the course of time so as to adorn the greatest enterprise of the heroic [xv] age with as many celebrated names as possible.

I return to Germanic saga.[3] Two Old Norse poems tell of Atli, king of the Huns, i.e. Attila. He marries a Burgundian princess, Guðrún. He sends a deceitful invitation to her brothers Gunnarr and Hogni; they are the Gunther and Hagen whom we know from the

[2] For the following examples see H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge 1932–40), i. 199–204, ii. 103–33, 374–6; M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London 1933), 186–94; C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London 1952), 522–4.

[3] For what follows see Ursula Dronke, *The Poetic Edda*, i. *Heroic Poems* (Oxford 1969), 29–36.



*Nibelungenlied* and from Wagner's *Ring*. Gunnarr/Gunther being the historical Burgundian king Gundihari. Guðrún warns her brothers of the danger, but they come all the same. They are at once seized and tortured to make them disclose to Atli where the Nibelungs' treasure is stored, but they remain steadfast and die. Guðrún plans to avenge them. One evening as the Huns are carousing in Atli's hall, she goes round with a smiling face and serves the company with meat. Then she tells Atli that he has eaten the flesh of their two young sons. The Huns groan and lament, but Atli has drunk himself senseless and does not react. In the night when they are all asleep she kills Atli in his bed with a sword. Then she wakes the slaves, frees the dogs, and sets the hall on fire. Atli's followers all die in the conflagration.

So runs the Nordic tradition. If we had no other source and had to estimate how much historical truth lies behind it, we might guess that there was once perhaps a king of the Huns named Atli, or something like it, who conquered the Burgundians and took a princess from them for his wife; and that when she had the chance she smuggled a weapon into the bedroom and killed him without regard for her own fate.

But we are fortunate enough to possess a trustworthy account of Attila's death. It comes from a contemporary, the Byzantine historian Priscus, who knew Attila personally. The year was 454. Attila had indeed made a beautiful German girl his wife (the last of many). Her name was not Guðrún but Hildico, and she had nothing to do with the Burgundian Gundihari; he had been defeated and killed seventeen years previously, and not by Attila but by other Huns. Attila celebrated his wedding with a great feast and drank excessively. Next morning he failed to appear. The sun climbed higher in the sky. People began to wonder whether the king was all right. They knocked on the door of the bedroom, they shouted in: no response. In the end they broke in. He lay there dead, the bed drenched in blood. Hildico sat with eyes downcast, weeping. But there was no sword and no wound. The mighty Hun had suffered a massive haemorrhage and, in his drunken stupor, suffocated on his own blood. He had often had nosebleeds.

From another, somewhat later source it emerges that within two generations, at most, the belief had become established that Attila was murdered by a woman. This corresponds to what must have been the guards' first thought when they broke into the room: 'the

woman has killed the king'—a suspicion at once allayed when the body was examined, but the saga fastened on that first impression. Some no doubt thought, 'it must have been the woman; she's a German, after all'. This was naturally the version privileged by the Burgundian and the later German poets. The fierce heroine was brought into connection with the fallen kings of Burgundy, and the bloody deed was explained as an act of vengeance. Added motifs were the Thyestean feast in which the king was unknowingly served with the flesh of his own children, and the burning of the hall.

What does all that yield for the saga of Agamemnon's murder by his wife? I am not going to suggest that Agamemnon suffered a fatal accident in his bath for which Clytaemestra was unjustly blamed. But it is to be borne in mind that his killing, like Atli's, is represented as an act of vengeance; it is the climax of an extended tale of crimes avenged. The series of killers stretches from Pelops through Atreus and Agamemnon to Clytaemestra and Orestes. This concatenation was in all probability a product of the saga, of the storytellers. The Atli story and other cases where there is documentary control teach us that motivations and connections made between successive events are an especially changeable and unreliable element in saga. The decisive events themselves might be somewhat more worthy of credit: the violent death of an important person, the taking of a city, or the definitive defeat of a people. But even with such critical moments as these, the facts may be other than they seem. The Muses told Hesiod (*Th.* 27 f.), 'we know to tell many lies that sound like truth; but we know to sing reality, when we will'.

I come back to Troy. As I have said, it is not advisable to build bold constructions on the saga so long as there is no confirmation from elsewhere. There is no documentary record of the Trojan War. Yet it remains plausible that a historical event, a sack of the city of Troy by Greeks, was the starting-point for the saga.

Records are lacking, true, but we are not blundering in total darkness. The Troy saga is not set in the mists of remotest prehistory but in the late Mycenaean period, in a world that archaeology and also written documents (however incompletely) [xvi] have brought back to light. Troy itself has been found and is gradually giving up its secrets. We have nowadays a vivid idea of the bright Mycenaean civilization. Illumination comes too from the Asiatic side, as Troy, under the name Wilusa, is mentioned repeatedly in the records of the Hittite empire.



The story is well known of how in 1868 the German merchant Heinrich Schliemann, full of enthusiasm for Homer, came to the hill of Hisarlık in north-west Turkey to look for Troy. The site had already been identified by the landowner, the Englishman Frank Calvert, who had dug experimentally in four places and found remains of buildings. Schliemann had the financial resources to undertake further excavation. His procedures were wrong in many respects and he did not evaluate his finds correctly, but he made some brilliant discoveries. A strong, multi-layered citadel came to light; here, evidently, a great city had stood—none other than Troy. The most recent excavations that Manfred Korfmann has been directing since 1988 have made clear the great extent of the lower city. Troy was inhabited over an enormous time-span, from around 3000 until the tenth century BCE, and then again in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and repeatedly restored and altered. It reached its zenith in the late Bronze Age, *c.*1500–1200, contemporaneously with the great Mycenaean centres. And it had lively contacts with the Mycenaean world, as the pottery finds show. It was known still further afield, for its Homeric name Ilios, in Bronze Age Greek Wilios, appears beside other leading cities of the Aegean on an Egyptian monument of the fourteenth century, as Wiriya or Wiliya,[4] and in Hittite documents of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries as Wilusiya or Wilusa. No other city in north-west Anatolia could match its importance.

At the end of the fourteenth century it was hit by a powerful earthquake, bringing to an end the phase designated as Troy VI(h). During the succeeding phase VIIa (or VIi, as some now prefer to call it) living conditions were perhaps somewhat reduced, but it remained an important city. Around 1200—perhaps ten years earlier, perhaps ten or twenty years later—there came another catastrophe. The city was destroyed in a great fire, apparently as a result of a hostile assault: skeletons have been found of people who were unable to flee and who remained unburied; arrow- and spear-heads; a stockpile of over 150 slingstones that the defenders never managed to use.

So: a sack and a burning of Troy such as the Greek saga describes, and at roughly the epoch that the saga indicates. Is the saga vindicated? Certainly in one regard, if the archaeological indications do

[4] Statue-base of Amenophis III. See *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 6.

not deceive. There really was a war or at least an attack on Troy, ending with its destruction by fire.

But we cannot draw on the saga to fill the gaps in our knowledge. Archaeology cannot even tell us whether the attackers were Greeks, let alone whether their leader's name was Agamemnon. This much is certain, that they did not come in a thousand ships or stay in the area for ten years without even going home for the winters. That is inconceivable on logistical grounds. It must have been a powerful force, as the city had strong defences. But Thucydides (1. 10. 3) already assumed that Homer, *qua* poet, must have exaggerated the numbers of ships and men, and we are bound to agree with him, except that we shall prefer to hold 'the saga' responsible rather than 'Homer'. It is also incredible that troops from all regions of Greece came together in one great army under a single overlord. It was never possible, even during the Persian wars, to unite so many Greek states in a common purpose. Least of all was it likely around 1200, when the Mycenaean world was in crisis, the great palaces in Thebes, Pylos, and Mycenae were being overrun and destroyed, and their administrations were collapsing. We cannot unfortunately tell whether the Mycenaean catastrophe preceded the Trojan one or vice versa, but the gap in time cannot in any case have been large. If it was really the king of Mycenae who took Troy, did he still have a palace to go home to? The saga again turns out to be a dubious help: it does tell of a fall of the ruling dynasty at Mycenae, but the sack of the palace, which must have been a sensation at the time, has left no echo.

In general, as I have said, the saga gives a picture of conditions in the late Bronze Age that cannot be called altogether wrong. It portrays a Greece in which kings hold sway and have great wealth at their disposal. The power centres are Mycenae, Tiryns, Sparta, Pylos, Thebes, Iolkos, Knossos, and not Argos, Corinth, or Smyrna. The kings and their subjects are Greeks and speak Greek; since 1952 we have known that this corresponds to the historical facts, for in that year the Linear B script was deciphered and it turned out that the language of the clay tablets inscribed in this script and found in large numbers in the palace archives at Mycenae, Pylos, Thebes, and Knossos [xvii] was an early dialect of Greek and at least partly intelligible. They were records, unfortunately not reports of daily happenings but administrative documents, bureaucratic registers, and the like. They are not very informative for our purposes, though



they do confirm the archaic character of the Homeric language and the assumption that the tradition of epic poetry goes back to the Mycenaean period. They show that certain personal names in Homer that do not conform to the norms of the historical period were commonplace in the thirteenth century. They record female workers from Miletus, Cnidos, Lemnos, and Aswia (= the classical Lydia), who had presumably been brought to Pylos as war booty from the islands and coasts of the eastern Aegean. If appearances do not deceive, they even mention persons of Trojan origin.[5] On the other hand they contain no mention of the Homeric heroes; they do not reveal who was king in Mycenae or Pylos; there is nothing of a dispute with Troy, nothing of preparations for a great military enterprise, nothing of current events. They bring this epoch up to the threshold of history, but not over it.

With the Hittite state archive it is somewhat better. The Hittites were a people of central Anatolia who had built a significant empire since the seventeenth century; their country was known as Ḫatti. Until shortly before 1200 it was a great power, in its latter centuries rivalling Egypt or Assyria. The archive contains not just petty bureaucratic material but historical documents such as royal letters and state treaties. What we have of it enables us to write a history of the empire, albeit a very lacunose one.

The kings who sat in the capital Ḫattusas aimed to control all the states of southern and western Anatolia, or else keep them friendly by means of treaties. They were largely successful, but kings in the west sometimes rebelled, and then they had to send an army and re-establish their authority. In connection with such episodes we sometimes learn the names of the western states or of their rulers. Among them there appears the principality Wilusa or Wilusiya. The similarity of the name to the Greek Wilios has long been noted, and their identity has been surmised. Today it is established that Wilusa lay in the north-west corner of Asia Minor, so that there can no longer be any doubt about the equation with Wilios.[6]

[5] See J. Latacz, *Troia und Homer*, 5th edn. (Leipzig 2005), 328 f. [~ Eng. 280 f.]. The English translation, *Troy and Homer* (Oxford 2003), is from the fourth edition, which does not contain all the material in the pages I cite from the fifth in the following notes.

[6] See J. D. Hawkins, *Anatolian Studies* 48 (1998), 1–31; 52 (2003), 94–101; Latacz (as n. 5), 99–119 [~ Eng. 75–92], 335–8.

Beyond the western states, across the sea, there lay a foreign kingdom called Aḫḫiyā or Aḫḫiyawā. Its king was apparently an important figure: for a time he ranked as the king of Ḫatti's equal, as a Great King. The name Aḫḫiyawā has often been compared with Ἀχαι(ϝ)οί, which is the commonest designation of the Greeks in Homer. Aḫḫiyawā would then be a Greek kingdom, possibly the Mycenaean empire. There is nowadays a consensus that the equation of Aḫḫiyawā and Ἀχαι(ϝ)οί, while linguistically problematic, is in practice unavoidable.[7] Such a significant kingdom in the west or south-west, across the sea, could at that period only have been a Greek one. It remains unclear where its centre of power lay, whether on one of the islands, such as Rhodes, or on the Greek mainland, for example at Mycenae or Thebes.

During the last two centuries of the Hittite empire, between 1400 and 1200, Aḫḫiyawā and Wilusa appear a number of times in the records.[8] They first appear in the reign of Tudḫaliyas I, at the end of the fifteenth century. This king had undertaken a campaign to the west and concluded it with a victory over the land of Arzawa. But a revolt followed: twenty-two regions of the land Assuwa allied themselves against him, among them Wilusiya. Next to Wilusiya a Taruisa is listed, which is somewhat reminiscent of the name Troia.[9] Tudḫaliyas defeated the confederate army and subjugated the whole of Assuwa.

Later he had to send his troops to the west once more, when his vassal Madduwattas suffered repeated attacks from a prince from Aḫḫiyawā. This aggressor was evidently a Greek; he had a Greek name appropriate to a warrior, recorded as Attarissiyas or Attarsiyas, which corresponds to a Greek Atarsias (or Atersias, Atresias), 'Fearless'.[10] He had over a hundred chariots at his disposal and perhaps a thousand foot soldiers, and a fleet too, since he also raided Cyprus.

Two generations later, about 1316, the Arzawan king Uḫḫazidis fought against the Hittites, perhaps with support from the king of Aḫḫiyawā. At the same time the town of Millawanda allied itself with

[7] Cf. Latacz (as n. 5), 150–7 [~ Eng. 121–8], 338–41.

[8] For what follows cf. E. H. Cline, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea* (British Archaeol. Reports International Series, 591, Oxford 1994), 121–5 (texts and translations; datings need revision); Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford 1998), 394–400.

[9] Cf. Latacz (as n. 5), 119–28 [~ Eng. 92–100], 337 f.

[10] Cf. *Glotta* 77 (2001), 262–6.



Aḫḫiyawā. Millawanda is Miletus, on the west coast by the ancient mouth of the Maeander. The Hittite king of the time, Mursilis II, sent an army and took the town. He himself marched against Uḫḫazidis' capital Apasa, which is Ephesos. Uḫḫazidis had to take ship and flee to the islands, in other words into the Aḫḫiyawan sphere.

Mursilis later fell prey to an illness. Various treatments were applied, and 'the god of Aḫḫiyawā' (an effigy) and 'the god of Lesbos' were brought to help him. Friendly relations with Aḫḫiyawā must have been restored by this time.

The next Hittite king was Muwatallis II; we are now in the thirteenth century. A vassal of the king of Aḫḫiyawā, one Atpās, was governor of Miletus. He was engaged to the daughter of a new rebel against the Great King, $I^{XVIII}$ one Piyamaradus. This Piyamaradus had briefly taken control of Wilusa and also attacked Lesbos. Muwatallis sent an army and retook Wilusa. Meanwhile Piyamaradus had withdrawn to Millawanda and probably had to escape from there to Aḫḫiyawā. Muwatallis now made a treaty with the rightful king of Wilusa, Alaksandus.[11] This is an arresting name, as it is not Asiatic but represents a Greek Alexandros.[12] Alexandros, alias Paris, is the name of the prince from Wilusa/Wilios who is supposed to have abducted Helen. There is, to be sure, a chronological difficulty about simply equating the two figures, as Alaksandus of Wilusa lived about eighty years too early to be associated with the destruction of Troy VIIa. The correspondence of Alaksandus of Wilusa to Alexandros of Wilios is nevertheless striking and can hardly be coincidental. We have seen that saga can bring together persons from different eras, and that appears to be what has happened here: the Greek saga has preserved a recollection of a historical king of Wilusa. There is a further scrap of evidence to support this conclusion. A late author records a local tradition from Caria that Paris and Helen were received by a man named Motylos.[13] He can only be the king Muwatallis who made the treaty with Alaksandus.

[11] Latacz (as n. 5), 131–47 [~ Eng. 103–19], with translation of the treaty by Frank Starke.

[12] É. Laroche, *Les Noms des Hittites* (Paris 1966), 23, 'le nom n'est probablement qu'une transcription maladroite du grec Alexandros, et n'a rien à voir avec les langues asianiques'; H. G. Güterbock in M. J. Mellink (ed.), *Troy and the Trojan War* (Bryn Mawr 1986), 34; C. Watkins, ibid. 49 = his *Selected Writings* (Innsbruck 1994–2008), 704.

[13] St. Byz. s.v. Σαμυλία· πόλις Καρίας, Μοτύλου κτίσμα τοῦ τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ Πάριν ὑποδεξαμένου.

But why did the king of Wilusa have a Greek name? He is not likely to have been a Greek by birth. It has been conjectured that he had a Greek mother. If that was the case, we should not think in terms of a woman abducted like Helen but rather of a political or dynastic marriage such as was commonplace in those times.[14] Alaksandus' mother may have been the daughter of a ruler in Aḫḫiyawā, the marriage being designed to confirm a bond of friendship.

Two further observations on the treaty. First: Muwatallis stresses that Wilusa was formerly loyal to the Hittite empire, especially when Kukkunnis was its ruler. It is possible that this name too has left an echo in Greek myth, since we hear of a great Trojan hero Kyknos whom Achilles slew at an early stage of the war.[15] Second: in §19 it is stipulated that the text of the treaty is to be read out to Alaksandus three times a year so that he always keeps its provisions in mind. That implies that there was a chancellery in Wilusa where such documents were kept, and scribes who could keep them in order and read them. In 1995 a scribe's seal was found at Troy, from the twelfth century.[16] No written text has come to light, alas; it may be that the archive, whether it consisted of perishable materials or of clay tablets that a catastrophic fire would have baked hard, was destroyed in antiquity when the hilltop was levelled for the reconstructed temple.

The rebel Piyamaradus was still active under Ḫattusilis III, around the middle of the thirteenth century. He was making trouble in Lycia. The Lycians appealed to Ḫattusilis and to a certain Tawag(a)-lawas, a brother of the king of Aḫḫiyawā; his name represents Greek Etewoklewēs, 'Truly famed'.[17] Ḫattusilis came and pursued Piyamaradus to Miletus. Piyamaradus took ship and removed himself to Aḫḫiyawā, out of reach. Ḫattusilis then wrote a long letter of complaint to the king of Aḫḫiyawā, whose name is unfortunately not preserved. One passage is of particular interest. The Hittite king asks the king of Aḫḫiyawā to write to Piyamaradus and tell him, *inter alia*, that 'in the matter of Wilusa, on account of which the Hittite king and I were at odds, he has now brought me round and we have come to agreement. War is wrong for us.' So there had been a dispute over

[14] See *The East Face of Helicon*, 619.

[15] *Cypria* arg. 10, Pind. *Ol.* 2. 82, etc. Kukkunnis is acceptable as an Anatolian name, and Kyknos may represent a Hellenized form of it; cf. C. Watkins (as n. 12).

[16] Latacz (as n. 5), 71–4, 92–4 [~ Eng. 49–51, 68–70].

[17] H. G. Güterbock, *AJA* 87 (1983), 136; id., *Orientalia* 59 (1990), 157–65; F. Starke, *Studia Troica* 7 (1997), 472 n. 61.



Wilusa between Aḫḫiyawā and the Hittites. But there was no actual war, and the city was certainly not destroyed.

There were further crises concerning Aḫḫiyawā and Wilusa under the next king, Tudḫaliyas IV (*c.*1237–1209). A new rebel, Tarḫunaradus, supported from Aḫḫiyawā, took control of the river lands south of Wilusa. Tudḫaliyas defeated him. When Walmus, Wilusa's current ruler, was deposed through some circumstance—we do not know whether Aḫḫiyawā was involved—Tudḫaliyas took pains to restore him. Relations with Aḫḫiyawā had deteriorated. In a treaty that Tudḫaliyas made with the state of Amurru (north Syria) it was spelt out which kings ranked equal with the Hittite king. They were the kings of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Aḫḫiyawā. But the last-named was immediately deleted, and a few lines further on it is laid down that no ship from Aḫḫiyawā is to be allowed to call at Amurru.

We hear nothing more of Wilusa from the Hittite side. We are close to the time when Troy VIIa is destroyed, but also to the time when the Hittite capital Ḫattusas itself collapses and the records fall silent. Still, we have built up a fairly clear picture of the state of affairs. Since about 1400 the kingdom of Aḫḫiyawā had been interesting itself in the west coast of Anatolia, especially in the south at the old Minoan foundation of Miletus. It had from time to time [xxx] made friends with rulers of west Anatolian states. In the thirteenth century it was making raids on coastal areas, capturing numbers of women, and bringing them back to Greece as slaves. It involved itself a couple of times in the affairs of Wilusa. There is no record of a serious assault, but against this historical background it would not be a surprising development. Could the fall of Ḫattusas have triggered it? But the relative chronology is altogether uncertain.

It is also uncertain what we are to understand by 'Aḫḫiyawā'. A Greek kingdom, certainly. But just a maritime kingdom? Or was it governed from Mycenae? This is quite conceivable, as the Mycenaeans conquered a good part of Crete before 1400 and surely controlled the whole southern part of the Aegean. The poet of the *Iliad* still thinks of Agamemnon and his ancestors as having ruled over all Argos and many islands (*B* 108). But it can happen that such an empire splits after a time into two or more smaller kingdoms. In any case a Mycenaean empire could not have lasted after the destruction of the palaces. Again it is uncertain how that event relates chronologically to the catastrophes at Wilusa and Ḫattusas.

Supposing that the saga is trustworthy on this point, and that a war was waged against Troy with the whole might of the Mycenaean kingdom: what would have been its purpose? According to the saga it was to bring Helen back and punish those guilty of her abduction. Now, there is a powerful reason to doubt that, namely that Helen was not a mortal queen but a goddess, a daughter of Zeus, born from an egg, and sister of the likewise divine Dioskouroi.[18] She still had an active cult in the classical period in Sparta and on Rhodes. It is surely not the case that an adulteress who caused a long and ruinous war was subsequently promoted to divine status. On the contrary: the goddess faded in the saga to a mortal woman.

We can follow this goddess back into Indo-European times. In the *Rigveda* and in the mythological songs of Latvia there appears again a divine maiden of exceptional beauty associated with two horse-riding brothers who are the sons of Dyaus or Dievs, i.e. the Sky-god. The brothers correspond exactly to the Greek Dioskouroi, the horse-riding sons of Zeus, the brothers of Helen. For the Indians and Latvians the maiden is the Daughter of the Sun; according to one Baltic version she is even born from an egg. Helen's name has a perspicuous Indo-European etymology, as Wilhelm Mannhardt saw as long ago as 1875. Its oldest form was *Swelenā; **swel-* means 'sun', and to it is added a suffix common in Indo-European divine names, *-enos/-enā* or *-onos/-onā*. So Helen had a connection with the Sun from the beginning, she was the Sun Maiden. On Rhodes she was worshipped beside the Sun-god.

How does it stand with her abduction? That too is an ancient mythical motif. In the parallel traditions the divine brothers, the sons of the Sky-god, appear as suitors of the Sun Maiden. But the Moon wants to marry her too, and a quarrel develops; after being promised to one party, she is seized by the other. In the Greek myth a displacement has occurred: Helen is no longer a daughter of the Sun but of Zeus. That makes her the sister of the Dioskouroi, who can now no longer appear as her suitors. This role falls to another pair of brothers, the Atreidai, Agamemnon and Menelaos. Helen can only marry one of them, of course, but the saga tells that they made a joint bid for her when the Dioskouroi announced that she was ready to wed. Agamemnon was married already, but he made the top offer on

[18] For what follows cf. above, Chapter 6; *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007), 225–37, 434–6.



his brother's behalf, which settled the matter.[19] Later, when the young wife was abducted by another man, it was again the two Atreidai in conjunction who went after him. The actors in the drama have all become mortals, but one can still see the lineaments of the old myth that was enacted in heaven.

This myth has somehow become mixed up with the memory of a Mycenaean attack on Troy. How is this to be accounted for? The possibility of a historical abduction of Helen is still not absolutely excluded. In the ancient Near East it was quite common to take away and retain an enemy people's deities, that is, their statues.[20] It happens several times in the Old Testament: David took the Philistines' idols, and Amaṣyahu of Judah took those of the Edomites. From the thirteenth century on, a long series of Assyrian kings captured foreign gods and took them to Assyria. In the early sixteenth century the Hittite Mursilis I had taken Marduk, the city-god of Babylon, and twenty-four years passed before he was recovered. In 1215 he was taken to Assyria and after a few years brought back again. In 1158 the Elamites took him to Susa.

This is actually given as a *casus belli*. After forty years the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104) waged war against Elam and retrieved Marduk. According to a contemporary poem he sat in Babylon raging like a lion and called upon Marduk: Lord, have mercy on me, have mercy on us, how long wilt thou tarry in a foreign land? Wilt thou not I^xx come back to thy temple? Whereupon Marduk's voice rang out from heaven and bade the king make war on Elam and fetch him home; victory would be his! And so it was.

So it would be a theoretical possibility that an actual appropriation of an effigy of Helen played a part in the formation of the saga.[21] One might even suggest that the sacrilege was perpetrated by Alaksandus around 1280 and not avenged till about 1200: in this way one could connect the king of Wilusa in the Alaksandus treaty with the destruction of Troy VIIa. But that is probably too adventurous. We have seen that Aḫḫiyawā had an enduring interest in the west coast of Anatolia,

[19] 'Hes.' frr. 197. 1–5, 204. 85–7.

[20] References in *The East Face of Helicon*, 486; for the Nebuchadnezzar poem, ibid. 74.

[21] The idea that oriental abductions of statues might be relevant to Helen was mooted, though not very clearly, by H. Wirth, *Homer und Babylon* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1921), 144. Note that in the Stesichorean version of the Helen myth it was an εἴδωλον of her that Paris took to Troy, while the real Helen remained in Egypt.

including Wilusa. We do not need a special, exceptional provocation to account for a final showdown.

The Trojan War, then, remains in the end a mythical war. We lack the document that would bring it into the realm of history; it lies just off the edge of the screen. So for the time being we must content ourselves with the myth. Fortunately it is one of the best.

# 8

# Phasis and Aia

The land of the Golden Fleece, the goal of the Argo's voyage, is located by classical authors in Colchis, the country at the furthest end of the Black Sea corresponding to the western part of modern Georgia. The river Phasis was identified with the principal river of that region, the Rioni. It is the conviction of most Georgians that the Argonaut legend reflects historical contact between their forefathers and the Mycenaean Greeks.

However, the Greek legend cannot have come to Colchis before the Greeks did, and on the evidence of archaeology they did not get there until the sixth century BCE, as the culmination of a gradual process of Black Sea exploration and colonization that did not get under way before 700.[1] The earliest source that locates Aietes' kingdom in Colchis is a fragment (17 W.) of the *Korinthiaka* attributed to Eumelos. Eumelos was supposed to have lived in the eighth century, but the hexameter poems ascribed to him are certainly of later date, and the *Korinthiaka* is to be assigned to the sixth century.[2] Greeks from Miletos were settling in Colchis at that time, and having found that it was the furthest east it was possible to sail on that sea, they identified it as the land to which the Argonauts had sailed centuries before.[3]

*Mus. Helv.* 64 (2007), 193–8.

[1] David Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity* (Oxford 1994), 89–118; G. R. Tsetskhladze, *Die Griechen in der Kolchis* (Amsterdam 1998). The earliest fragment of Greek pottery from the region, from Batumi in south-west Colchis, is perhaps from the end of the seventh century.

[2] M. L. West, *JHS* 122 (2002), 130–1 [=below, Chapter 26]. Mistaken faith in the eighth-century date of 'Eumelos' has drawn archaeologists into groundless speculation about earlier Greek visits to the area.

[3] Cf. U. von Wilamowitz, *Griechische Tragödien* iii (3rd edn., Berlin 1910), 169–70; P. Friedländer, *Rh. Mus.* 69 (1914), 300; A. Lesky, *Wien. St.* 63 (1948), 24, 38–9=*Gesammelte Schriften* (Basel 1975), 27, 38–9.

The Argonaut legend itself was a good deal older. Its currency in the seventh century is presupposed by allusions in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Hesiod and the pseudo-Hesiodea, and Mimnermos.[4] As in the later versions, Jason and his companions set out from Iolkos and sailed across the north Aegean by way of Lemnos. We can take it for granted that from there they went up through the Bosporos and out into the greater sea beyond. But that sea was still almost wholly [195] unexplored. It was not yet known to be enclosed; the assumption was that, like the western sea, it connected with Okeanos.[5] The Argonauts' destination at this early period was not Colchis or any other territory of the real world. It was a purely mythical region, located by the stream of Okeanos and the rising of the sun. This is shown very clearly by the two relevant fragments of Mimnermos:

(11 W.) *οὐδέ κοτ' ἂν μέγα κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς Ἰήσων*
*ἐξ Αἴης τελέσας ἀλγινόεσσαν ὁδόν,*
*ὑβριστῆι Πελίηι τελέων χαλεπῆρες ἄεθλον,*
*οὐδ' ἂν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῦ καλὸν ἵκοντο ῥόον.*

Nor ever would Jason himself have brought back the great fleece from Aia, completing that arduous journey as he performed the difficult trial for arrogant Pelias, nor would they have reached Okeanos' fair stream.

(11a) *Αἰήταο πόλιν, τόθι τ' ὠκέος Ἠελίοιο*
*ἀκτῖνες χρυσέωι κείαται ἐν θαλάμωι*
*Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ χείλος, ἵν' ὤιχετο θεῖος Ἰήσων.*

Aietes' city, where swift Helios' rays are stored in a golden chamber by the edge of Okeanos, where godlike Jason went.

In later versions, formed after the Phasis had been discovered in Colchis, the Argonauts reached Okeanos by sailing up the river from Aietes' city;[6] the Pontos had turned out to be landlocked, but beyond Colchis Okeanos must still be found. In this Mimnermos fragment, however, Aietes' city is itself situated beside Okeanos, in the immediate vicinity of the sunrise. Aietes was the son of Helios.

[4] *Il.* 7. 467–9; 21. 40–1; 23. 746–7; *Od.* 12. 69–72; Hes. *Th.* 340, 956–62, 992–1002; *Catalogue of Women*, frr. 38, 40, 63, 241 M.–W.; *Megalai Ehoiai*, frr. 253–5; *Keyx gamos*, fr. 263; *Aigimios*, fr. 299; Mimn. frr. 11–11a W.

[5] Cf. Strab. 1. 2. 10, *ἁπλῶς δ' οἱ τότε τὸ πέλαγος τὸ Ποντικὸν ὥσπερ ἄλλον τινα Ὠκεανὸν ὑπελάμβανον, καὶ τοὺς πλέοντας ἐκεῖσε ὁμοίως ἐκτοπίζειν ἐδόκουν ὥσπερ τοὺς ἔξω Στηλῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ προϊόντας.*

[6] 'Hes.' fr. 241; Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 18 = fr. 18 Fowler; Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 251.



His sister Kirke, whom we know from the *Odyssey* and who no doubt played some part in the Argo story,[7] lived on an island

*ὅθι τ' Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης*
*οἰκία καὶ χοροί εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἠελίοιο.*

Where are early-born Dawn's chambers and dancing-floors, and the risings of the Sun. (*Od.* 12. 3–4.)

This island was in the sea, but close to Okeanos (*Od.* 11. 1–13, 12. 1–3).

[195] For Mimnermos the name of the land of the Golden Fleece is Aia. From this are derived the adjective *Αἰαῖος*, which in the *Odyssey* is applied both to Kirke's island and to her, and the name of Aietes, 'the man of Aia'. By Herodotos' time this mythical Aia had been firmly located in Colchis, and he speaks of *Αἶαν τὴν Κολχίδα* (1. 2. 2; cf. 7. 193. 2, 197. 3). But originally Aia was as mythical a place as Okeanos itself, or as Geryon's 'Ruddy Island' (Erytheia) in the far west.

The other toponym intrinsic to the story from the beginning is the Phasis. It appears in Hesiod's catalogue of the world's principal rivers (*Th.* 338–45), and we may assume that he knew it in connection with the Argo story, as it had no existence in any other context. It is immediately preceded in his list by the Danube, and he no doubt conceived it to be located somewhere in the north-east, beyond the Bosporos, though it makes no sense to look for a particular river that was his Phasis. Later, when Greek mariners reached the Don, this was identified by some as the mythical Phasis.[8] Later still, when they reached Colchis, they identified the Rioni as the Phasis and gave this name also to their own primary settlement by its mouth, just as they established an Istros on the Danube, a Borysthenes on the Dnieper, and a Tanais on the Don.[9]

Before these identifications of the Phasis with real rivers encountered around the Black Sea, we must suppose it to have been a purely mythical entity, part of that imaginary landscape in which

[7] Cf. M. L. West, *CQ* 55 (2005), 43–5 [=below, Chapter 22].

[8] U. von Wilamowitz, *Aischylos. Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914), 152–3; J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford 1962), 55–9.

[9] On attempts to link the name Phasis with that of the west Georgian port town Poti see Otar Lordkipanidze, *Phasis: The River and City in Colchis*, *Geographica Historica* 15 (Stuttgart 2000), 11–12. Poti was never a river-name and is not on the site of the Greek city, though in the same area.

Dawn had her dancing-places and Helios his golden storehouse of rays. But what was the function of a river in that landscape? How did it relate to the world river Okeanos, from which in Homer the sun and the dawn rise (*Il.* 7. 422, 19. 1, etc.)?

I submit that in the original form of the myth, as it developed probably in Submycenaean Thessaly [cf. Chapter 9], the Phasis took the place of Okeanos, not as a river conceived to encircle the whole earth but in its more specific identity as the river from which the sun rose. To find the Golden Fleece the Argonauts had to sail to the banks of the Phasis: this is the datum that by Mimnermos' time has been transmuted into 'they sailed to Okeanos' fair stream'. We are accustomed to think of Okeanos as a Panhellenic concept of immemorial antiquity. It is embedded in the Ionian poetic tradition represented by the Homeric and Hesiodic poems. But we have no idea of the origin of the name Okeanos; it has not been satisfactorily explained from Greek, and if it is a foreign borrowing we cannot say where it came from or at what period it was adopted.[10] It might have been unknown to Thessalian mythical cosmology in 1000 BCE.

I[196] If Okeanos does not lend itself to etymological analysis, Phasis does. Once we recognize it as the mythical river of the land of the sunrise, a singularly easy and apt etymology comes immediately: **Bhā-tis*, 'Radiant'. *Bhā* is the old root verb seen in *Od.* 14. 502 *φάε δὲ χρυσόθρονος Ἠώς* (and in Hesychius *φ* 146 *φάντα· λάμποντα*). In the Rigveda the same verb is frequently used of Dawn or the Dawns: 1. 92. 9 *urviyā́ ví bhāti*, '(Dawn) shines out widely'; 3. 6. 7 *Uṣó vibhātīr ánu bhāsi pūrvī́ḥ* 'you shine in accord with the many shining Dawns'; 3. 61. 2 *ví bhāhi* 'shine forth' (imperative); 6. 65. 2 *bhānty Uṣásaḥ* 'the Dawns shine', etc. Similarly in the Avesta we have *uši . . . bāmya* 'shining dawn'.[11] Various adjectives derived from this root are applied to Dawn in Greek: *φαεινή*, *φαινολίς*, *φαεσίμβροτος*, etc. As for the *-tis* suffix, which in Greek regularly becomes *-σις*, it normally makes feminine *nomina actionis*, but at an early period it could also make masculine *nomina agentis*. Buck and Petersen cite Sanskrit *dhū́-ti-s*, which as a masculine means 'shaker' and as a feminine 'shaking', and the isolated Greek masculines

[10] See my discussion in *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 143–8.

[11] *Vidēvdāt* 19. 28. Hence Manichaean Middle Persian *'wšyb'm*, Pahlavi *ušbām* 'daybreak, morning'; Ilya Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge 1959), 291.



*μάντις*, *μάρπτις*.[12] Sanskrit actually has the word *bhāti-* in its feminine form, 'shining, lustre'. The river-name *Φᾶσις* is naturally masculine, with the suffix having agentive force.

That *Φᾶ-* did not change into *Φῆ-* in the epic language need occasion no surprise or doubt. If it was at home in Thessalian mythology and remembered especially in Aeolic poetic tradition, it could retain its Aeolic form in just the same way as did *Φήρες*, the Thessalian Centaurs (*Il.* 1. 268), as against Ionic *θῆρες*.

Phasis was then originally the mythical River of Radiance in the furthest east from which the sun rose. Perhaps the idea was that the sun's (and stars') radiance was actually renewed by the passage through the water; cf. *Il.* 5. 5–6 *ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῶι ἐναλίγκιον, ὅς τε μάλιστα λαμπρὸν παμφαίνηισι λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο*.[13] That would account for the river being given the name of Phasis.

What about Aia? Does that name hold a similar secret? Eduard Schwyzer, who perversely derived *Αἶα* from (*νῆσος*) *Αἰαίη* instead of vice versa, explained the adjective as meaning 'of Dawn'; he took it as representing **ἀ(υ)αία*, formed from the *ἄϝα* or *αὔα* which he found in Zenodotus' curious reading *ἄας* for *ἠοῦς* at *Il.* 8. 470.[14]

Semantically this is exactly what we should like to find. The formal analysis is shaky, but we can improve on it. The Indo-European word for dawn is based on I[197] a verbal root **h₂us*/**h₂eus* meaning 'glow (red), flame' (also seen in Latin *aurum* < **ausom*, Old Prussian *ausis*, 'gold'), extended by a stem affix *-ós-* or alternatively *-ró-*. From the form with *-ós-* come Vedic *uṣás-*, Avestan *ušah-*, Greek *ἀώς*, *αὔως*, *ἠώς*, *ἕως*, Latin *aurora* (**ausōs-ā*). With full grade in the root, zero grade in the suffix, and the feminine ending *-ih₂* we get **h₂eus-s-ih₂*, in which the *-s-s-* would undergo regular simplification to *-s-*.[15] In Greek this would develop into **ἄwh-ya*, **hἄw-ya*,[16] and then, by

[12] C. D. Buck and Walter Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (Chicago 1949), 574. The name of the Oceanid nymph *Μηλόβοσις* (Hes. *Th.* 354), though feminine, must be understood as 'flock-feeder'.

[13] The idea of the sun's cleansing bath is also found in Baltic and Slavonic popular mythology. See my *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007), 212.

[14] E. Schwyzer, *IF* 38 (1917/20), 158–9; cf. P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 12 (1923), 216; Lesky (as n. 3), 23–4/26–7. For other attempted etymologies of *Αἶα*, none at all persuasive, cf. Lesky 39–42/40–2. Lesky considers the possibility of non-Greek origin, and I have explored this avenue in *The East Face of Helicon*, 407 f.

[15] As in the Vedic gen. *uṣás* < **h₂us-s-és*. I am indebted to Calvert Watkins for this improvement on my original idea of **h₂eus-ih₂*.

[16] The expected development would be with short *a* in the first syllable, but *ἀώς* for some reason has a long one. The internal *h* aspirates the initial vowel.

regular assimilation of **wy* to **yy*,[17] **hāyya*, *Αἶα*, or with East Greek psilosis *Αἶα*.

Aia then can mean simply and straightforwardly 'Dawnland'. But there is a complication that rightly troubled Schwyzer. Besides *Αἶα* as the name of the land of the Golden Fleece, the poetic language knows an *αἶα* that means simply 'land' and serves as a useful metrical alternative to *γαῖα*.[18] Is this the same word? But how could 'Land' serve to designate a particular place, whether in real or mythical geography? What sense would there be in a *νῆσος Αἰαίη* or an *Αἰαίη Κίρκη* as 'the island of Land', 'Kirke of Land'? But if it is not the same word, we shall have to puzzle over the etymology of a second *αἶα*, independent of the first.

I see a conceivable solution, which I put forward without much confidence but for what it is worth. Manu Leumann taught us that words in the epic vocabulary have sometimes changed their meaning through misunderstanding of their function in ambiguous contexts. Now in two places in the *Iliad* (8. 1 = 24. 695) we find the verse

*Ἠὼς μὲν* (or *δὲ*) *κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν.*

This might in principle have been an old formula; the goddess's saffron robe recalls motifs of the Vedic Uṣas hymns.[19] In certain other expressions relating to dawn the focus is on the locality from which the goddess comes:

*Ἠὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο*
*ὤρνυθ', ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φόως φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσιν* (11. 1–2).

*Ἠὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων*
*ὤρνυθ', ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φόως φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσιν* (19. 1–2).

[198] Is it possible that *Ἠὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν* originally meant not 'spread over the whole earth' but 'spread over all the world's eastern rim'? If so, it is easy to see how in time the true meaning of *αἶα* might be forgotten and the phrase reinterpreted as 'over the whole earth'. It might then have been taken over for use in other contexts, such as 9. 506–7 (Ate) *πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθέει, φθάνει δέ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ αἶαν βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους*, or 23. 742 (a silver krater) *αὐτὰρ κάλλει ἐνίκα πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν*, and *αἶα* adopted as a metrically convenient alternative for *γαῖα*, as when *πατρίδος αἴης* is used as the genitive corresponding to *πατρίδα γαῖαν*, *πατρίδι γαίῃ*.

[17] A. Heubeck, *Die Sprache* 9 (1963), 195–8 = *Kl. Schr.* (Erlangen 1984), 398–401.

[18] Cf. Kurt Witte, *Glotta* 3 (1912), 113; 4 (1913), 5 = *Zur homerischen Sprache* (Darmstadt 1972), 37, 87; Lesky (as n. 3), 46/45. *αἶα* is found only 28 times in Homer, always at verse-end, as against over 300 examples of *γαῖα*.

[19] Cf. *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (as n. 13), 220–1.



In conclusion I would emphasize that I am not claiming the Argonaut legend to be a solar myth, as certain scholars were prone to do in the nineteenth and still in the early twentieth century.[20] I do not see Jason as a solar figure, or the Golden Fleece as a solar symbol. Aietes and Medea exhibit no solar behaviour. But it is undeniable that they are of Helios' immediate family and that the goal of the Argo's voyage is the eastern extremity of the earth by the dwellings of Sun and Dawn. I hope to have established the probability that this is the key to the names Phasis and Aia.

[20] Cf. A. Kuhn and W. Mannhardt, summarized by K. Seeliger in Roscher i. 531; F. Max Müller, *Contributions to the Science of Mythology* (London 1897), 436–40; Leopold von Schroeder, *Arische Religion* (Leipzig 1914–16), ii. 22–5.

# 9

# Orpheus and the Argonauts

How old is the Argonautic myth, and how old is Orpheus?

So far as the Argonautic myth is concerned, the earliest version of which we have any knowledge is the one that lies behind the *Odyssey*. I have recently analysed the relationship between the two narratives, and attempted to demonstrate that the topography of the Argonautic poem had a particular relationship to the sector of the Black Sea from the Crimea to the Straits of Kerch and the Sea of Azov [below, Chapter 22]. If the argument is accepted, the poem must date from a time when that sector was the frontier zone of Greek (essentially Milesian) exploration: tentatively prospected, but not yet colonized. The mythical Aia, which was not yet located at Colchis, will have lain at the eastern extremity of this zone, the Phasis being probably identified with the Tanais. The earliest Greek finds at the main sites in these regions—Berezan, Olbia, Chersonesos, Panticapaeum, Nymphaeum, Phanagoreia—have been dated by recent scholars to between 640 and 550.[1] We may reasonably think of the mid-part of the seventh century as the time when this area was being sporadically traversed and when rumours of what it contained were coming back to Greece. This should be the date of the Argonautic poem. A date around 700 would be implausibly early.

However, this will not have been the first epic on the Argonauts' expedition. As I have mentioned, Hesiod includes the Phasis in his

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[1] Surveys by Y. G. Vinogradov, G. Tsetskhladze, J. Boardman, and S. L. Solovyov, summarized in *CQ* 55 (2005), 58 [=below, Chapter 22].



catalogue of the world's major rivers in the *Theogony* (337–45): that presupposes the currency of the myth by 700 at the latest. There is no reason why it should not go well back into the Dark Age, perhaps to the eleventh or tenth century, when Aeolian Greeks from Thessaly were raiding and settling the coastal regions of north-west Anatolia. At that time they must have become familiar with the Hellespont, and found that the Bosporus gave access to a vast open sea stretching away to the north and east, to unknown regions.

Their saga poetry was centred on the Mycenaean capital of Iolkos and on heroes such as Pelias, Jason, Peleus, and Achilles. The story of a dynastic struggle became bound up with the myth of a quest for a distant treasure, a symbol of royalty, that had to be fetched from the ends of the earth. Folktale motifs abound in the narrative: the sleepless dragon that guards the treasure, the magical assistance given by the daughter of the savage king, the perils to be overcome on the journey. Karl Meuli recognized the pattern of what he called the *Helfermärchen*, the type of story in which a band of people embark on a dangerous journey or quest, having among them certain individuals with exceptional abilities, and each of these individuals enables them to overcome a particular danger.[2] The outstanding singer who can save the party from the seductive Sirens fits perfectly into the matrix. For mariners of the north Aegean it was natural to situate the wonderland in which the adventures took place out in the unknown seas beyond the Bosporus.

And how old is Orpheus? If it is accepted that he could have been the singer in the seventh-century *Argonautica*, why should his name not go back as far as the myth? The Thracian music-maker, the grandson of Pieros, like the Pierian–Olympian Muses themselves, should have been at home originally in this north Greek poetic tradition, to be carried from there across the sea to Lesbos, the mythical repository of Orpheus' severed but prophetic head. And there is another thing that points to the antiquity of his name. It belongs to the declension in -εύς, genitive -ῆος, later -έως. This is an old type, found in the Linear B tablets, common in heroic names (Ἀχιλλεύς, Ὀδυσσεύς, Πηλεύς, Νηλεύς, Τυδεύς, Ἀτρεύς, etc.) but no longer productive in the historical period. Names of this type were not still being created in the seventh or sixth century.

[2] References as in Chapter 22, n. 28.

It may be objected that in the two earliest attestations of Orpheus' name it does not have this form: on the Delphic monument it is *ΟΡΦΑΣ*, and in Ibycus *Ὄρφης*.[3] But these are secondary, dialect forms. Herodian quoted the Ibycus fragment, together with *Φύλης* for *Φυλεύς*, to illustrate a Doric peculiarity. Paul Kretschmer collected a number of parallel examples from vase inscriptions, where heroes whose names end in epic in *-εύς* are spelled with *-ΕΣ*: Peles, Promethes, Olutes, Perses.[4] The development of divergent dialect forms of Orpheus' name is a further pointer to its antiquity.

So is the obscurity of the name. Every Greek word containing the syllable *ὀρφ-* (besides several that do not) has been claimed as the key to its meaning: *ὀρφανός*, 'bereft, orphan'; *ὄρφνη*, 'darkness'; *ὀρφώς*, a kind of fish, the great sea-perch. None of these etymologies has the remotest plausibility. There is slightly more to be said for the hypothesis that Orpheus' name is related to that of the Vedic Ṛbhus. Linguistically the equation is possible, if one abandons the view that the Indic name corresponds to the Germanic *alp*, ON *álfr*, English *elf*. But as mythical figures the Ṛbhus do not have a great deal in common with Orpheus. They were three craftsmen who served the gods. They were originally mortals, but they attained divine status on account of their marvellous skills. They served as priests in Savitṛ's house, and they are praised as wise, inspired seers (*kavis*). Their most famous accomplishment was to divide the gods' drinking-vessel into four. They also made steeds for Indra, a self-propelled flying car for the Aśvins, and a cow that yields the divine drink *sabar*. They made their aged parents young again—something that the daughters of Pelias attempt in the Iolkos saga, but with Medea, not Orpheus, in attendance.

Orpheus' participation in the Argonauts' expedition is not necessarily the only ancient element in his mythology. His ability to charm animals and trees with his singing, his nearly successful recovery of his wife from Hades, his assassination by Thracian women: all of these themes, celebrated in the fifth century, may be much older, though we cannot follow the trail further back as we can with the Argonautic adventure. What is new in the sixth century, I believe, is his elevation into a prophet of salvation and the composition of cosmological and religious poetry under his name—in a word, Orphism.

[3] References as in Chapter 22, n. 29.

[4] P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht* (Gütersloh 1894), 191 f.

# 10

## Grated Cheese Fit for Heroes

The scene in *Iliad* 11 where Nestor's slave Hekamede prepares a restorative *κυκεών* for his guests in his great cup, which only he can lift when it is full, has often been cited in connection with the skyphos from Ischia, dated to *c.*735–720 BCE, with its verse inscription that alludes to Nestor's *εὔποτον ποτήριον*.[1] Now that scholarly opinion is increasingly swinging towards a seventh-century dating for the *Iliad*,[2] it seems more prudent than ever to see the Ischia inscription as a reflex not of our *Iliad* but of a similar Nestorian drinking episode in earlier epic tradition. His cup, as described, has features of a Bronze Age vessel; and the motif of the mighty goblet is paralleled in the Ugaritic Baal epic, current not later than the fourteenth century.[3]

Here I want to consider another element in the scene, namely the grated cheese which Hekamede adds to her posset. I hope to show, by a combination of metrics and archaeology, that this too, even though it cannot be traced back to the Bronze Age, belongs to a traditional account that is many generations older than our *Iliad*.

*JHS* 118 (1998), 190–1.

[1] *Il.* 11. 624–41; *CEG* i no. 454 (cf. ii. 304).

[2] Cf. E. Heitsch, *GGA* 220 (1968), 180–1; W. Burkert, *Wien. St.* 89 (1976), 5–21; O. Taplin, *Homeric Soundings* (Oxford 1992), 33–5; W. Kullmann, *Homerische Motive* (Stuttgart 1992), 264; H. van Wees, *Greece and Rome* 41 (1994), 1–18, 131–55, and in I. Morris and B. B. Powell (edd.), *A New Companion to Homer* (Leiden–New York 1997), 692; M. L. West, *Mus. Helv.* 52 (1995), 203–19 [=below, Chapter 17]; J. P. Crielaard in J. P. Crielaard (eds.), *Homeric Questions* (Amsterdam 1995), 274; M. W. Dickie in Ø. Andersen and M. W. Dickie (edd.), *Homer's World* (Bergen 1995), 29–56; W. Kullmann, ibid. 57. In *JHS* 117 (1997), 216 van Wees writes, 'it looks like 1995 was the year in which Homer left the Dark Age and at last became an archaic poet'.

[3] See M. L. West, *Mus. Helv.* 52 (1995), 205 [below, Chapter 17], and *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 376.

First the metrics. Lines 638–40 read as follows:

ἐν τῶι ῥά σφι κύκησε γυνὴ εἰκυῖα θεῆισιν
οἴνωι Πραμνείωι, ἐπὶ δ' αἴγειον κνῆ τυρόν
κνήστι χαλκείηι, ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ πάλυνεν.

In that (cup) she mixed (it) for them, the woman like goddesses, with Pramnian wine, and she grated goat's cheese over it with a bronze grater, and sprinkled white flour over it.

The long monosyllable κνῆ in line 639 stands in a place in the verse where a long monosyllable is exceedingly uncommon: occupying the fifth biceps. The only parallels in the entire *Iliad*, if I am not mistaken, involve a monosyllable contracted from two shorts: so 6. 438 θεοπροπίων εὖ εἰδώς, and similar phrases elsewhere with a genitive noun+εὖ εἰδώς (2. 718; 4. 196=206, 310; 5. 245; 12. 350=363; 15. 525, 679). At 9. 57, 11. 389, and 13. 54 παις can be read either παῖς or πάϊς; the manuscripts agree in the latter spelling. In the *Odyssey* we do find two irresoluble examples in 4. 604 κρὶ λευκόν and 12. 64 λὶς πέτρη, both indivisible noun-epithet formulae which apparently 'singulorum vocabulorum habebantur instar'.[4] There is also 17. 208 ὑδατοτρεφέων ἦν ἄλσος, one of fifty Homeric passages where ἦν occupies the biceps of a foot and is followed by a vowel. It has long been conjectured that ἦν in such cases has replaced a disyllabic *ἔεν, and *Od.* 17. 208 lends some weight to the hypothesis.

Our κνῆ, therefore, is also likely to conceal an older disyllabic form. A grammarian of around 100 CE, Heraclides of Miletus (fr. 61 Cohn, *ap.* Eust. 872. 18), actually knew a reading κνέε, which he ascribed to 'some of the Aristarchean texts' (τινὲς τῶν Ἀρισταρχείων ἐκδόσεων). This κνέε is unlikely to have been a genuine survival from an early phase of the tradition; more probably it was a conjecture prompted by the sense that a fifth biceps with word-end ought to be disyllabic—the same sense that led copyists to write πάϊς and Πατρόκλεες in this position, although, where these words end in the fourth foot before a vowel, they are happy to write παῖς and Πατρόκλεις.

[4] J. van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium dictionis epicae* (2nd edn., Leiden 1918), 46. He notices also *Hymn. Dem.* 204 καὶ ἵλαον σχεῖν θυμόν, where the abnormal rhythm, as N. J. Richardson observes *ad loc.*, 'perhaps arises from adaptation of a formula such as *Il.* 9. 639' (σὺ δ' ἵλαον ἔνθεο θυμόν); and the cacometric fifth-century Attic epitaph *CEG* 83. 5 οὗτος ἀνήρ, ὃς ἔ<σ>ωισεν Ἀθηναίων τρῆς φυλάς.



κνῆ, considered in the abstract, might be either an athematic form, from *κνῆμι (perhaps earlier *κνᾱμι), or a thematic one, from *κνήω (perhaps earlier *κνᾱω), in which case it is contracted from *κνήε. It is usually taken to be athematic.[5] But if it is contracted from a disyllable, only a thematic form comes into question.[6] And if that disyllabic form was scanned as two shorts, we must assume a shortening of the root vowel at some stage: *κνᾶε > *κνάε, or *κνῆε > κνέε. But neither of these would contract into κνῆ: the first would give *κνᾶ, and the second *κνεῖ.

Was the root originally κνα- or κνη-? Many authorities favour the latter on the basis of Lithuanian and Germanic comparisons. But κνα- (whether inherited in this form or a secondary development) is well established for Greek by the Ionic and Koine paradigm forms κνᾶι, κνᾶν, etc., by Boeotian τυροκνασστιδες (SEG 24. 361: Thespiae, fourth century), and by Theoc. 7. 110 κνάσαιο (if this is not hyper-Doric). Note also the secondary formation κναίω.

In the Classical attestations of the verb the contraction of the root with thematic ε yields in Ionic κνᾱ-, in Attic κνη-.[7] The Attic forms are in accord with the expected development *κνᾱε- > *κνηε- > κνη-, but I[191] the Ionic forms presuppose the same shortening of *κνᾱε- to *κνᾰε- that we have inferred from the Homeric phrase. This divergence between Attic and Ionic must presumably be dated sometime after the Ionian migrations but before the shared raising of ᾱ to η.

Conclusion: at the time when the epic hemistich 'and he/she grated goat's cheese over it' was coined, the verb was *κνάε. In the course of the tradition this must have contracted into *κνᾶ. But ᾱ contracted from αε would not have been affected by the Ionic

[5] So Schwyzer i. 675–6; Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* i. 297, 307, 362; *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* s.v. κνῆ. The philological analysis in the following paragraphs (which do not claim to offer a complete historical account of this knotty little verb) has profited distinctly from the learning and insight of Anna Morpurgo Davies, to whom my thanks.

[6] Cf. D. B. Monro, *Homeric Grammar* (2nd edn., Oxford 1891), 22, 'the metre points rather to the uncontracted κνάε' (than to an athematic form). κνάε seems first to have been conjectured by C. G. (K. W.) Müller, *De cyclo Graecorum epico et poetis cyclicis* (Leipzig 1829), 144.

[7] Ionic: Hdt. 7. 239. 4 κνᾶν; Hippocr. *Fract.* 21 (iii. 79. 3 Kühlewein) κνᾶται v.l. κνῆται; Herondas 8. 8 κνῶ (imperative). Attic: Com. adesp. 519 K–A κἀπικνῆν κνῆται; Pl. *Gorg.* 494c κνῆσθαι; Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 30 (quoted explicitly for Attic κνῆν); Pl. *Gorg.* 494c κνῆσθαι; Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 30 προσκνῆσθαι (v.l. -κνήσασθαι). At Ar. *Av.* 1586 editors rightly adopt Cobet's correction of the manuscripts' (Koine) ἐπικνᾶις to ἐπικνῆις.

shift ᾱ > η, which had occurred at an earlier epoch. The κνῆ in our text may have to be accounted for as an Atticism of the transmission, based on spoken Attic ἔκνη.[8]

The description of cheese-grating, then, entered the epic tradition before the Ionic-Attic contraction of αε to ᾱ. This contraction must have been completed well before 700, given the frequency in the extant epics of forms that presuppose it (Chantraine, i. 51–2). We must surely put it back at any rate to the first half of the eighth century, if not before. The implication is that the cheese-grating description very probably goes back to the ninth century. On the other hand it belongs to the Ionic phase of the epic; we cannot put it back to the Aeolic phase, let alone the Mycenaean, because they would not have had a form of the κνᾱ- verb that could be scanned as two shorts. They might, of course, have expressed the same idea by some differently worded phrase, but the particular expression used in the Homeric text seems to be a coinage dating from the earlier stages of the Ionic phase.

There seem to be good reasons for thinking that Euboea played an important role in the development of the epic tradition between 950 and 750.[9] But what can be said about the status of grated cheese in Euboea at that period? It is here that archaeology comes into the picture.

David Ridgway has recently drawn attention to the discovery of bronze cheese-graters, together with weapons, in three ninth-century warriors' graves at Lefkandi.[10] He rightly raises the question whether we should imagine these warriors as spurred by epic poetry to the use and esteem of the cheese-grater or whether the epic poet was drawing from life:

> ὦ Ὅμηρε καὶ βίε,
> πότερος ἆρ' ὑμῶν πότερον ἀπεμιμήσατο;

And he decides, no less rightly, for the second:

[8] This would still be the case if κνῆ arose as a mis-transcription of *KNE* representing κνεῖ < *κνέε. But the attested Attic and Ionic forms of the verb seem to preclude the existence of *κνέε at any point in either line of development.

[9] M. L. West, 'The Rise of the Greek Epic', *JHS* 108 (1988), 166–72 [=above, Chapter 4].

[10] D. Ridgway, 'Nestor's Cup and the Etruscans', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 16 (1997), 325–44.



> I submit that bronze cheese-graters at Lefkandi make perfectly good sense as part of a warrior's personal property. A grater could have been regarded as essential both to the preparation of an effective pain-killer and to the kind of serious non-medicinal drinking that is not uncommon in military circles.[11]

But need we think of cheese being grated only into wine? Hard cheese was a practical, easily portable, and nourishing foodstuff for a soldier on campaign to carry with him. It could have been broken into hunks and eaten with bread, though this combination, so familiar to us, is rarely mentioned by ancient sources.[12] With a grater to hand, it could be grated into dough, or over fish or meat as available. That will account for the grater's presence as a recurrent item in the Lefkandi warriors' kit. They might well have been acquainted with the particular usage described in the Hekamede scene, especially when coming off the field and in need of quick refreshment. But they will not have carried their cheese-graters exclusively for that one recipe.

It is not suggested that cheese-graters were peculiar to ninth-century Euboea. They were, for instance, common in seventh-century Italy, as Ridgway's material shows, perhaps as a result of Euboean activity in the West. But it is in Euboea that they appear first, and as soldiers' kit. The convergence of the archaeological and linguistic arguments is striking. My thesis is that Nestor's huge goblet was an older element in the tradition, going back to Mycenaean poetry, and that a Euboean poet of the ninth century was the first to fortify its contents with grated cheese, following a custom of his own day.

That the two did not belong together from the beginning may be indicated by the way in which the vessel has suffered a change of use. Instead of Nestor raising it and drinking from it, it is employed as a mixing-bowl in which the ingredients are put together and from which the guests are served. The underlying thought seems to be, 'the heroes of the past drank from cups as big as mixing-bowls are now'.

[11] Ridgway (as n. 10), 330.

[12] See W. Kroll, *RE* x. 1493. 62.

# 11

# The Singing of Homer

In their invocations of the Muses the early epic poets use indifferently verbs meaning 'tell', 'speak of' (ἔννεπε, ἔσπετε, εἰπέ, εἴπατε) and the verb which we normally translate as 'sing' (ἄειδε, ἀείδεο, ἀείσατε).[1] When they refer directly to their own performance they may use the non-committal μνήσομαι, or ἐρέω, ἐνισπεῖν, but more often it is ἀείδω, ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν, or something of the sort; and they will pray for good ἀοιδή, or hope for reward from it.[2] We cannot make a distinction between two styles of performance, one characterized as ἀείδειν, the other as ἐνέπειν: the *Iliad* begins μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά, but later has ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι; Hesiod moves straight from χαίρετε τέκνα Διός, δότε δ' ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν to εἴπατε δ' ὡς . . . ταῦτά μοι ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι . . . καὶ εἴπατε (*Th.* 104–15); the author of the *Hymn to Pan* begins ἔννεπε Μοῦσα and ends ἴλαμαι δέ σ' ἀοιδῆι . . . καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

The performers described in Homer who entertain audiences or themselves with accounts of famous deeds are called ἀοιδοί, and their performances ἀείδειν.[3] They accompany themselves on the φόρμιγξ or κίθαρις.[4] They are often likened to the Anglo-Saxon *scop* who *sang* heroic lays in the banqueting hall to the accompaniment of his *hearpe*, to the Yugoslav *guslar*, and to other 'Singers of

*JHS* 101 (1981), 113–29 (abridged). The original title was 'The Singing of Homer and the Modes of Early Greek Music', but I omit here the parts relating to the musical modes.

[1] We also find κλείετε (Hes. *Th.* 105), ὕμνει (*Hymn. Herm.* 1, *Hymn.* 9. 1, 14. 1, cf. 31. 1).

[2] Hes. *Th.* 104, *Hymn. Dem.* 494, *Hymn.* 6. 20, 9. 7, 10. 5, etc.

[3] *Od.* 1. 154 f., 328, 339 ff., 3. 267, 4. 17, 8. 43 ff., 250 ff., 471 ff., 9. 3, 11. 368, 13. 9, 27, 16. 252, 17. 358, 22. 330 ff., 23. 133, 24. 439; *Il.* 9. 186–91.

[4] Besides the passages cited see *Il.* 2. 599 f. (Thamyris), 13. 731, 21. 406; *Hymn. Herm.* 425 ff. (where the instrument is a λύρη). For Hesiod see my note on *Th.* 30.



Tales'. There is little doubt that they are a reflection (perhaps a little idealized as regards the honour in which they are held) of the Homeric poets themselves.

But what does ἀείδειν, in its application to the performance of epic, actually mean? Is it 'sing' in the true sense, as one sings a song? Is it just a conventional word for 'recite' or 'express in verse', like *cano* in *arma uirumque cano*? Or is it something in between, some sort of chanting or intoning which differed from ordinary speech delivery but which we would not include within our definition of singing? The indications appear somewhat contradictory. The word ἀείδειν certainly puts the performance of epic in the same category as the singing of songs, however loose that category may be. Accompaniment on an instrument also implies sung rather than spoken delivery; recitation to music, παρακαταλογή, was regarded as an invention of Archilochus.[5] In Athenaeus (632d) we find the theory that the notorious metrical imperfections in Homer (στίχοι ἀκέφαλοι, etc.) are accounted for by the fact that he, unlike the elegists, set all his poetry to music. Other considerations, however, would favour something closer to recitation than to singing:

(i) Classical writers distinguish rhapsodes from citharodes. The latter sang the poetry of Homer and others to melodies of their own, accompanying themselves on the cithara, and they looked back to Terpander as the famous exponent of this art.[6] Homer was thought of as a [114] rhapsode,[7] and a rhapsode was evidently less of a

[5] Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1140f/1a; but this only means that it was not used for Homer in the later classical period.

[6] Heraclides Ponticus fr. 157 W. *ap.* Ps.-Plut. 1132c, καὶ γὰρ τὸν Τέρπανδρον ἔφη κιθαρωιδικῶν ποιητὴν ὄντα νόμων κατὰ νόμον ἕκαστον τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ὁμήρου μέλη περιτιθέντα ἄιδειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν· ἀποφῆναι δὲ τοῦτον λέγει ὀνόματα πρῶτον τοῖς κιθαρωιδικοῖς νόμοις. Cf. 1133c τὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς βούλονται ἀφοσιωσάμενοι (citharodes before Phrynis) ἐξέβαινον εὐθὺς ἐπί τε τὴν Ὁμήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποίησιν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν Τερπάνδρου προοιμίων. (Citharodes' prooimia were evidently ascribed *en masse* to Terpander, as rhapsodes' prooimia to Homer. Cf. below, n. 24.) Heraclides treated Homer's Demodocus and Phemius as citharodes, 1132b [as did Aristarchus: schol. *Il.* 9. 137*a*]. Timomachus *FGrH* 754 F 1 gives the honour of being the first citharode to perform Homer's battles to one Stesandros of Samos (or Cyprian Salamis?).

[7] Pl. *Leg.* 658b εἰκός που τὸν μέν τινα ἐπιδεικνύναι καθάπερ Ὁμηρος ῥαψωιδίαν, ἄλλον δὲ κιθαρωιδίαν, κτλ.; *Rep.* 600d Ὅμηρον δ' ἄρα οἱ ἐπ' ἐκείνου . . . ἢ Ἡσίοδον ῥαψωιδεῖν ἂν περιόντας εἴων. *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 5 ποιήσαντα γὰρ τὸν Μαργίτην Ὅμηρον περιέρχεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν ῥαψωιδοῦντα; 17 ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ τὸν Μαργίτην Ὅμηρον περιέρχεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν ῥαψωιδοῦντα· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Κόρινθον ἐρραψώιδει τὰ ποιήματα. [Add Theopompus, *FGrH* 115 F 114.]

musician than a citharode. ἄιδειν can be used of him,[8] but more often it is λέγειν.[9] He does not normally seem to play an instrument; some explained ῥαψωιδός as =ῥαβδωιδός, because he held a ῥάβδος.[10] He was noted for histrionic rather than musicianly qualities.[11] Such was the rhapsode of the classical period, and it was considered that he descended directly from the poet-rhapsode such as Homer.

(ii) The Alexandrian scholars and the grammatical tradition that derived from them attached importance to the study of Homeric accentuation, and record a number of particular accentuations that cannot have been established either from the living Greek language or from theory and analogy, but must have been preserved by a continuous tradition of oral performance from early times: such accentuations as ἀλεωρή, γάρ αὐτον, δηιοτής, θαμειαί, ταρφειαί, καυστειρῆς, ἀγυιαί, Τρωιούς, ὅθί σφισι, and others.[12] That rhapsodes continued to perform Homer in Hellenistic times, and indeed much later, is known from agonistic inscriptions.[13 s1] It is not the case that Alexandrian scholars kept their noses in books and ignored performing artists of their times. The scholia to Euripides' *Orestes* contain several comments on the practice of later actors. The ancient commentator responsible (perhaps Callistratus) had seen the play on the stage—as most theatre-goers had—and did not regard

[8] Pl. *Ion* 535b ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸν οὐδὸν ἐφαλλόμενον ἄιδῃς; [Pl.] *Eryx.* 403d τῶν ῥαψωιδῶν οἳ τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη ἄιδουσιν; Vit. Hom. 8 (Scorial. I). 2 περιιὼν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ᾖιδε τὰ ποιήματα; Ps.-Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* 32 ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος ἀείδει αὐτοῖς τὰ ἔπεα τάδε, ἃ καλέεται Κάμινος; 33. The word ῥαψωιδός itself implies ἄιδειν. It is not attested before the fifth century (*GDI* 5786 [Dodona], Hdt. 5. 67, Soph. *OT* 391), but best interpreted as referring to formulaic composition. Cf. 'Hes.' fr. 357. 2 μέλπομεν ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ἀοιδήν; Pind. *Nem.* 2. 1 Ὁμηρίδαι ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων . . . ἀοιδοί. [Add Hesych. β 1067 τὴν Ἰλιάδα ᾖσον ῥαψωιδοὶ ἐν Βραυρῶνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς.]

[9] Pl. *Ion* 535b, c bis, e, 537a; Ps.-Hdt. 9, 11, 14, 16, 17, 22, 30, 31, 35, *Cert.* 7–8, 12; 15 ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος . . . περιερχόμενος ἔλεγε τὰ ποιήματα, 17, 18. [In Pl. *Tim.* 21b both verbs are used: ἄθλα γὰρ ἡμῖν οἱ πατέρες ἔθεσαν ῥαψωιδίας. πολλῶν μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέχθη ποιήματα, ἄτε δὲ νέα κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὄντα τὰ Σόλωνος πολλοὶ τῶν παίδων ἤισαμεν.]

[10] Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2. 1d, Eust. in Hom. 6. 17, schol. Pl. *Ion.* 530a=*Suda* s.v. ῥαψωιδοί. Cf. below, p. 124. Note, however, that Plato classes Homer's Phemius as a rhapsode (*Ion* 533c, even if ῥαψωιδοῦ be removed from the text).

[11] Pl. *Ion* 532d, 535b–6a, *Rep.* 395a, Alcid. *Soph.* 14, Arist. *Rhet.* 1403b22, *Poet.* 1462a6.

[12] See J. Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* 880–1, 1102–7, 1154–78.

[13] e.g. *SIG*[3] 711 L 31, 958. 35, 959. 9; *IG* vii. 1773. 17, 1776. 15.



the spectacle as irrelevant to his work, though he was clear that the actors were no reliable guides to Euripides' intentions and sometimes perverted them. Homeric scholars were naturally familar with the sound of rhapsodes' voices. These rhapsodes performed Homer in such a way that the word accents were audible, and they were taken to have at least some authority in the matter. Rightly so, seeing that their accentuation had peculiar features which appear genuinely ancient. How ancient? As ancient as the times when the words concerned were in use in the living language. That implies a delivery in something not too far removed from speech tones at least as early as Homer, if not earlier.

There are two ways open to us to reconcile the conflicting indications. We may postulate a dual tradition from the time of Homer, sung delivery to the accompaniment of the phorminx on the one hand, recitation in speech tones on the other. Homer's own allusions to heroic ἀοιδή would all refer to the first, while the classical rhapsodic tradition would be a continuation of the second. Alternatively, the eighth-century ἀοιδός with his phorminx and the classical rhapsode without it stand in a single line of tradition, the manner of delivery throughout being a kind of recitative that preserved the natural word accents but was (at least so long as the phorminx remained in use) pitched on definite notes.

In favour of the dual-tradition hypothesis it might be urged that a distinction between performers with and without an instrument can be traced back in art to the early fifth century (*sc.* citharodes and rhapsodes), and in literary tradition to Hesiod, who received only a bay staff from the Muses (*Th.* 30). But the ancient inference from Hesiod's staff was not that he did not sing, but [115] that ἐπὶ ῥάβδου δάφνης ᾖιδε.[14] The implication is that the lyre was a valuable adjunct, but its use or non-use did not determine the nature of the vocal performance. This is in line with what we find in several other oral epic traditions. The Serbian bard normally played the *gusle*, but occasionally did without it, holding a staff or a tobacco-pipe instead and singing in the usual manner.[15] In central and western

[14] Paus. 9. 30. 3; cf. 10. 7. 3, λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἀπελαθῆναι τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος (the hymn competition at Delphi) ἅτε οὐ κιθαρίζειν ὁμοῦ τῇ ὠιδῇ δεδιδαγμένον. See further my note on Hes. *Th.* 30.

[15] M. Murko, *NJb.* 43 (1919), 285.

Yugoslav Macedonia and in northern Russia, epics are sung without accompaniment, and there is evidence that in former times an instrument was used: its disappearance has not put an end to singing.[16]

In fact the dual-tradition hypothesis is supported by no ancient testimony, and it lacks intrinsic plausibility. We have seen that no differentiation between singing and reciting can be extracted from the use of ἀείδειν and ἐνέπειν in the language of hexameter poetry. On the contrary, the interchangeability of the words, which is paralleled by the indiscriminate use of ἄιδειν and λέγειν for the later rhapsode's delivery, favours the single-tradition alternative.

I conclude that Homeric 'singing' was truly singing, in that it was based on definite notes and intervals, but that it was at the same time a stylized form of speech, the rise and fall of the voice being governed by the melodic accent of the words. It is the rule in later Greek music that it shows a general correspondence with the word accents, except in the case of strophic poetry, where the pattern of accents is always different from one strophe to the next.[17] The turning away from strophic to astrophic composition in the late fifth century was no doubt due to the desire to exploit to the full the power of music to enhance the sense of the words. Correspondence of melody and accent was part of this; but it need not have been a new idea. No one singing Greek ignored or negated the natural quantities of the words. Why should he ignore or negate their natural accents, when not under the constraint of strophic responsion?

As a feature of the language, of course, the melodic accent was an inheritance from Indo-European times. It is possible that the practice of 'singing' texts by disposing the syllables over a limited set of fixed notes according to their accents was also Indo-European. This is the traditional method of singing the hymns of the Rigveda, in use to this day. The origins of the Rigveda are agreed to lie centuries before Homer, and its text has been preserved almost unchanged from a time that cannot be significantly later than Homer, by written tradition on the one hand, by scrupulous oral instruction on the

[16] H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge 1932–40), ii. 22, 452; A. B. Lord in A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings (edd.), *A Companion to Homer* (London 1962), 181.

[17] For a full account of the correlation of accent and melody see R. P. Winnington-Ingram in *Symb. Osl.* 31 (1955), 64–73; E. Pöhlmann, *Griechische Musikfragmente* (Nürnberg 1960), 17–29; [my *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992), 198–200].



other. The ancient pitch accents, which disappeared from Sanskrit perhaps two thousand years ago, are marked in the texts and realized in performance, each syllable being sung on one of three notes within the compass of a major or minor third. 'The melodic line follows the text in every detail; the words prescribe the rhythm and the flow; there is one note to each syllable, pitch is independent of duration. One might say that the melody only supports the words.'[18]

It is time to turn our attention to the phorminx and its capabilities. It was a member of the lyre family. According to literary tradition, Terpander increased the number of strings on the lyre from four to seven.[19] Everyone put Homer before Terpander, so the inference is that the Homeric phorminx was believed to have had four strings. Such evidence is of slight value by [116] itself. Archaeology, however, confirms that the lyre in general use in the late Geometric period was a four-stringed instrument, and that this was superseded in the course of the seventh century by one of seven strings, or less often eight.[20] We need not, of course, accept that this was due to Terpander's personal initiative. He was simply the first famous practitioner on the new instrument, and naturally he was taken as the πρῶτος εὑρετής. The authors of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* may have known the seven-stringed lyre, if (as I believe) they lived in the seventh century; but the tradition in which they worked was one that came to flower not later than 750, and we are bound to assume that the epic bard's established instrument was the one with four strings only.

Four strings means four notes, since it is very unlikely that extra notes could have been obtained by finger-stopping or otherwise manipulating the strings.[21] The voice was presumably limited to the same four notes: in archaic music, we are led to believe, instrumental

[18] A. Bake in E. Wellesz (ed.), *The New Oxford History of Music* i (London 1957), 200. Earlier four notes were used; see A. H. Fox Strangways, *Sammelband der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 9 (1907–8), 482–3.

[19] Strabo 13. 2. 4 p. 618, Clem. *Str.* 6. 144. 1, Cleonid. p. 202 Jan, *An. Par.* i. 56. 10.

[20] See O. J. Gombosi, *Die Tonarten und Stimmungen der antiken Musik* (Copenhagen 1939), 35–40; M. Wegner, *Archaeologia Homerica* U (*Musik und Tanz*) (Göttingen 1968), 2–12. Seven- and eight-stringed lyres had earlier been in use among the Minoans and Mycenaeans (Wegner 26–7).

[21] See Winnington-Ingram, *CQ* 6 (1956), 183–6. He is concerned with the classical cithara, but the same arguments hold for the phorminx.

accompaniment went in unison with the voice.[22] There is nothing a *priori* objectionable in this limitation.[23] For a recitative based on word accents, four notes was ample. We have seen that the Rigveda has been done at different times on four notes and on three.

It is uncertain whether the lines ascribed to Terpander (fr. 4 Gostoli; Page, *PMG* p. 363),

> *σοὶ δ' ἡμεῖς τετράγηρυν ἀποστέρξαντες ἀοιδήν*
> *ἑπτατόνωι φόρμιγγι νέους κελαδήσομεν ὕμνους,*

preserve a genuine memory of tetratonic song or are a literary-historical forgery.[24] At least they presuppose that the pre-Terpandrian four-stringed phorminx went with a four-note song. We also hear of a citharodic nome (established, of course, by Terpander) called the *τεταοίδιος νόμος*,[25] which may or may not have been based on four notes.

To what four notes were the strings of the phorminx tuned? If we could answer that, we would be some way towards reconstructing the vocal melody, as we have the accents of the text to guide us. I do not think it is such an impossible question as it may seem, if we work back from what is known about early Greek modal scales.

[I omit the following pages (pp. 116–21) in which I attempted to do this, arguing from the old 'Damonian' scales (on which see my *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992), 174–8). I proposed that the gamut of the phorminx comprised the interval of a fourth, divided between a semitone and a major third (e f a), plus an open fourth

[22] Ps.-Plut. 1141b, *οἴονται δὲ καὶ τὴν κροῦσιν τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ὠιδὴν* (heterophonic or pararhythmic accompaniment) *τοῦτον* (the dithyrambist Krexos) *πρῶτον εὑρεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἀρχαίους πάντας πρόσχορδα κρούειν* (played in unison with the voice).

[23] The same is true of a good deal of Anglican chant. A number of the specimens of primitive music given by M. Schneider in *The New Oxford History of Music* i. 61–82 have an equally restricted melodic range; some of them are on only three notes, or two. See nos 1–3, 5, 7–10, 14, 27–8, 56, 58, 61, 86; and p. 152.

[24] They suit the transition at the end of a prooimion, and might genuinely be the work of some early citharode who contributed to the corpus of prooimia later attributed to Terpander. Most but not all of these were in hexameters; see *CQ* 21 (1971), 307–9. For their non-integral character cf. Cic. *De orat.* 2. 325, *conexum autem ita sit principium consequenti orationi ut non tamquam citharoedi prooemium adfictum aliquid sed cohaerens cum omni corpore membrum esse videatur.*

[25] Ps.-Plut. 1132d, Poll. 4. 65, *Suda* iii. 477. 16 Adler (*τετράδιος* codd.: a genuine variant?).



above (a d'). I would now prefer to limit the whole compass to a fifth, structured d e f a.]

[121] With four notes in his scale, the *ἀοιδός* had a measure of freedom. The accent might dictate when he went up or down, but he might have the choice of two or three different notes that he could go up or down to. His procedure cannot have been aleatoric. He must have been guided by familiar melodic patterns. [Short omission.] The reconciliation of the accentual melody to this overall [122] pattern (the Greek for which, I suppose, would be *νόμος*) would be analogous to the reconciliation in ordinary speech of the individual word accents and the overall sentence accent.[55]

With his phorminx the bard reinforced the vocal line, and he no doubt made some additional use of the instrument during pauses. He began with something called *ἀναβολή*:

*Od.* 1. 155, 8. 266 *φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν ἀείδειν.*
17. 261–3 *περὶ δέ σφεας ἦλυθ' ἰωή*
*φόρμιγγος γλαφυρῆς· ἀνὰ γάρ σφισι βάλλετ' ἀείδειν*
*Φήμιος.*

The scholiast on 1. 155 says *φορμίζων· τὰς χορδὰς ῥυθμίζων*, that is 'tuning up', and attempts to connect *φορμίζων* with *φροίμιον*. At 8. 266 *ἀνεβάλλετο* is glossed *ἀνεκρούετο, προοιμιάζετο*. Cf. Eust. 1404. 34 *προανεκρούετο ὡς ᾄσόμενος, ἤτοι προοιμιάζετο*. Pindar, addressing the lyre, writes *τᾶς ἀκούει μὲν βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά, πείθονται δ' ἀοιδοὶ σάμασιν, ἀγησιχόρων ὁπόταν προοιμίων ἀμβολὰς τεύχηις ἐλελιζομένα*: that is, the preliminary notes of the lyre serve as a signal and guide to dancers and singers.[56] Elaborate *ἀναβολαί* seem to have been a feature of the dithyrambs of poets such as Cinesias.[57] Later writers use *ἀναβάλλεσθαι* rather

[55] T. Georgiades, *Der griechische Rhythmus* (Hamburg 1949), 122 ff., propounded a faintly similar theory, according to which the singer repeated the same melody in each line, but with minor modifications (shakes on particular notes) to take account of word accents.

[56] *Pyth.* 1. 3. Schol. glosses *ἀμβολάς* as *προαναφωνήσεις καὶ κρούσεις*. Cf. schol. *Nem.* 7. 114d (*ἀναβάλεο-*) *ἀνακρούου καὶ ἄρχου τι λέγειν*; Et. Magn. *ἀμβολάδην· ἀναβάλλων, ἢ ἐξ ὑποβολῆς. ἀμβολαὶ γὰρ αἱ ἀναβολαί, ἀρχὴ καὶ προοίμιον παρὰ τοῖς μουσικοῖς*.

[57] Phot. a 1413 *ἀναβολή· προοίμιον διθυραμβικοῦ ἄσματος*. Εὔπολις *Βάπταις* (81 K.–A.). *αὔλησον ταὐτὴν κύκλιον ἀναβολήν τινα*. Ar. *Pax* 830 (schol. *τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ᾀσμάτων*). *Av.* 1385 (schol. *προοίμια*). Arist. *Rhet.* 1409b25, *αἱ περίοδοι αἱ μακραὶ οὖσαι λόγος γίνεται καὶ ἀναβολὴι ὅμοιον· ὥστε γίγνεται*

loosely of beginning a song, etc., with or without accompaniment.[56] The Homeric *ἀναβολή* does seem to have been something more, involving some prefatory notes or strumming on the phorminx before the singing began, but it was probably nothing extended. Perhaps Ovid gives us the right picture in two passages about divine singers in the *Metamorphoses*:

*Met.* 5. 339–40 querulas praetemptat pollice chordas,
atque haec percussis subiungit carmina neruis.

*Met.* 10. 145–7 ut satis impulsas temptauit pollice chordas
et sensit uarios quamuis diuersa sonarent
concordare modos, hoc uocem carmine mouit.[57]

The singer broke off at intervals and made a fresh start if the audience was still interested:

*Od.* 8. 87 ff. *ἤτοι ὅτε λήξειεν ἀείδων θεῖος ἀοιδός . . .*
*αὐτὰρ ὅτ' ἂψ ἄρχοιτο καὶ ὀτρύνειαν ἀείδειν*
*Φαιήκων οἱ ἄριστοι, ἐπεὶ τέρποντ' ἐπέεσσιν . . .*

He probably made short pauses between sections of his narrative, perhaps after every line, and filled the hiatus with instrumental flourishes. That the classical citharode used strums to punctuate his performance is suggested by Ar. *Ran.* 1281 ff., where choruses of Aeschylus are made into citharodic nomes by adding *τοφλαττοθρατ-τοφλαττοθρατ* after each period, and perhaps *Plut.* 290, alluding to Philoxenus' *Cyclops* dithyramb (*PMG* 819), *καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ* [123] *βουλήσομαι—θρεττανελό—τὸν Κύκλωπα μιμούμενος κτλ.* Apuleius, describing a statue of a youth singing, writes, *manus eius tenerae, procerulae: laeua distantibus digitis neruos molitur, dextra psallentis gestu pulsabulum citharae admouet, ceu parata percutere cum uox in cantico interquieuit* (*Flor.* 15). The extended *ἀναβολαί* for which Melanippides was criticized may be considered as a development of this technique.

*ὃ ἔσκωψε Δημόκριτος ὁ Χῖος εἰς Μελανιππίδην ποιήσαντα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀντιστρόφων ἀναβολάς, "οἵ τ' αὐτῶι κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλωι κακὰ τεύχων, ἡ δὲ μακρὰ ἀναβολὴ τῶι ποιήσαντι κακίστη".* The word is here apparently extended to instrumental passages within a composition.

[56] Theoc. 6. 20, 8. 71, 10. 22, Philostr. *Imag.* 1. 29, Aphthon. *Progymn.* 1 p. 2. 5 Rabe, Himer. *Or.* 3. 3, Nonn. *D.* 1. 478, 19. 102, 24. 242. A little differently in Philostr. Jun. *Imag.* 6. 3: (Orpheus' right foot) *ἀναβάλλεται τὸν ῥυθμὸν ἐπικροτῶν τοὔδαφος τῶι πεδίλωι.* In Ar. *Pax* 1267 and Isoc. *Panath.* 39 *προαναβάλλεσθαι* seems to mean 'rehearse'.



It is interesting to compare the practice of the modern Yugoslav epic singer as it is seen in Béla Bartók's transcription of Salih Ugljanin's 1934 performance of *The Captivity of Đulić Ibrahim*.[59] Despite the difference of melodic style and the use of a bowed instrument, it shows some similarities with what has been postulated for Homer. Salih begins with nine bars on the *gusle*, and then starts to sing. He rests his voice at the end of each verse, even when there is no syntactical pause. In some verses the vocal line is based on a single repeated note with ornamental shakes, in others there is a descending pattern. There is almost always a fall on the final syllable, most commonly of a fifth. Little is attempted on the *gusle* while the verse is being sung; often it simply sustains a single continuous note. But as soon as the verse is complete it launches into a decorative figure, the equivalent of eight or twelve semiquavers. Occasionally the voice holds the last syllable while this is proceeding. After 105 verses there is a longer passage on the *gusle* alone. The transcription is not continuous after this point, but the notes (pp. 463 ff.) record further instrumental interludes following verses 163 and 508. At line 763 Salih stopped, and showed that he was doing so by delaying the last syllable to the end of the instrumental figure and then singing it on a prolonged note in unison with the *gusle*. After an interval for conversation he resumed with a new thirteen-bar prelude on the *gusle*. At the end of the whole song (line 1811) he repeated the technique used at 763; there was no postlude, voice and *gusle* fell silent together.

[I omit here an *exempli gratia* reconstruction of how the opening lines of the *Iliad* might have been sung, with an instrumental *ἀναβολή* to begin.]

[124] In the eighth century the bard always 'sang', and normally accompanied himself on the four-stringed phorminx. The spread of the cithara in the following century caused a schism. Some adopted it, and evolved a more elaborate, heptatonic style of vocal melody to go with it. Others, out of conservatism, or finding the new instrument technically too demanding, persevered in the traditional style. They had the advantage of being able to go on longer without strain, and they therefore retained the loyalty of the public interested in the

[59] M. Parry and A. B. Lord, *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs* i (Cambridge, Mass. 1953), 437–62.

narrative rather than in musical virtuosity. For musical interest, however, they could not compete with the citharodes, and they soon disencumbered themselves of their obsolescent instruments. The vocal melody, no longer underpinned by a tuned instrument, may in time have lost its definite outlines and become less sharply differentiated from speech-melody. The musical writers take no notice of rhapsodes at all, and no one associates them with singing in any specific mode. But some differentiation from speech-melody may have been maintained. A fragment of evidence for its modification by melodic convention may survive in the Homeric scholia. As a general rule, trochaic paroxytone words followed by an enclitic monosyllable were given a double accent, e.g. *ἄνδρά τε, θάρσός μοι*, syllables such as *ἀνί, θάρι*, being in effect diphthongs with a fall of tone on the second element (*ἀν̂*).[62] But on the opening words of the *Odyssey*, *ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα*, the scholiast notes: *ἔδει μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄνδρα δύο εἶναι ὀξείας, ὡς τὸ "ἄνδρά τε καὶ οἶκον"* (6. 181), *ἀλλὰ ἐφυλάξατο ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ τῶν λέξεων κακοφωνίαν ποιῆσαι*. In ancient texts, even scholarly ones, accents were normally written only sporadically. It is hard to believe that a commentator with an interest in accentuation would have inferred from the mere absence of an accent on *δρα* in the text before him that Aristarchus had prohibited it: he would simply have applied the rule and said '*ἄνδρα* must have two acutes'. He must have had record of an explicit statement by Aristarchus and, if so, it must have been based on rhapsodes' practice. The 'cacophony' explanation may have been formulated by Aristarchus himself; but if the rhapsodes diverged from the usual accentuation here, he was surely right to connect this with its being the opening of the poem. That is one place where we might expect some tension between natural accent and melodic convention—as in two later Greek songs which otherwise show correspondence of melody and accent, the opening word is set on a rising fifth in contradiction of its accent.[63] Without knowing what the rhapsode's convention was, we can appreciate that three ups and downs in the five opening syllables, *ἄνδρά μοὶ ἔννέ*, may have been found unseemly.

The staff which the rhapsode adopted in place of the phorminx appears to have had a certain significance in his performance; it was

[62] See my *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 438 ff.

[63] Mesomedes 1; Seikilos' song. [E. Pöhlmann and M. L. West, *Documents of Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 2001), 88–93.]



not merely something to lean on or clench. Hesiod's was the gift of the Muses themselves, linked with the gift of fine singing. Pindar says that Ajax has honour among men from Homer, *ὃς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ὀρθώσαις ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν* (*I.* 4. 37–9). Whatever exactly this means, *ἐπέων* must depend on *ῥάβδον*, so that the staff somehow stands for the movement of the verse; perhaps it guides it straight (cf. *ὀρθώσαις*).[64] Callimachus fr. 26. 5, *καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ῥάβδωι μῦθον ὑφαινόμενον*, [65] suggests an analogy between the staff and the crossbar of a loom.[65] I have quoted Pausanias' phrase about Hesiod, *ἐπὶ ῥάβδου δάφνης ἥιδε*, where *ἐπί* must signify something more than 'holding'. Possibly the rhapsode turned his staff in different directions while he sang, as the Homeric orator apparently did while he spoke.[66]

The classical rhapsode did not restrict himself wholly to epic. *Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν τῶι προτέρωι περὶ γρίφων* (92 Wehrli) "*τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου*" *φησιν "Σιμωνίδης ὁ Ζακύνθιος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ δίφρου καθήμενος ἐραψώιδει". Λυσανίας δὲ ἐν τῶι πρώτωι περὶ ἰαμβοποιῶν Μνασίωνα τὸν ῥαψωιδὸν λέγει ἐν ταῖς δείξεσι τῶν Σημωνίδου τινὰς ἰάμβων ὑποκρίνεσθαι. τοὺς δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλέους Καθαρμοὺς ἐραψώιδησεν Ὀλυμπίασι Κλεομένης ὁ ῥαψωιδός, ὥς φησιν Δικαίαρχος* (87 W) *ἐν τῶι Ὀλυμπικῶι*.[67] These testimonia, however, relate only to the fourth century, or the end of the fifth at the earliest. In the archaic period the rhapsode's repertoire, like the citharode's, presumably included gnomic hexameter poetry such as Hesiod and Phocylides.[68] But there is no reason to think or expect that it included elegy or iambus. Elegy

[64] Cf. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922), 339 n. He renders 'nach dem Faden seiner Verse', appealing to the fact that *ῥάβδος* can mean 'stripe' in woven fabric (Poll. 7. 53). 'Recht alt, von Menaichmos von Sikyon (Schol. *N.* 2, 1) [*FGrH* 131 F 9] ist die Deutung, *ῥάβδος* wäre *στίχος*; aber sie ist kaum mehr als ein Autoschediasma.'

[65] The idea of poetry as something 'woven' (cf. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 44, fr. 179, Bacch. 5. 9, 19. 8) is Indo-European: see M. Durante, *Rend. Acc. naz. Lincei* 15 (1960), 238 f. = R. Schmitt (ed.), *Indogermanische Dichtersprache* (Darmstadt 1968), 272–4. [My *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007), 36–8.]

[66] Cf. *Il.* 3. 218 f., *σκῆπτρον δ' οὔτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπρηνὲς ἐνώμα, ἀλλ' ἀστεμφὲς ἔχεσκεν, ἀΐδρι φωτὶ ἐοικώς*.

[67] Ath. 602cd. Cf. Pl. *Ion* 531a, where Ion is asked whether he is an expert only on Homer or also on Hesiod and Archilochus. Dionysius I hired rhapsodes to perform his own poetry at Olympia (Diod. 14. 109).

[68] Cf. *JHS* 98 (1978), 164 with n. 3. For Hesiod sung to the lyre cf. also Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 736e.

was everyday poetry, mainly composed for the symposium or other particular settings. So far as we can tell, the custom was to sing it to the pipes.[69] That implies conventional melodies, *νόμοι*, not an accentual rendering, since the piper can hardly have known in detail the words that the singer intended to sing. Iambus is a name that covers various kinds of popular performance. It had its own performers, buffoons, and jesters.[70] Some of it involved simple song-forms, like the epodes of Archilochus and Hipponax. Some of the rest may have had musical accompaniment, but the attribution to Archilochus of *παρακαταλογή* (though this must have been on the basis of later practice) implies recitation which was not itself melodic.[71]

[The remainder is omitted.]

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. I have collected the evidence for rhapsodes in later antiquity in *ZPE* 173 (2010), 1–13, with addenda *ZPE* 174 (2010), 35. However, we cannot take it for granted that they were always, or even usually, reciting Homer; see *ZPE* 173, 7.
2. Add Ach. Tat. 1. 5. 4: *ὡς δὲ ἦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου, παῖς εἰσέρχεται κιθάραν ἁρμοσάμενος, τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκέτης. καὶ ψιλαῖς τὸ πρῶτον διατινάξας ταῖς χερσὶ τὰς χορδὰς ἔκρουε· καί τι κρουμάτιον λιγήνας ὑποψιθυρίζουσι τοῖς δακτύλοις, μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη τῶι πλήκτρωι τὰς χορδὰς ἔκρουε, καὶ ὀλίγον ὅσον κιθαρίσας συνῆιδε τοῖς κρούμασι. τὸ δὲ ἆισμα ἦν Ἀπόλλων μεμφόμενος τὴν Δάφνην φεύγουσαν κτλ.*

[69] See my *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974), 12–14.

[70] See the second chapter of the work just cited.

[71] Ps.-Plut. 1141a. Theoc. *epigr.* 21. 5 f. celebrates Archilochus as *ἐπιδέξιος ἔπεά τε ποιεῖν πρὸς λύραν τ' ἀείδειν*. Phillis of Delos (Ath. 626b) knew a stringed instrument called *ἰαμβύκη*, to which *τοὺς ἰάμβους ᾖδον*.—Nothing useful can be inferred from D.L. 9. 18 on Xenophanes, *γέγραφε δὲ ἐν ἔπεσι καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ ἰάμβους . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρραψῴδει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ*.

# 12

# Hesiod's Titans

In the opening lines of the *Eumenides* Aeschylus' Pythia says that the first prophetic deity at Delphi was Gaia. She was followed by two of her daughters in succession, Themis and Phoibe. Phoibe gave the oracle to Phoibos as a birthday present, and it is from her that he had his name.

Gaia and Themis are mentioned elsewhere as early proprietors of the oracle,[1] and they have other associations with prophecy. Phoibe, however, is not otherwise mentioned in this connection. Indeed, she is not much spoken of at all. Hesiod lists her among the Titans, and makes her the mother of Leto and Asteria by her brother Koios (*Th.* 136, 404 ff.); she is thus the grandmother of Apollo, Artemis, and Hecate. A few authors repeat this genealogy, but for the rest, there is no more to say of her. Antimachus referred to her as *Γαιηΐς* (fr. 151 Matthews), but we do not know what for.

It is understandable that Wilamowitz should have dismissed her as 'eine leere Füllfigur' among the Titans, 'die ihren Namen von dem Sohne der Leto hat'. In the *Eumenides* too, he considers, she is merely a stopgap: Aeschylus took the name from Hesiod to make the transition from Themis to Phoibos.[2] There is, however, no apparent reason why any intermediary between Themis and Phoibos should

*JHS* 105 (1985), 174–5.

[1] Pind. fr. 55, Eur. *IT* 1245–69 (cf. *Or.* 164), Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 31, Aristonoos 1. 21 f. (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 163), Diod. 16. 26. 3 (cf. 5. 67. 4), Ov. *Met.* 1. 321, 4. 643, Lucan 5. 81, Apollod. 1. 22, Plut. *Pyth. orac.* 402d, *Def. orac.* 421c, 433e, Paus. 10. 5. 5–6 (citing Musaeus, DK 2 B 11), Orph. *Hymn.* 79, sch. Pind. *Pyth.* hypoth. p. 2. 6 Dr., Harpocr. (Phot. *θ* 75, *Suda*, *Et. Magn.*) s.v. *θεμιστεύειν* (citing Aeschylus); Themis sitting on the tripod, RF vase Berlin 2538.

[2] *SPAW* 1929. 44 = *Kl. Schr.* v(2). 170 = *Kronos und die Titanen. Zeus* (Darmstadt 1964), 16. In my note on Hes. *Th.* 136 I took a similar view.

be necessary. Pindar, Euripides, and Aristonoos are all quite content for Apollo to take over directly from Gaia and/or Themis, whether by force or peaceably; in Ephorus' account he and Themis established the oracle together.[3]

I think we should regard Phoibe not as Aeschylus' arbitrary interpolation into the succession but as a figure given to him by Delphic tradition. It would not seem to have been a tradition of much vigour or substance. What it said, in essence, was that before Phoibos became the god of the oracle it belonged to a goddess who had the same title, Phoibe. With this much given, it was natural to postulate a genetic relationship between the two. Phoibos could not be the son of Phoibe, because he was Apollo, was he not, and Apollo's mother was undeniably Leto. Leto was not an oracular goddess[4] and could hardly be identified with Phoibe. But Phoibe could be made her mother and Phoibos' grandmother. It was from his grandmother, then, that Phoibos acquired the oracle. And since he came into possession of it on his birthday, the seventh of Bysios (for this was, in cult, the day when his return to Delphi was celebrated, and in early times the one day in the year when oracles were given[5]), it was natural to say that she gave it to him as a birthday present.

The evidence of archaeology tends to confrm that at Delphi, as at certain other Greek sites, the dominant male deity of archaic and classical cult was preceded by a goddess. J. N. Coldstream has summarized the picture that emerges from the material record as follows:[6]

> In late Mycenaean times, worship of a female deity is suggested by an accumulation of over two hundred female terracotta figurines, mainly of the twelfth century B.C. . . . Her cult lapsed during the Dark Age, but it is unlikely that the sanctity of the place was ever forgotten. Then, after three centuries without votive offerings, the worship of Apollo became firmly established when relations with Corinth were opened around 800 B.C.

Coldstream assumes, as others have,[7] that the Mycenaean goddess was remembered in the Greek tradition as Ge. The problem of

[3] Cf. Plut. *De Herod. malign.* 860d.

[4] See F. Wehrli, *RE* Supp. v. 564. 14 ff., for honours she received at Delphi as Apollo's mother; she had no independent significance there.

[5] Callisthenes (*FGrHist* 124 F 49) and Anaxandrides *ap.* Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 292ef.

[6] *Geometric Greece* (London 1977), 178 f.

[7] e.g. R. Demangel, *BCH* 46 (1922), 507; M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*[2] (Lund 1950), 467–8; H. W. Parke and D. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*[2] (Oxford 1956), i. 7.



continuity, however, is acute, and others again have adopted a sceptical stance. Perhaps the thread of tradition reaches back only to the ninth or eighth century. Even so, it is plausible that it should have preserved genuine memories of a goddess with whom divination was associated before Apollo assumed responsibility for it. At Aigeira, directly across the Corinthian Gulf from Crisa, there was an oracle of Ge, at which the procedure resembled that at Delphi inasmuch as the prophecies were delivered by a priestess who had to be chaste and who descended into a cavern to get her information.[8]

Aeschylus is the only author (except for sch. Eur. Or. 164) who gives a succession of oracular goddesses, and this is evidently a construction to accommodate concurrent I[175] names. The attribution of oracles to Gaia reflected the old belief that mantic knowledge was to be drawn from the depths of the earth. Their attribution to Themis was a statement of a different order. The oracular pronouncements were themselves θέμιστες, ordinances,[9] and the verb θεμιστεύειν is used of giving them. To say that they came from Themis herself was the ultimate guarantee of their validity.[10] Themis and Gaia are not in serious competition; we remember how the author of the *Prometheus* makes his hero say:

> ἐμοὶ δὲ μήτηρ οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον, Θέμις
> καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία,
> τὸ μέλλον ἥι κρανοῖτο προυτεθεσπίκει

(209–11). And Phoibe? This, I suspect, was the proper cult name of the old oracular goddess. Again there is no conflict with Gaia, for Phoibe may originally have been understood as a title of the earth-goddess herself.

Her consort Koios is an even more obscure quantity. Perhaps he too originally had to do with Delphic divination. There is a word κοία or κοῖα, attested only in Antimachus fr. 138 M.,

> κοίας ἐκ χειρῶν σκόπελον μέτα ῥιπτάζουσιν.

[8] Plin. *NH* 28. 147, cf. Paus. 7. 25. 13. She had to drink bull's blood (generally considered a deadly poison: Hdt. 3. 15. 4, Soph. fr. 178, Ar. *Eq.* 83, etc.). Drinking blood is not attested for Delphi, but at the oracle of Apollo Deiradiotes at Argos, said to have been founded from Delphi, the prophetess drank the blood of a lamb sacrificed in the night before the monthly séance, and this was what brought her into the state of divine possession (Paus. 2. 24. 1; cf. *Od.* 11. 95 ff. (Teiresias), and J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art* (*The Golden Bough*[3] i, London 1911), i. 381–3.

[9] Cf. *Od.* 16. 403; Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 54, *Paean* 9. 41, fr. 192.

[10] Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* i[3] (Munich 1967), 171.

Hence Hesychius κ 3224 has κοίας· σφαίρας, ἢ λίθους, and the σφαῖρα interpretation recurs in *Et. Magn.* 770. 7 and *Epimer.* τ 4 p. 677. 22 Dyck, where the fragment is quoted. I argued nearly twenty years ago that the other interpretation, 'stones, pebbles', is more probable for missiles aimed at a rock.[11] Now according to one tradition the earliest form of divination at Delphi was by means of pebbles, which some writers say were kept in the bowl of the tripod.[12] Philochorus and derivative sources state that the oracular pebbles were called θριαί, after local nymphs of this name who nurtured Apollo, but this seems to result from a secondary combination; the word suggests fig-leaves, θρῖα, not stones.[13] Some centuries earlier, perhaps, the mantic pebbles had been called κοῖαι, and when Phoibe needed a husband so that Leto could be affiliated to her, he was elicited from them.

These hypotheses have interesting consequences for Hesiod. They imply a Delphic constituent in his list of Titans. This is not a matter for astonishment. The Titans as a collectivity, the Former Gods, seem to derive from Mesopotamian mythology, coming to Greece as an organic part of the myth of the succession of rulers of the gods.[14] The succession myth certainly reached Hesiod via Delphi, since he identifies the stone that Kronos swallowed in place of Zeus with a stone displayed at Delphi (*Th.* 498–500). Somewhere along the way the Titans were fitted out with individual identities. Hesiod's list is as follows:

Okeanos ~ Tethys
Koios ~ Phoibe
Kreios (m. Eurybie, daughter of Ge and Pontos)
Hyperion ~ Theia
Iapetos (m. Klymene, daughter of Okeanos)
Kronos ~ Rhea
Themis (m. Zeus)
Mnemosyne (m. Zeus)

[11] *Phil.* 110 (1966), 156. I compared the Macedonian word κοῖος or κοῖον 'number' (Ath. 455de; cf. *calculus*). The Messenian stream Koios (Paus. 4. 33. 6) may have been named from its pebbly bed.

[12] See C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* (Königsberg 1829), 814 ff.; Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin 1931) i² 372–4; Allen–Halliday on *Hymn. Herm.* 552; K. Latte, *RE* xviii(1). 832; Jacoby on Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F 195; P. Amandry, *La Mantique apollinienne à Delphes* (Paris 1950), 27 ff.; J. E. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley 1978), 219 ff.

[13] Cf. Wilamowitz (as n. 12), 373 f., and Jacoby, loc. cit.

[14] See my *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 200–1; W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass. 1992), 94 f.



Okeanos and Tethys come from the oriental myth, though their classification as Titans is secondary and anomalous.[15] Kronos and Rhea play specific roles in the succession story and must have been Titans from an early stage. Koios, Phoibe, and Themis, we must now suspect, represent a Delphic contribution to the list. It was Apollo's occupation of the oracle that made them into Former Gods. Mnemosyne may be Hesiod's own contribution: she is the mother of his Muses, and he knows of her from a Boeotian cult (Eleutherai, *Th.* 54). Hesiod might also have added Iapetos, the father of Prometheus whose story so interested him; the fact that Homer names Iapetos beside Kronos as an arch-Titan (*Il.* 8. 479) would then be a new indication of Hesiod's priority. Kreios can again be related to Hesiod's personal concerns, for he is the father of Perses and grandfather of Hecate. Hesiod is an enthusiastic evangelist for Hecate (*Th.* 411–52), and his brother Perses was presumably named after her father.[16] Kreios' family is linked with that of Hyperion and Theia in a little cosmogonic scheme (see Fig. 1).

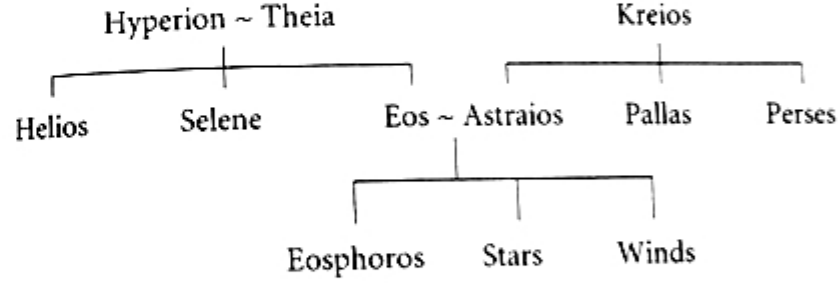


Figure 1

Possibly all this comes from the same family tradition as the worship of Hecate, that is, from Asiatic Greece. Hyperion as father of Helios is of course Homeric.

[15] See my *Hesiod, Theogony*, 201, 204, and *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983), 119–21; Burkert (as n. 14), 91–3.

[16] Cf. *Hesiod, Theogony*, 278.

# 13

# Is the *Works and Days* an Oral Poem?

Milman Parry had little to say about Hesiod; but his answer to the question 'Is the *Works and Days* an oral poem?' would have been yes. He regarded Hesiod as working within the tradition of living oral poetry, but as differentiated from Homer by being far inferior in skill. In particular he lacked the ability to embellish, to ornament. 'Matter-of-fact Hesiod in his *Works and Days*' writes Parry, in a judgment which most people nowadays will find rather eccentric, '. . . said only what he had to say, and as a result he will never be too interesting, though that was probably no concern of his.'[1]

Parry's interest, and Lord's too, was reserved for heroic poetry. It was Hoekstra and Notopoulos who first accorded extensive discussion to Hesiod's place in oral tradition. Hoekstra in his article 'Hésiode et la tradition orale' in *Mnemosyne* 1957 made many important observations: that Hesiod's language is formulaic in the same way as Homer's; that he must have known other Ionian poetry besides the Homeric poems; that there must have been other didactic poetry besides the *Works and Days* (this was already argued by Nilsson in 1905);[2] and that there are Hesiodic, non-Homeric formulae which look ancient. Hoekstra's view was that a Mycenaean tradition of hexameter poetry had survived in places on the mainland of Greece in local forms and adapted to spoken vernaculars in

*I poemi epici rapsodici non omerici e la tradizione orale.* Atti del convegno di Venezia, 28–30 settembre 1977 (Padua 1981), 53–67. The paper was followed by a discussion in which C. O. Pavese, B. Gentili, W. Burkert, G. S. Kirk, F. Lasserre, and M. Cantilena took part, and of which an edited version is printed in the volume cited, pp. 67–73.

[1] Milman Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse* (Oxford 1971), 430, from his California MA Thesis of 1923.

[2] M. P. Nilsson, *Rh. Mus.* 60 (1905), 175 ff. = *Opuscula Selecta* ii. 761–92.



the same way as in Asia Minor it assumed an Ionic hue. The verse inscriptions in local dialects belonged to this tradition, the existence of which ensured a favourable reception for Ionian epic in the eighth century. Notopoulos in *Hesperia* 1960 argued rather less circumspectly, primarily from the repeated phrases in Hesiod, that his [54] poetry was representative of a mainland, 'Achaean' tradition of hexameter poetry parallel to the Ionian tradition and going back to the Bronze Age. This hypothesis suffered from a glaring defect, which was briskly exposed by Hoekstra in his book *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes.* If Hesiodic poetry descended directly from Mycenaean poetry via a mainland tradition, its dialect could not be that of Ionian epic. As we all know, our friend and host, Carlo Pavese, has sought to maintain the hypothesis of a continuous mainland tradition by reviving in a modified form the old idea of Fick that the Ionic dress in which Hesiod appears is not original but due to the transmission.

In subsequent articles Notopoulos went on to discover the formulaic style in, and to infer therefrom the orality of, the Homeric Hymns and the poems of the Epic Cycle. Geoffrey Kirk in his article 'Formular Language and Oral Quality' in *Yale Classical Studies* 20 (1966) directed just criticism at Notopoulos' basic assumption that, because oral poetry is formulaic, formulaic poetry must be oral, and at the over-simple dichotomy made by him and his teachers between pure oral and literary imitation, written poetry being necessarily the latter. Kirk proposes that we should instead distinguish between 'natural composition in a formular tradition' and 'deliberate, self-conscious composition in a formular style', whether with the aid of writing or not. For the quantitative criterion (what percentage of the text is formulaic) he would substitute a qualitative criterion which he admits to be more subjective: the truly oral poem is to be recognized by its fluent and natural style, as well as by its observance of the principle of formular economy and the traditional restraints governing rhythm and enjambement. Applying this criterion to the Hesiodic corpus, he judges that much of it is oral, though the *Scutum* 'shows signs of skilled literary intervention'.

This impressionistic verdict received support from the researches of G. P. Edwards. He showed in his book *The Language of Hesiod in its Traditional Context* (1971) that Hesiod's method of using the resources of the poetic language is not [55] significantly different from Homer's. The principle of economy is by and large observed;

breaches of it seem better accounted for 'by the working of analogy within an oral tradition than by the deliberate exercise of choice in favour of a novel expression'. Where extension of formulae occurs, it occurs in a natural and straightforward manner. Sometimes a phrase appears to have been suggested by the sound of another, indicating 'not a conscious process but rather the work of voice and ear'. Rhythm and enjambement are Homeric enough. So far as these aspects of technique are concerned, then, we have no justification for differentiating between Hesiod and Homer.

There is of course a noticeable difference in style, in density. We may not wish to go all the way with Rhys Carpenter when he writes that 'Hesiod builds a close, almost clumsily taut line, as though he had watched each word as he wrote it down, instead of dipping generously into the garrulous ready-made speech of the rhapsodes. The abbreviated bulk, the almost niggard terseness of expression . . . mark out the *Works and Days* as written literature.'[3] But we understand what he means. Here is an illustration, from the narrative about Pandora:

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δόλον αἰπὺν ἀμήχανον ἐξετέλεσσεν,
> εἰς Ἐπιμηθέα πέμπε πατὴρ κλυτὸν Ἀργεϊφόντην
> δῶρον ἄγοντα, θεῶν ταχὺν ἄγγελον· οὐδ' Ἐπιμηθεύς
> ἐφράσαθ' ὥς οἱ ἔειπε Προμηθεὺς μή ποτε δῶρον
> δέξασθαι πὰρ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου, ἀλλ' ἀποπέμπειν
> ἐξοπίσω, μή πού τι κακὸν θνητοῖσι γένηται·
> αὐτὰρ ὃ δεξάμενος, ὅτε δὴ κακὸν εἶχ', ἐνόησεν.

Consider how Homer might have related that transaction.

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δόλον αἰπὺν ἀμήχανον ἐξετέλεσσεν,
> δὴ τότ' ἄρ' Ἑρμείαν προσεφώνεε μητίετα Ζεύς·
> "βάσκ' ἴθι, Ἑρμεία χρυσόρραπι δῶτορ ἐάων,
> Ἰαπετιονίδεω Ἐπιμηθέος ἐς μέγα δῶμα,
> σὺν δ' ἅμα κούρην τήνδε κομίζεο, δός τέ μιν αὐτῶι·
> εἰπὲ δέ οἱ δῶρον Διὸς ἔμμεναι αἰγιόχοιο·
> αἴ κέ ἑ δέξηται, τὸ δέ οἱ πολὺ λώιον ἔσται·
> οὐδ' ἀπανήνασθαι μακάρων δόσιν ἐστὶν ἄμεινον."
> ὣς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης·
> αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα

[56]

[3] Rhys Carpenter, *Folktale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics* (Berkeley 1946), 16.



> ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια, τά μιν φέρον ἠμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν
> ἠδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ἅμα πνοιῆις ἀνέμοιο.
> κούρην δ' εἵλετο χερσίν, ἀπέπτατο δ' ἐκτὸς Ὀλύμπου,
> αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Ἰαπετιονίδεω πρὸς δῶμαθ' ἵκανεν,
> στῆ δ' ἐπὶ λάινον οὐδὸν ἰών, παρὰ δ' ἦιε κούρη.
> τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ἀνόρουσε, λιπὼν ἕδος ἔνθα θάασσεν,
> Ἰαπετιονίδης, καὶ ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
> "τίς πόθεν εἰς ὦ ξεῖν' ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον εἰλήλουθας;
> τίς δ' ἔπεται κούρη; θάμβός μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα·
> αἰνῶς δ' ἀθανάτηισι θεῆις εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν."
> ὣς φάτο, τὸν δ' αἶψ' αὖτις ἀμείβετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς·
> "θάρσει, μηδέ τι σῆισι μετὰ φρεσὶ δείδιθι λίην·
> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μακάρων εἶμ' ἄγγελος, Ἀργειφόντης,
> Ζεὺς δέ μέ τοι προύπεμψεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐς μέγα δῶμα,
> τήνδε δέ μ' ἠνώγει δῶρον δόμεν, αἴ κ' ἐθέλησθα
> δεξάμενος γῆμαι καὶ ὁμὸν λέχος εἰσαναβῆναι.
> αἴ κέ ἑ δέξηαι, τὸ δέ τοι πολὺ λώιον ἔσται·
> οὐδ' ἀπανήνασθαι μακάρων δόσιν ἐστὶν ἄμεινον."
> ὣς ἔφαθ' Ἑρμείας Κυλλήνιος Ἀργειφόντης.
> ἔνθ' αὖτ' Ἰαπετιονίδηι φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεύς,
> τῶν δ' οὐκ ἐμνήσθη, τὰ περίφρων εἶπε Προμηθεύς,
> νήπιος· αἰεὶ γάρ οἱ ἐπέφραδε, μή ποτε δῶρον
> δέξασθαι πὰρ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου, ἀλλ' ἀποπέμπειν
> ἐξοπίσω, μή πού τι κακὸν θνητοῖσι γένηται.
> αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Ἑρμείαν προσέφη ἀεσιφροσύνησιν·
> "ἴλαθ' ἄναξ· μύθωι δ' ἐπιχαίρομαι, ὅττι περ ἔειπες,
> καὶ κούρην δέχομαι. καί κεν τοιήνδε δεχοίμην,
> εἰ καὶ μὴ Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος αὐτὸς ἔπεμπεν·
> καί που καί κέ τις ἄλλος ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι,
> εἰ μή τις γήραι γ' ἀρημένος, ὥι τ' Ἀφροδίτης
> μηκέτι ἔργα μέλῃι, ἀχέεσσι δέ θυμὸν ἔδωκεν."

This is of course precisely that art of embellishment in which Parry found Hesiod wanting. But we must bear in mind, firstly, that its employment in Homer is uneven—it sometimes happens that a piece of action which might have been treated in that expansive style is dispatched in a couple of lines—and secondly that the story of Pandora has a didactic context; to have spent two or three hundred lines over it would have been disproportionate. It [57] would be fairer to measure it not by the standard of the mainline narrative of Homer but by that of the stories he tells in parenthesis; the story of Bellerophon as it is told in *Iliad* 6, for example, is not dissimilar in tempo.

Edwards goes on to consider a point that I raised in my edition of the *Theogony*. I said there (p. 40):

> In all probability, Hesiod wrote his poems down, or dictated them. A period of oral transmission in which rhapsodes other than Hesiod spoke of him in the first person (*Th.* 24), or berated a deceased Perses with his faults, or talked of 'my father and thine, foolish Perses' (*Op.* 633), or boasted of a success at Chalcis which had never been theirs, is not easy to conceive, and the impression that the poems give of direct contact with a pronounced personality would surely have been diluted by such transmission.

Edwards considers that the personal references in the poems may suggest that they were recorded in writing in the poet's lifetime, but do not prove that they were *composed* with the aid of writing: they might have been composed orally and recited on many occasions before being written down. In Hesiod as in Homer, he concludes, we are dealing with poems whose language and style show features which are best explained by reference to an oral tradition which these poets inherited and themselves practised.

The question that Edwards poses himself is a blunt alternative: 'was Hesiod an oral poet, or did he compose with the aid of writing?' We shall have to consider presently whether these are absolute alternatives, and what exactly is meant by them. But first let us note that where Edwards speaks of the poems being composed orally, he speaks of their being recorded in Hesiod's lifetime rather than of their being written down by Hesiod, even if in another place he speaks of the recording of the text 'whether in the poet's own hand or in someone else's'. We see here the enduring influence of the Parry–Lord conception of the oral poet who can only flourish so long as he is illiterate: if his poetry is recorded, someone else will have been responsible. As Adam Parry pointed out in his epoch-making article 'Have We [58] Homer's Iliad?'[4] (at least it ought to have made an epoch) and in his introduction to his father's collected papers, this assumption rested on a false generalization from the situation of the twentieth-century Balkan *guslar* initiated in the world of letters. The idea of a poet who is himself illiterate dictating to an amanuensis is entirely possible, but there is no reason to prefer it to the idea of the literate poet writing for himself (except in the case of the blind poet of the Delian Hymn to Apollo). Once we assume the poet to be

[4] See Chapter 14 n. 8.



involved in the writing operation, we may just as well let him be a writer.

What is of capital importance in Adam Parry's article is the insistence that the poet in a live oral tradition *must* be involved in the writing operation, for otherwise what is written will not be his poem but at best a variant of it. Whatever Iliads may have been recited by Homer or anyone else before rapt audiences, the one that was written down is the one that we have. According to the experts, the oral poet never repeats himself exactly. No two recitations are identical. It follows that the version produced in the writing operation would not be identical with any previous recitation. Indeed, the changed circumstances of the reproduction might well bring about a greater than usual mutation, for better or worse. Parry submits, and I am convinced he is right, that the exceptional length of our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is a result of these changed circumstances.

There are still American writers, not least among the pupils of Lord, who speak glibly of the Homeric and Hesiodic poems as being 'oral', and proceed to discuss them just as if they were transcripts from tape-recordings. I recently read a book by a lady who uses without apparent discomfort the expression 'extant oral Greek epic'. But a generous observer might allow that scholarly thinking has moved on since 1960 to a more sophisticated position: to the recognition that what Milman Parry proved was the traditional and oral nature of the *style* in which early Greek hexameter poetry is composed, and not the oral [59] composition of the actual texts we have. It is interesting to note that students of Old English poetry have been going through a similar cycle of opinion. Here too we have a body of verse preserved in writing, composed in a common style, formulaic; a phrase occurring in one poem is liable to turn up in any other, without any relationship of direct dependence being apparent. In *Beowulf* as in the *Odyssey* we read descriptions of minstrels in the dining-hall singing to a stringed instrument of deeds of valour—in one case apparently improvising a song on Beowulf's newly won victory over Grendel. Further, the close relationship of Old English metre to that of Old Saxon, Old High German, and Old Norse poetry, together with the existence of many parallel poetic phrases and a common background of mythology, prove that this poetry belongs to a common Germanic tradition which must have been oral in its earlier phases. In 1949 Lord subjected a short passage of *Beowulf* to formulaic analysis and showed the result to Francis P.

Magoun Jr. Soon Magoun was publishing articles, which aroused great interest in the world of Anglo-Saxon studies, claiming that *Beowulf* was 70 per cent formulaic and must have been orally composed by an illiterate singer. He supposed that if all of Old English poetry had survived instead of a mere 30,000 lines, the proportion of formulaic language would approach 100 per cent. Other scholars extended the analysis to non-narrative poems, with similar results. Now there is a stumbling-block in Old English poetry which is not paralleled in early Greek. Most of this poetry is anonymous, but there is one poet with a name, Cynewulf, and we know his name because of his habit of working it into his poems, letter by letter. He lived at a time when writing had been in use in England, at least among the clergy, for over two centuries. And he composed poems that translate certain Latin sources pretty closely. Here if anywhere is a thoroughly literate poet. Yet his work has a formulaic content roughly comparable to that of *Beowulf*. I think the same would be found to be true of the *Battle of Brunanburh* and other short narrative poems with which the tenth- and eleventh-century continuations of the [60] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* are embellished—poems clearly composed *ad hoc* to stand in the *Chronicle*. If one grants that these are literary poems, it becomes impossible to use the formulaic criterion to identify 'oral' poems.[5]

The work of Magoun and his disciples is now viewed with considerable scepticism in so far as it goes beyond the descriptive. It has some common features with the work of Notopoulos on extra-Homeric Greek poetry. One such feature is the relaxation of the standards applied by Milman Parry, the concentration on the quantity of repeated expressions without corresponding attention to the economy principle, and the over-liberal view of what is to be counted as formulaic. Another is the extension of a theory developed in connection with heroic narrative poetry to poetry of other categories, without very much thought being given to the question whether something like a riddle or a charm or a gnomic poem is likely to have been transmitted by the same kind of process of creative reproduction as the heroic poem.[6]

[5] On the question of formulaic composition in Old English Poetry: Ann C. Watts, *The Lyre and the Harp* (New Haven 1969).

[6] On wisdom literature outside Greece: references and more material in my edition of the *Works and Days* (Oxford 1978), 3–22.



This brings me back to Hesiod. Thanks to Parry and Lord and Adam Parry, to name no others, we can claim to have some insight into the processes by which the Homeric poems came into being. Is the same insight valid for the *Works and Days*?

The study of comparative literature does not give a great deal of help. The Balkan *guslars* do not appear to traffic in gnomic or didactic poetry. There is some evidence for oral gnomic poetry among the Finno-Ugric peoples and in Africa. Often it is called forth by some special occasion like a wedding, when the bride and/or bridegroom are treated to a sententious recital of good advice, or a young man's naming ceremony, or his setting out on a journey. But such occasions are not essential. Among the Tatars it is quite common for a short series of general reflections or proverb-like utterances to be put together extempore as a [61] contribution to the general conversation. The Russian traveller Valikhanov encountered a sultan of one of the Kazakh tribes whom he took to be an imbecile, because his intermittent utterances consisted of rhymed couplets of rather general import, accompanied by alarming rollings of the eyes. Probably the man was simply making conversation in the most formal and polite way he knew. The steppe peoples are apparently much given to voicing their thoughts of the moment in extempore verses. We appear to be dealing here with genuine improvisation without forethought, not the kind of improvisation used by the singer of inherited tales. We do not hear of traditional gnomic poems learned by one singer from another.

In the ancient Near East there was a long tradition of written wisdom literature, a tradition with which the *Works and Days* shows some affinity. Certain of the oriental texts carry indications that they were intended to be heard rather than read. The subtitle of the Egyptian *Instruction of Ptahhotep* says that Ptahhotep is instructing the ignorant, a benefit for him that will listen. A Babylonian didactic work found at Ras Shamra and Boğazköy begins 'Hear the counsel of Šubê-awīlum'. This is of course far from showing that these were oral compositions, and I do not know that anyone has suggested that they were. I do not think anyone doubts, for that matter, that the *Works and Days*, and everything else composed in archaic Greece, was intended to be heard rather than read. It is not until well on in the fifth century at Athens, probably later in some parts of Greece, that we can reckon with a reading public of any size. When the Muses visited Hesiod on the mountain they did not give him a pen and skill

at writing, they gave him a staff and a wondrous voice, αὐδὴ θέσπις, and they taught him fine singing, ἀοιδή. He prays to them for ἱμερόεσσα ἀοιδή as he launches into his genealogy of the gods. After he won a three-legged cooking-pot for a performance at the funeral games of Amphidamas, he dedicated it to the Muses 'where they first put him on the road of fine singing'.

I[62] This much is clear: he is an oral performer, and when he thinks of himself as the servant of the Muses it is the performance that is at the centre of his thought, not some previous effort of composition, and not some previous or subsequent effort of writing. But is he an oral composer? And are the written compositions we have from him oral compositions in all but appearance, or were they, in that favourite phrase of scholars, composed with the Aid of Writing?

It is time to define our terms more exactly. 'Oral composition' is rather a loose term. Composition is a mental process; 'oral' is a predicate of the presentation. 'Oral composition' implies a relationship between the composition process and the oral presentation, but fails to define it as precisely as we should wish. It might cover, at one extreme, the case of a poet who composes a complete poem in his head and subsequently recites it, without having made any use of writing. It would be quite possible to imagine an illiterate society in which that was the normal practice, and one would naturally speak of such a society having oral poetry. At the other extreme it might describe the unpremeditated effusions of the Kazakhs. Between the extremes it may describe the activity of the man who has his subject matter well established in his head, because he has heard it from another man or thought it out at leisure; who has moreover a fair idea of how to express it in verse, because he has heard it so expressed, or heard similar material so expressed; and who is still able to exercise a certain degree of choice in performance, abridging, expanding, finding the definitive words. Such is the guslar, and such I take it, was the Ionian singer of tales in 750 BCE. Parry and Lord speak much of 'improvisation', but we must not imagine that the bard embarks upon his performance with nothing ready in his head except his thesaurus of useful words and phrases.

Now what do we mean by composing with the aid of writing? It might cover, at one extreme, the case of the man who recites a couple of hundred verses standing on one leg, writes them down while they are fresh in his mind more or less exactly I[63] as he recited them,



perhaps reads them through, and proceeds at once or the next morning to recite a continuation. It might cover the man who recites at dictation speed to an amanuensis in successive sessions, not reading or altering anything that has been written, but helped by having more time to think than when reciting to an audience. It might cover either of these men if they afterwards tampered with the written text, changing a phrase, adding a line or a passage. And at the other extreme it might cover the man who composes word by word onto the manuscript with many crossings-out and much sucking of the pen. This last man could not be called an oral poet; the other men, I think, reasonably could.

So it is not really meaningful to ask in terms of a stark antithesis 'is the *Works and Days* an oral poem or was it composed with the aid of writing?' Nor is it simply a question of how far along a continuously graded scale it stands. There are two intersecting axes: one for the degree of adherence to the completely oral poet's method of verbalization, that is, proceeding linearly forwards at a brisk and even pace sustained by the use of traditional language without seeking novelty of phrase; the other for the degree of interference with the result during or after the writing process. Hitherto scholarly discussion of the 'orality' of early Greek poems has concentrated on applying criteria which are relevant to the first of these axes, and neglected the second.

We have seen that study of Hesiod's use and modification of formulae, his rhythm and enjambement patterns, and so on, does not disclose anything inconsistent with the oral poet's method of verbalization. We have seen also that he is an oral performer who prays to the Muses that his song will be good and who rewards them if it is—Muses, incidentally, whom he makes the daughters of Memory. We may assume that his performances involved quite extensive memory of premeditated material, but it seems unlikely that he would have needed a written text for that purpose. The amount of material included and its arrangement will have been subject to some fluctuation I[64] from performance to performance, at any rate in the *Works and Days*, where much of the material (unlike that of a narrative poem) possessed no intrinsic structure and could be put together in different ways. It is natural to suppose that most if not all of the material that appears in the written version of the poem had previously been recited, and in much the same language. To that extent we may feel we are reading oral verse.

But to ascertain whether we are reading a free, linear composition that corresponded to a recitation piece and was left as it came out without retouching, we must analyse not the language but the structure and the connections. I have not now got time to undertake a complete analysis of the structure of the *Works and Days*. I shall pick out a few points that bear on the question before us.

An oral poet starts with what I call a prospect, an idea of what the scope of his poem is going to be; he may later extend it. In both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* a prospect is announced in the opening lines which does not reach as far as the poet eventually gets, while conversely towards the ends of both epics we see them looking forward to events which they never reach, the deaths of Achilles and Odysseus respectively. In the *Works and Days* too the initial prospect relates only to the earlier part of the poem. Zeus is praised not as the god who controls the weather and the growth of crops, as he will appear later on, but as the god of justice who punishes the proud and the unjust and supervises *θέμιστες*. The following section shows that the prospect includes getting Perses to work, as well as protest against unjust kings. But there is no sign that it includes technical instruction about agriculture. Nothing prepares us for this until at line 381, after a section where Hesiod seems to be freewheeling, he suddenly pulls himself together and makes a fresh start. Now that freewheeling section is held together (in so far as it *is* held together) by the idea of preserving prosperity after you have earned it. 'May you die old leaving another child in the house' (378) sounds like a benign conclusion. Then suddenly Perses is jerked back from the edge of the grave to be instructed in the l[65] first principles of farming, and a broad new prospect opens out. It does not seem very likely that a Hesiod who was planning a major section on how to *become* prosperous would first ramble on about how to *stay* prosperous. I infer that the agricultural instruction represents an extension beyond the original prospect. But if Hesiod began the written poem without envisaging this very important part of the subject matter, the implication is that moral sermon and technical instruction on agriculture had previously been separate items in his repertoire, if indeed the second was already present in it.

The later sections on sailing and on the days of the month likewise arrive unheralded, and they have less connection than farming with the initial *mise en scène* involving Perses. I see them as further additions to the plan, as was long ago suggested by Paul Friedländer.



After the sailing section Hesiod seems not to have anything else definite on his programme, because for the next seventy lines he is freewheeling again, giving miscellaneous advice apparently as it occurs to him associatively. He seems to have come to conceive of his poem by this stage as a general compendium of useful advice. If so, there is nothing unsuitable in the Days section, or in the section on bird omens which followed in some ancient texts.

My view of the poem, then, is that it grew in scope as Hesiod composed it, that is to say, as he wrote or dictated it. He did not envisage at the outset a poem which should begin with a series of stories and homilies to Perses and the kings, pass on to instruction on farming, then deal with sailing, then dissolve into a jumble of assorted advice, and lastly treat the days of the month. This growth of the poem by stages may well have been discontinuous. Hesiod may have come to a stop several times, considering his work finished, and then thought of more to add. After the book was written he may have recited the hotchpotch in something like the same form, but I do not believe it existed in this form until the book was complete. In that sense it is not an oral poem.

I am not sure that the sections added were always added at l[66] the end of what had been written. The sailing section ends 'Observe due measure: *καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος*'. Then: 'And in due season (*ὡραῖος*) bring a wife to your house.' The new section is linked to the old by the idea of 'the right time'; but it is a feeble link. The idea is too general itself to suggest the subject of marriage. The connection would have have been a stronger one if this advice about marriage and the various precepts that follow it originally stood directly after the agricultural section, which ends with a reminder of ploughing in season, *ἄροτος ὡραῖος*, and a mention of the seed lodging in the earth. This might well lead on by association to the *ὡραῖος γάμος*, and the advice on running the farm would be well followed by advice on choosing a wife. If that was the original sequence, Hesiod has broken it by inserting the sailing section (as an appendix to the year's works) and then done his best to smooth the transitions by making the passage end with a line about observing due times.

I think there is a clearer case of an insertion within the sailing section. It is here that we find the two autobiographical passages of the poem, the one about the poet's father migrating to Ascra and the one about the funeral games of Amphidamas. Now between these

two passages we find an isolated bit of advice which fits much better immediately after what precedes the first passage; and what follows the second passage is the logical continuation. Further, the second passage begins very abruptly and oddly. It has already been hypothesized twenty-eight lines before that Perses desires to go to sea; the advice is in progress; and suddenly we come to this new paragraph beginning 'When you adopt the idea of sailing, I will tell you the measure of the sea'. If you take out the two autobiographical passages 633–42 and 646–62, the whole section reads smoothly and coherently. But as it stands we have a text which no one composing in a linear fashion could have produced. Of course the passages are authentic, but they disrupt a coherent piece of writing and appear as a superimposed layer.

There are one or two other places in the poem where surprising [67] transitions, or separations of lines that would make better sense adjacent, would be most satisfactorily accounted for by the author's insertions in a fixed (i.e. written) text or the conflation of passages composed at different times. I came to a similar conclusion about a few lines of *Theogony*, and won the approval of my *Gnomon* reviewer. I believe that certain Homeric passages require the same kind of solution, and I am glad to see that this extraordinarily neglected concept of the author's interpolation (something which must be far more common in real life than the alien interpolation) has recently been taken up by George Goold in an article on Homer.[7]

Hesiod and Homer were oral poets and performers, but they set some of their poetry down in writing, and it was impossible for this to be no more than the transcript of an ordinary recitation. They could see that they were making something lasting, and they knew it was a challenge and an opportunity. When they felt dissatisfied with a recitation they had given, the only thing to do was to try to give a better one next time. When they felt dissatisfied with what they had written, the natural thing to do was to tinker with it. They were not pen-poets in the sense that Apollonius was, but they did compose, in the rather limited sense that I have tried to define, with the aid of writing.

[7] G. P. Goold, *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977), 1–34.

# 14

# The Transition from Oral to Written

It is generally recognized that the Greek epic tradition must have been at one time entirely oral. Its origins go back at least to the Mycenaean period, as is clear both from the many archaic elements in the epic language and from the extent to which the poems preserve memories of the Mycenaean world, its political geography, its wealth, its weaponry, and so forth. We have to assume a continuous poetic tradition evolving over many centuries before Homer and surviving through a long period—from the twelfth into the eighth century—in which, so far as we know, the art of writing did not exist in Greece and all poetry must have been orally composed and transmitted. In the Homeric poems there is only one allusion to writing, and poets are consistently portrayed as oral performers who make no use of the written word. Homer himself asks his Muse to 'sing' or 'tell' him the story. The Muses, he says, know everything that has happened, but we mortals only 'hear the report' of it. And the epic language and style, with their extensive formulaic elements, were clearly formed in an oral tradition. Even in Homer's time and down to the fifth century, although some epics were available in book form, most people were probably acquainted with this poetry from having heard it performed, not from having read it.

On the other hand, these poems have come down to us as written texts. It is highly probable that the *Iliad* at least was written down before the last quarter of the seventh century, because from that time on we find literary and pictorial allusions to its contents which presuppose that it was by then well known on both sides of the

An English version of the paper 'Archaische Heldendichtung: Singen und Schreiben' presented at a conference at Freiburg in 1989 and published in W. Kullmann and M. Reichel (edd.), *Der Übergang von der Mündlichkeit zur Literatur bei den Griechen* (Tübingen 1990), 33–50.

Aegean in a more or less fixed form; fixity implies writing. The *Odyssey* was perhaps [14] written down a little later. When the Athenian tyrant Hipparchus, about 522 BCE, organized the performance of both epics in their entirety by a team of rhapsodes at the Great Panathenaea, a custom which continued for generations, these rhapsodes must have had an agreed text that they followed, and it must have existed in written form, although in the performance they no doubt relied on their memories and may well have departed from the written text in details. The later rhapsodes too followed fixed texts, which educated men could obtain and read in book form. And certainly from the fifth century, if not earlier, poets began to compose epics of a more distinctly literary, bookish character, composing them not in the traditional oral manner but with pen in hand.

My subject is the problem of the transition from oral to written epic, especially as regards the seventh and sixth centuries. It is a problem because of the nature of oral epic traditions as they are recorded in the modern world, for example in Yugoslavia, several parts of the Soviet Union, north India, Mongolia, Sumatra, and northern Japan. The poet in such a tradition aims to entertain and impress an audience. Writing is of no concern to him either as a means or as an end. If he knows something of it (which is usually not the case), and if some heroic songs are already current in written form, he may use them as sources for songs he did not know before, but there is no point in his writing out his own songs. When a society becomes familiar with writing, this does not necessarily mean that a tradition of oral poetry at once gives way to written poetry. It may continue for centuries, without the poets ever showing any concern to write down their songs or to have them written down by others.

So how did it come about that the Greek epics were written down? Who took the initiative? What was the motive? How was it done: by dictation, or in some other way? How far did the writing process affect the nature or quality of the resulting poem? Was the text edited in any way? Was there continuing interaction between the written text and the oral tradition? These are some of the questions that suggest themselves. We are not in a position to answer them with any certainty, but it is important [35] to ask them and to consider the possibilities and probabilities in the light of the comparative evidence from other cultures.

Albert Lord argued in 1953, on the basis of his knowledge of the South Slavic oral tradition, that Homer must have been a fully oral



poet who dictated his poems to someone else. Lord considered that the style and quality of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were sufficient proof that they were the work of a man trained in the oral tradition and still practising within that tradition: in a word, oral poems. He rules out the possibility that Homer was a *literate* oral poet who wrote down his poems himself, on the grounds that

> the oral poet, if he is at all literate, can have only a smattering of writing, if he is to remain an oral poet. Had he enough facility in writing to record 27,000 lines of text, his style could not be that of an oral technique, which Homer's demonstrably is.[1]

Lord is making an inference from his experience of Yugoslav singers who learned to write and whose poetic technique was ruined as a result. I quote him again:

> They abandon such imaginative introductions as 'Once in the days of old, when Sulejman held empire,' for prosaic beginnings like, 'In the bloody year of 1914, on the sixth day of the month of August, Austria and all Germany were greatly worried.' They become wordy and stilted to the point of being unconsciously mock heroic. The natural dignity of the traditional expressions is lost and what remains is a caricature.[2]

Later, in *The Singer of Tales*, Lord restated his conclusion but with a qualification. He admitted that it is possible to have a literate oral poet who writes his own poem down, and that the result might be comparable in quality to a dictated text. 'Yet,' he writes, 'it is not a normal situation, and the experience which we [Parry and Lord] have of such cases would indicate that [36] texts thus produced . . . are inferior in all respects to oral dictated texts.'[3]

In the same year there appeared an article of Geoffrey Kirk in which he challenged Lord's assumption that Homer must have participated in the writing process, if not as writer, then as dictator.[4]

[1] A. B. Lord, 'Homer's Originality: Oral Dictated Texts', *TAPA* 84 (1953), 124–34, at 131. The article is reprinted in G. S. Kirk (ed.), *The Language and Background of Homer* (Cambridge 1964), 68–78 and J. Latacz (ed.), *Homer. Tradition und Neuerung* (Wege der Forschung 463, Darmstadt 1979), 308–19.

[2] Ibid. 129.

[3] A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass. 1960), 149.

[4] G. S. Kirk, 'Homer and Modern Oral Poetry: Some Confusions', *CQ* 10 (1960), 271–81; reprinted in *The Language and Background of Homer* (as n. 1), 79–89; in Kirk (ed.), *Homer and the Oral Tradition* (Cambridge 1976), 113–28; and in Latacz (as n. 1), 320–37.

Kirk believed, and continues to suggest in recent publications, that there was a considerable gap in time between the composition of the Homeric poems and the production of a complete written text. He holds that the *Iliad* at least was composed in the eighth century but that the first full text was only written down in the sixth century at Athens. In order to identify the eighth-century poem with the poem that has come down to us, he has to suppose that it was so greatly admired that the rhapsodes learned it by heart and preserved it orally, with only trivial changes, for some two hundred years until it was finally written down.

This is an eccentric theory, based on premises that have not been adequately demonstrated. There is no good reason to date the writing down as late as the sixth century, even if the text was subjected to some modifications at that time. On the contrary, as I have said, a fixed text of the *Iliad* appears already to have existed in the late seventh century, and that surely means a written text. Nor is there grounds for putting the composition of the two epics earlier than the seventh century. The time-gap between composition and writing down postulated by Kirk is unnecessary, and it is inherently implausible, because we know that oral traditions are essentially fluid. When a written text exists, some singers may memorize it and reproduce it more or less exactly. Lord has written of the growth of this practice in Yugoslavia in the present century,[5] and it is what the Greek rhapsodes of the fifth century BCE and later did. But while the oral tradition flourishes in its natural state, no two recitations are identical. Each poet creates a new version each time he performs. When Milman Parry asked a Yugoslav singer to [37] repeat a song in the same words as before, the man agreed to do so but in fact produced something different. The authorities on Russian, Kara-Kirghiz, and other epic traditions assure us that the same state of affairs prevails in them. Songs of other types, strophic songs, work songs, ritual songs, are capable of being preserved faithfully over generations by oral means, but this is not the case with epic.[6] The contrast may best be illustrated from India. The sacred poetry of the Veda has been preserved *verbatim* by oral tradition for some three thousand years, special mnemonic techniques being used to protect

[5] *The Singer of Tales*, 137.

[6] C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London 1952), 216–20, 368–70; A. T. Hatto (ed.), *Traditions of Heroic and Epic Poetry*, I. *The Traditions* (London 1980), 216.



the text from corruption. It has suffered some phonetic changes since its original state, but the wording seems to have been preserved with astonishing fidelity. On the other hand there is an oral epic tradition in Hindi, investigated in recent years by Shyam Manohar Pandey, in which, just as in other countries, each recitation creates a new form of the text. Quite radical changes occur, even when the same singer tells the same story again after an interval of a few days; he may alter not only words but metres, descriptions of events, even names of characters.[7]

In the light of such comparative evidence Kirk's idea of a more or less exact oral conservation of the Homeric poems for two centuries appears fantastic. It was refuted, politely but conclusively, by Adam Parry in an important article in 1966. He points out that the identity and the quality of the *Iliad* would very soon have been destroyed by the changes of formulation that would inevitably arise in a period of oral transmission:

> It follows that the name 'Homer,' if by this we mean the author of our poem, must be reserved for the poet who composed the *Iliad* at the time when it was put into writing. The poets who preceded him, even if we imagine them as singing poems the length of the *Iliad* and dealing with the same theme or group of themes, cannot have been responsible for the essential quality of what we possess.[8]

[38] Adam Parry's arguments, then, confirm what Lord and others had taken for granted: that Homer must have played a part in the writing operation. But Parry goes on to criticize Lord's argument that Homer could not have been fully literate and capable of writing down his own works. He observes that if a Yugoslav poet, on learning to read and write, loses his command of the old poetic style and begins to compose in a clumsy and prosaic manner, the reason is that he has been introduced to the culture of books and newspapers. What has corrupted his style is not the process of writing in itself but an established written style. A Greek poet who learned to write in the seventh century would not have been exposed to any such alien influence, and there is no reason why his style should have suffered.[9] Parry therefore admits the writing poet as a valid alternative to

[7] S. M. Pandey, *The Hindi Oral Epic Canainī* (Allahabad 1982), 58f.

[8] A. Parry, 'Have We Homer's *Iliad*?', *YCS* 20 (1966), 175–216, at 201. The article is reprinted in Latacz (as n. 1), 428–66.

[9] A. Parry, ibid. 213.

Lord's dictating poet, and supposes that either method of recording might have produced a similar result.

There is a certain amount of empirical evidence concerning the recording of oral poems by these two methods, dictation and autography. Autography is relatively rare, but it does occur. Where it occurs, however, it always seems to be the case that the stimulus for the poet to write his song down comes from outside. Lord tells us that a *guslar* who has learned just enough writing to put a song down (and not enough to alter his style of composition) would do this only at the request of a collector. He mentions one particular singer, Milovan Vojičić, who wrote down more than a hundred songs and sent them to Milman Parry.[10] (This was the author of the *Song of Milman Parry* printed in Lord's book.) Similarly Minna Skafte Jensen informs us:

> The singer who has read the newspaper every day for years without it ever occurring to him/her to write down songs, or even to use writing in some limited form as an aid to composition, is familiar enough in the Balkans today. B. Trærup reports from fieldwork among Albanian singers in the district of Kossovo in Yugoslavia that some of the younger singers can write out their texts *if a folklorist asks them to* (the italics are mine).[11]

She also cites an African poem relating the prehistory of the Bieng tribe in Zaïre. I[39] The chief of the tribe wrote it down (or perhaps dictated it), but only because of an external stimulus: he wished to present it to the European authorities as evidence of his tribe's true status.[12]

Dictation is the commoner procedure. It was of course the method regularly used by collectors before mechanical recording devices became available; and once again it may be stated as a general rule that it is undertaken not because the oral singer desires to have his poem committed to writing but because someone else desires it: someone from a different place or a different social status, someone for whom the written word has a greater significance than the singer can conceive, and for whom the song has greater potentialities. From the end of the fifteenth century to the twentieth, people have been recording examples of the South Slavic songs, but the impulse always

[10] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 129, 289.
[11] M. Skafte Jensen, *The Homeric Question and the Oral-formulaic Theory* (Copenhagen 1980), 91.
[12] Ibid. 93.



came from outside the singers' own milieu. Among the earliest collectors we find, according to Svetozar Koljević,

> an Italian court poet, grand Renaissance literary noblemen inspired by pastoral interests, Dubrovnik and other merchants and soldiers moved by patriotic zeal, educated Dalmatian and Montenegrin diplomats and statesmen, an occasional Franciscan monk devoted to the art of the people with whom he often shared his social origin and historical experience, a German clerk or officer far better versed in the art of the Habsburg Cyrillic calligraphy than in the phonetics of the Serbo-Croatian language.[13]

The famous early nineteenth-century collector Vuk Stefanović Karadžić was an intellectual nationalist with a vision of an autonomous Serbian culture. What stimulated him to record the people's songs was above all the example of Herder's *Stimmen der Völker*, a collection of German and other folk songs which was much in vogue in Europe.[14] Karadžić began by writing down songs that he knew by heart from his childhood, and afterwards obtained his texts by dictation. The more scientific investigators of the present century, Mathias Murko, Milman Parry, and Albert Lord, made considerable use of dictation besides recording by electrical means.

In the light of the comparative evidence, then, it is probable that the impulse to write down epic songs in early Greece did not originally I[40] come from the singers themselves but from others who had different perspectives. This is a conclusion that has been reached by Lord, Skafte Jensen, and others. I shall return to the question. But let us now consider the ideas that the Greeks themselves had about the processes by which Homer's songs became written texts.

They certainly thought of him as a singer or reciter, not as someone who simply produced poems in written form. Simonides, in a fragment referring to Meleager's spear-throw at the funeral games for Pelias, says 'for so Homer and Stesichorus have *sung* to the people'.[15] Plato speaks of Homer travelling about as a performing rhapsode.[16] In the pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer*, which in its existing form is not earlier than the first century BCE but which appears to be based on an older work of the late fifth or fourth century, we have an extended account in which this picture of Homer

[13] S. Koljević, *The Epic in the Making* (Oxford 1980), 3.
[14] Duncan Wilson, *The Life and Times of Vuk Stefanović Karadzić, 1787–1864* (Oxford 1970), 90.
[15] Simon. *PMG* 564. 4.
[16] Pl. *Rep.* 600d.

is presented. There is, to be sure, no question in this source of Homer's being illiterate. He is brought up at Smyrna by a teacher named Phemios, who taught boys γράμματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην μουσικὴν πᾶσαν (4). After Phemios' death Homer takes over the school. But after a while he abandons teaching and sets forth on a life of travel, in the course of which he becomes blind. After this he supports himself by reciting poetry of his own composition. He stays for a while with a shoemaker at Neonteichos, performing there in the shop for the customers (9). Later he goes down to Cyme, and there too he performs the poems he has composed, τὰ ἔπεα τὰ πεποιημένα αὐτῶι ἐπεδείκνυτο (12). He is much admired, but he fails in an attempt to persuade the city to provide him with a pension. He then moves on to Phocaea, where he makes his living as before, sitting in the *leschai*, the places where men congregate for conversation, and performing his poetry.

Here there is a particularly interesting episode (15–17):

> In Phocaea at this time there was one Thestorides, who taught boys to read and write; he was not a good man. When he became aware of Homer's poetry, he made an approach to him, offering to take him in and look after him and feed him, if he was willing to set down in writing the poems he had composed, and when he composed more, always to bring them to him. When Homer heard this he decided he should do it, as he [41] was short of the necessities of life and in need of care. So he stayed with Thestorides, and there he composed the *Lesser Iliad* . . . and the poem called the *Phocais*, which the Phocaeans say Homer composed among them. Now when Thestorides had written down for himself at Homer's dictation the *Phocais* and all the other poems, he formed the plan of going away from Phocaea, because he wanted to appropriate Homer's poetry. And he was no longer so solicitous about Homer. . . . So Thestorides left Phocaea for Chios, and set up his school there; and by performing the poems as if they were his own, he enjoyed much praise and profit, while Homer continued to live in Phocaea, supporting himself from his poetry.
>
> Not long afterwards some Chian merchants arrived in Phocaea, and when they heard from Homer the poems that they had heard often before in Chios from Thestorides, they told Homer that there was someone in Chios performing these poems, a teacher of letters, and that he was enjoying much acclaim. Homer realized that it would be Thestorides, and he became very eager to get to Chios.

Eventually he does get there, and when Thestorides learns of it he makes a hasty departure. Homer stays in Chios and composes many further poems there, including the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which bring



> him nationwide fame, though we hear nothing of who wrote them down.

For the author of this biography Homer lives in a literate society, with schoolmasters who teach γράμματα and μουσική, and he begins his career as such a teacher; he is therefore fully literate. But he composes his poems without writing them down. Only when he dictates to Thestorides do texts come into being. The author has no conception of the fluidity of an oral text: Homer is represented as composing each epic in private and then reciting it in its finished form, though he is also represented as able to improvise short poems in response to various situations that he finds himself in from day to day (the so-called Homeric Epigrams). Much the same picture of Homer is presupposed in the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, the main part of which goes back to the fourth-century sophist Alcidamas. Here there is another reference to the making of a written text. When Homer comes to Delos for the panegyris, he recites his *Hymn to Apollo*, whereupon the assembled Ionians make him a citizen-in-common, and the Delians inscribe the hymn on a white-painted panel and dedicate it in the shrine of Artemis. In these ancient portrayals, then, Homer composes and recites, but does not write with his own hand.

[42] Early in the first century BCE certain scholars at Pergamum developed the theory that before Pisistratus, Homer's poetry was in a scattered state, and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had to be reconstituted from fragments preserved in many different places. Some of the authors who allude to the theory imagine the fragments to have been portions of books, or individual rhapsodies that Homer had left in different towns, but others think more in oral terms and speak of Homer's poetry as having been *sung* in bits and pieces. One or two of them say explicitly that Homer left no written text and that the transmission of his epics was exclusively oral and for this reason at hazard.[17]

Of course we cannot treat any of this literature about Homer as having any historical value. It is unlikely that his biographers had access to any genuine memories of his travels or of the circumstances in which his poems were originally recorded. Nevertheless, it is interesting that they had the idea of a travelling singer whose songs were recorded in writing only at the instance and by the agency of others,

[17] Joseph. *contra Apionem* 1. 12; sch. Dion. Thr. p. 179 Hilgard.

through dictation in the case of Thestorides. It is a realistic and plausible picture in the light of what we know today about oral poets. The figure of Thestorides, not a disinterested collector like Karadžić or Parry but an inferior singer who takes Homer's songs for his own use, is not unparalleled. The Yugoslav singer Salih Ugljanin, in conversation with Parry's assistant Nikola Vujnović, recalled an occasion when

> I saw a man from Plav who had such interest to learn a song when some singer sang it that he wrote it down and took it and read it to them in Plav, he learned it and sang it . . . He just had a desire to know it, you know, and he couldn't pick it up in one night like that [simply by listening], so the singer sang and he wrote down that song. . . . He sat between the windows, and he sang, as here, and he was there; this one sang, and he wrote, and I looked on. And after he had finished singing I said: 'By my faith, what did you write there?' And he said: 'I'm writing down this song. I am interested,' he said, 'in how Mujo was wounded and how this one died, and I know, at least this way, when I look at it. I can go away and read it as it is written.'[18]

In this case the singer evidently had no objection to someone else taking his song for his own use, but in some cultures the performer is more jealous of his property. In the prologue to an Old French poem of the twelfth century, [43] *La bataille Loquifer*, a redactor records that the poet who composed it, Graindor de Brie,

> because it was so good took such great care of it that he never instructed or taught anyone how to sing it. He obtained and won with it great wealth in Sicily where he used to go about. When he died he gave it to his son. King William [of Sicily] flattered him so much that he got the song out of him and put it and sealed it up in a book. He when he knew it grieved deeply over it [*sc.* over losing sole possession of the song].[19]

The theme of stealing someone else's recital also appears in connection with the Celtic tradition of oral prose narrative, though in this case no writing down is involved. An Irish beggar wanted to acquire a story that belonged to a rival. He hid in the roof-beams of the cottage where the other man was going to make his recital, and as soon as it was finished he leaped down in the middle of the startled

[18] M. Parry and A. B. Lord, *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs* i (Cambridge, Mass.–Belgrade 1954), 383.
[19] D. J. A. Ross in Hatto (as n. 6), 96f.



company and cried out triumphantly, 'There now, I've got it, your story!'[20] To return to early Greece, we recall that Theognis expresses confidence that even if his verses are 'stolen' by someone else, everybody will recognize their true authorship.[21]

Homer too, when he committed the *Iliad* to writing, must have been confident that it was not simply going to be taken off to earn fame and riches for someone else. He must have trusted the person or persons who encouraged him to write it out or dictate it.

Dictation, as I have said, is much commoner than autography as a means of recording oral poetry in writing, and I think that Lord was after all right to favour it in the case of Homer. We must certainly assume it in the case of the Delian Apollo hymn, since its poet tells us that he was blind. In any case dictation is the easier of the two methods for a poet who is accustomed to produce his composition in sung form at a particular tempo, accompanying himself on a musical instrument. Either method causes some disruption of his habitual practice, but if he is dictating he can at least retain his instrument and keep the rhythm going while his companion attends to the writing. Some bards are able to dictate without their music, simply reciting. The most [44] satisfactory dictator of heroic songs that Karadžić found was Tešan Podrugović, who was an excellent player of the gusle but could not or would not sing: he recited his poems as if from a book.[22] On the other hand, a bard whose normal practice is to sing may well be unable to perform in any other way. A collector of the later nineteenth century, Bogoljub Petranović, writes that 'many cannot dictate songs without the gusle, even as Todor Vlatković from Visoko, who without the gusle cannot speak two lines; he gets lost without it'.[23] Parry found that when song was forbidden during a period of national mourning and he had to record bards reciting instead of singing, the result was verse that was partly prose, or rhythmically irregular and ill-formed: the bards' sense of metre was bound up with the music.[24] A. F. Hilferding (in Russian Gilferding), collecting Russian *byliny* in the 1870s, had the same experience with the singer Abram Evtikhiev Chukov, known as the Bottle. So long as he sang, the metre was clear, but when he recited the same *bylina*

[20] D. McMillan, 'A propos des traditions orales', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 3 (1960), 67–90, at 69.
[21] Theognis 20–2.
[22] D. Wilson (as n. 14), 107, 398.
[23] Cited by Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 127.
[24] Lord, ibid. 126f.

without song so that Hilferding could take it down, it dissolved into broken prose. A similar observation has been made with Mongolian bards: they find difficulty in reciting an epic in any other way than the customary one. 'I myself noticed that an epic retold in an ordinary voice after a recitation to the proper melody was by no means the same text, but at times more of a paraphrase.'[25]

Hilferding tried to get the *bylina* down in its proper metrical form by asking the Bottle to sing it several times. This was not a success, because the text changed each time he sang it. The only method that worked was to get him to make artificial pauses after each line so that the collector had time to write it down. He was able to use this method with other singers too. Half a century earlier, Karadžić had had similar problems with an old drunkard of a singer—another 'Bottle'—known as Old Man Milija. He could not recite his songs coherently but only sing them, after drinking a little slivovitz, and even then their coherence was variable. Karadžić made him sing each song several times, and then repeat it very slowly, drawling out the words, while he wrote as fast as he could. Finally [45] Milija had to sing it once again so that the manuscript could be checked. It was a slow business.[26]

Lord in particular has focused attention on the dictation process, what it involves for the singer and how it affects his composition. Besides the difficulties that the singer has in composing metrically without music, the absence of his usual audience is an unfavourable factor.

> The audience gives him an incentive to tell his story well, to deserve the applause of understanding and critical listeners. Without a good audience the singer tends to shorten his song, to hasten to the conclusion of a boring task.[27]

Pandey writes in similar terms of his experience in recording the Hindi epic *Canainī*:

> While I was recording the version of Canaini in 1966 my singer Ram Avatar occasionally sang for me in the day-time, but during that time there was no proper audience. Only a few people came to listen and at that time the singer was never on his best form. He sang with less enthusiasm and it was apparent that the singer's dramatic performance and music were weak. When the same singer performed during the night he was altogether a new person.[28]
>
> If one asks a good singer to sing his epic without an audience he gives a shortened version and very often omits the embellishments and ornamentations which are the life of the performance. It is the audience which brings out the best in the singer.[29]

Pandey was using a tape-recorder, and in this case there was no conflict between his requirements and the needs of an audience. But when the bard is dictating to the collector, this is something less likely to attract an audience and hold its interest. Parry's dictating sessions seem to have been private, and Lord explains how important it was for the scribe to take the place of the absent audience by showing the singer that he was a well-informed, appreciative, and critical listener. He had to guide the singer, to 'nurse' the song, not intruding his own ideas but pointing out imperfections and inconsistencies as they arose.[30]

> [46] He simply indicates that what has been said is not right, sometimes goes back several lines and reads them to the singer to give him the continued rhythm, or even puts the musical instrument in his hands and asks him to sing the verses. By this laborious and patience-trying process regular lines can be obtained from even the most confused of singers.[31]

Such was the achievement of Parry's skilful and well-trained assistant, Nikola Vujnović. One may wonder whether the *Iliad* could have been produced by such a process, nursed along as it took shape by a devoted, critical scribe. I find it easier to imagine that it was written down in circumstances more like those in which a poet of the Nyanga tribe in Zaïre, Candi Rureke, dictated his version of the *Mwindo* epic to the American researcher D. P. Biebuyck in 1956:

> Very cooperative and understanding, very lucid and intelligent, Rureke sat down with us for twelve days, singing, narrating, dancing, miming, until the present text was completely written down . . . We would begin to work early in the morning and, with a few short breaks, continue well into the night. Large crowds of people from Bese and from surrounding villages and hamlets would come to listen to the narration, to participate in the refrains of the songs, to dance . . . Very excited by the stimulus he received from his

[25] N. K. Chadwick, *Russian Heroic Poetry* (Cambridge 1932), 14; C. R. Bawden in Hatto (as n. 6), 293.
[26] D. Wilson (as n. 14), 169; S. Koljević (as n. 13), 315.
[27] M. Parry and A. B. Lord (as n. 18), 8.
[28] S. M. Pandey (as n. 7), 28.
[29] Ibid. 31.
[30] M. Parry and A. B. Lord (as n. 18), 8.
[31] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 127.

audience, very self-confident about his knowledge, and very proud about his achievements, Rureke was able to maintain from beginning to end the coherence of his story.[32]

Perhaps the writing down of the *Iliad* was a similarly public event, with a self-confident Homer similarly stimulated by the attendance day after day of crowds of enthusiastic listeners, prepared to tolerate the pauses as the scribe or scribes scribbled it all down. These pauses he would no doubt have filled with his phorminx.

Under adverse conditions dictation may be expected to produce an inferior text, both shorter and less coherent than the bard has previously sung. But if the conditions are right, he may excel himself—that is, if he is suitably stimulated and encouraged, if the interest and responsiveness of those present is sustained for as long as he is prepared to perform, and if he has the talent to exploit the opportunity to expand and ornament his song in every possible way.[33] [47] Parry successfully developed a technique for getting good results from singers by the dictation method. It was by dictation that he obtained from Avdo Međedović the poem *The Wedding of Smailagić Meho*, a work of exceptional length (over 12,000 lines) and high quality. It is not certain whether Avdo had ever sung such a long song without the encouragement of an American investigator, but he cannot often have done so. Certainly Rureke produced a longer *Mwindo* epic when he dictated it to Biebuyck than he had ever sung before; it was considerably longer than normal epic performances in the Nyanga tradition.[34] I think it likely that the written *Iliad* and *Odyssey* too are much longer than normal oral performances ever were.

On whose initiative was the writing operation undertaken? We have seen that the impulse is not likely to have come from the oral poet himself but from someone with wider perspectives. We can only guess who. The ancient biography of Homer speaks of a schoolmaster, but that may be anachronistic. Perhaps we should think of some noble patron who kept Homer in his household, as Phemios and Demodokos are attached to royal houses in the *Odyssey*, but if so, the biographical tradition has preserved no memory of it. Lord suggests that the idea of recording poems came from observation of,

[32] D. Biebuyck and K. Mateene, *The Mwindo Epic from the Banyanga (Congo Republic)*, edited and translated (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1969), vi, quoted by M. Skafte Jensen (as n. 11), 37.

[33] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 128.

[34] M. Skafte Jensen (as n. 11), 35.



or from hearing about, similar activity in the Near East.[35] This is a possibility, and if it is right, then rich merchants who had contacts with the Levant might have played a significant role.

The motive for writing down was presumably the desire to preserve for the future something that, it was feared, might not otherwise remain available. The need was most likely to be felt in the case of a singer who was recognized as being of exceptional quality. Sappho says of a certain girl, 'as to musical skill (σοφία), I think there will never be another like her'.[36] If she is referring to skill in composition and not merely performance, she might be expected to have made sure that the girl's songs were written down, just as her own must have been. Similarly, recognition of Homer's incomparable talent might have provided the necessary incentive [48] for persuading him to submit to the arduous exercise of dictating. It is not necessary to assume the same for each of the Cyclic poets. Once the idea of committing epic poems to writing became familiar, others could take it up. What most needs explaining is why this step was taken in the first instance.

Once a written text had been produced, what was done with it? The first thing was probably that the scribe or his patron, with or without the poet's assistance, read through it and corrected obvious mistakes, inconsistencies, omissions, and metrical faults. Most collectors of oral epic have practised editorial intervention of this kind in order not to come away with an incoherent text.[37] After that, we may suppose, the manuscript was a treasure preserved by the man who had commissioned it. People did not come flocking to read it or copy it, but continued to enjoy the much more agreeable experience of listening to the singer. But in time copies *were* made, and transported from place to place, probably partial copies much more often than complete ones. We can imagine them being acquired by two kinds of person: other epic singers, and rich men or aristocrats who appreciated a good epic song but were not singers themselves. When the latter kind of person obtained a Homeric manuscript, I suppose that in most cases he did not sit down and read it but handed it to a rhapsode and said 'Here, learn this, this is what Homer sang'.

[35] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 156.

[36] Sappho fr. 56.

[37] M. Skafte Jensen (as n. 11), 86.

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, after being written down, were not immune from revision or interpolation. Some scholars have written as if, after Parry's demonstration of the oral nature of the Greek epic tradition, there was no longer any place for the analytic type of criticism which seeks to detect different layers of composition. But as Reinhold Merkelbach points out, the texts that have come down to us are not necessarily identical with the first written copies.[38] The *Odyssey* in particular lies under suspicion of having been revised in parts from an older written version. The tenth rhapsody of the *Iliad* also seems to be an interpolation in a pre-existing written text. The Sanskrit epics *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, and some [49] of the medieval French *chansons*, provide other examples of epics stemming from an originally oral tradition but altered and amplified in the course of written transmission.

We should also bear in mind that the transition from oral to written is not necessarily a single, once-and-for-all event. I have mentioned Avdo Međedović and his *Wedding of Smailagić Meho*, which he sang in 1935 in a version of some 12,000 lines and again fifteen years later in a version of 8,500 lines. Avdo was an illiterate singer, a genuine representative of the Yugoslav oral tradition. Yet his source for this poem was a printed book from which it had been read to him. It had been recorded in 1885 and published in 1886, and then in two popular editions (with some changes) in 1925 and 1927; its length there was 2,160 lines. Avdo by his art of embellishment was able to make it more than five times as long when he dictated it in 1935. So here is an originally oral poem that passed through a forty-year phase of written transmission and then became oral again, eventually to be re-recorded in a much enlarged and improved form. Parry and Lord found several other singers who knew the song from the same book as Avdo did. Some of them had memorized it and recited it with only minor divergences from the printed text, while others produced a mixture of memorized and recomposed passages. One singer who had learned it from the book passed it on orally to his nephew, who performed it for Lord in 1963. Of the fifty-eight songs in Avdo's repertoire, seven were derived from books. Similarly in Mongolia, where epic song is still primarily an oral phenomenon but some manuscripts exist, there are instances where performers have learned a poem from a book, or orally from someone else who

[38] R. Merkelbach, *Untersuchungen zur Odyssee* (2nd edn., Munich 1969), p. ix.



had it from a book.[39] Analogous cases are cited from Russia and Uzbekistan.[40]

In early Greece too we should perhaps reckon with a period of mixed oral and written transmission. It is at least a theoretical possibility that Homer's *Iliad*, like Avdo's *Wedding of Meho*, was a magnificent oral re-creation of a song that had already, in a less developed form, enjoyed a period of written transmission. [50] It is equally possible that after the *Iliad* was written down some singers who read episodes from it, or heard them read from a book, then developed them creatively for themselves and did not merely memorize them for more or less exact reproduction. In this way new variant versions might have arisen. But if so, they have vanished without trace. It was inevitably the written text that triumphed in the end.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

In this paper I engaged with the problem of how the Homeric poems took shape as written texts, with a strong bias towards the dictation hypothesis. I did not take account of the arguments for their having been composed by stages over a protracted period, considerations which have made me lean in more recent publications towards autography. See especially Chapter 21 below, and *The Making of the Iliad* (Oxford 2011), Chapter 1.

[39] C. R. Bawden (as n. 25), 293 f.

[40] Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, 371 f.

# 15

# On Editing Homer

The two volumes of my Teubner edition of the *Iliad* have been honoured in *BMCR* with reviews of exceptional length, totalling over 31,000 words (2000.09.12, by Gregory Nagy; 2001.06.21, by Jean-Fabrice Nardelli). I am grateful to the reviewers for their pains, and for the generally positive character of their evaluations. There are many points of detail on which they disagree with me, and the reader will not need to be explicitly advised that on these same points I disagree with them. But it may perhaps be of interest to some observers (whether or not they have digested the reviews) if I comment on certain matters of principle and attempt to dispel some misapprehensions.

My critics are both (though it takes them in different ways) devotees of the Oralist faith, and they reproach me for not paying sufficient regard to the Good News. Thus Nagy remarks disapprovingly that in my Praefatio I 'ignore altogether the work of Parry and Lord', and that throughout my edition 'there is a noticeable lack of engagement with oral poetics'. Nardelli finds that I 'refuse the critical consequences of the Parry–Lord theory'; I show this by marking as spurious a number of verses 'which, in their great majority, are easily accounted for in the oralist framework'. I have 'a keen feeling for Homeric Greek but no sound command in oral linguistics'. 'He cannot be well acquainted with Parry's principle that rhapsodes would modernize their diction wherever meter does not prevent it since it is his contention that "Homer" wrote.'

Let me take up the last point first. I do not actually commit myself as to whether the poet wrote with his own hand or used an amanuensis, but I do make him responsible for the writing down.





Both reviewers imply that there is something controversial, even extreme, in this view. But it is an inescapable fact that we are dealing with a written poem, a text fixed in the course of the writing process (in Parryist theory it could not be otherwise). It cannot be treated as the transcript of a series of oral performances, for even if the poet was capable of creating our *Iliad* in performance, the means to capture it were not available in antiquity. (I have exposed the inadequacy of the 'oral dictated text' theory in a recent paper in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Hungaricae* 40 (2000), 479–88 [=below, Chapter 21].) Nardelli declares: 'That "Homer" . . . wrote is a mere guess depending on another unconventional belief of West's, that "Homer" is post-Hesiodic.' But it does not depend in the least on the relative date of Hesiod; and it is by no means 'a mere guess' but a logical necessity. As Adam Parry pointed out, if the poet had not written (or caused to be written), we could not have his poem. But we do have it, because 'he' is by definition the author of the poem we have.

Once the text was written down ('the text' being by definition the original of the *Iliad* we have), there began a written tradition, vulnerable to corruption by interpolation, modernization, and misunderstanding. My Praefatio is concerned with the history of this written tradition; that is why it is not adorned with references to Parry and Lord (and Nagy). If it sounds dogmatic, it is because its purpose is to explain succinctly to the user the presuppositions on which the edition is based and to give an indication of the reasons for them. It is not meant to be a history of Homeric philology, and the accusation that I have failed to cite this or that scholar, or suppressed views with which I do not agree, is thus beside the point.

If we want to get back to the original—and that is what I want—we must endeavour to identify the corruptions of the written tradition. 'Oral poetics' is a red herring. Yes, constant modernization is characteristic of the oral poetic tradition; but that does not mean we have to accept all the modernizations we find in the written tradition, because written traditions also modernize. How do we distinguish modernizations of the tradition from those of the original poet? When the tradition itself is inconsistent as between an older and a younger form, the likelihood is that the poet more consistently used the older, and that the other has crept in subsequently. When the tradition shows no trace anywhere of a theoretical older form, we shall work on the assumption that it was already obsolete in

the poet's time, unless there is some special reason to think otherwise (as in the case of the genitives in *-οο*). Again, how do we decide, in the absence of external evidence, whether a redundant verse, repeated from another context, is due to the poet or is a later intrusion? Not, at any rate, by preaching that such repetitions are typical of oral poets and therefore to be accepted; for they are no less typical of non-creative rhapsodes, and of Homeric copyists down to the Middle Ages. The question is which of these was responsible in the given instance.

Of course the ancient variants are predominantly oral (or mnemonic) in origin. That does not mean, as Nagy thinks, that they all have equal validity. He fails to see the difference between a genuine creative oral tradition and the reproductive tradition of the Homeric rhapsodes, whose business was to perform excerpts from specific poems recognized as fixed entities. Their interpolations and 'oral' variants may be valid and interesting as manifestations of their art, but they have a quite different and inferior status to the original, normative text that the rhapsodes were supposed to be presenting—the *Iliad* that is the object of my edition. Nagy calls for a 'multitext' edition that would display all the variants without 'privileging' any one version. That amounts to denying that 'Homer's' *Iliad* was any better or worthier of our attention than subsequent rhapsodes' perversions of it. Nagy's position is well criticized by Margalit Finkelberg in *CPh* 95 (2000), 1–11.

Admittedly, it is not always easy to decide which version is the original. But there it is the editor's right, and indeed duty, to exercise his best judgment on behalf of the public, drawing on whatever knowledge and experience he may have accumulated in the course of his life. This does not seem to be a familiar concept to Nagy, who complains that 'the text of West's *Iliad* contains many editorial judgments that go beyond the manuscript evidence and that flatten out the textual history of Homer'. Nor does he appreciate that an editorial decision reflects a judgment of probability, not necessarily an assertion of certainty. Thus when he speaks of my 'optimism about reconstructing the *ipsissima verba* of a prototypical poet', or writes that 'he seems confident that he has recovered the closest thing to the putatively original *Iliad*', or that 'for West, there is no need to go back to the edition of Aristarchus in order to recover the text of Homer. He thinks that the closest thing to an original *Iliad* is his own reconstruction of the text composed by the "primus poeta"', he



is imputing to me a kind of arrogance that I repudiate. Naturally my text consists of what I think is the closest attainable to the original; that is what editing a text is about. But I am not saying it must be so, I am simply offering my best efforts. When Nardelli calls my edition 'the tentative account of an opinionated author', I will accept the description, provided that 'opinionated' is understood to mean 'having decided views' and not 'bigoted'.

However, I am afraid that Nardelli intends the more negative sense. Elsewhere he writes: 'What actually concerns West is less the origin and putative vertical character of each reading in the tradition than their congruence, dialectal, morphological or orthographic, to his own idea of what the *Kunstsprache* tolerates in each case and of what the context of each passage allows. This promulgates the taste of the modern editor . . .'. That sounds bad, does it not. Only it is not a matter of taste, but of informed judgment, not derived from some private revelation about the norms of the *Kunstsprache* but from the empirical data; a judgment not imposed without regard to the evidence of the transmission in each place, but deployed in conjunction with it.

I do not know what leads Nardelli to think that I have a special preference for Aeolic forms; his reference to 'the Aeolic color of the *Kunstsprache*, in whose conjectural restoration West has indulged in many places, following the guideline of Payne Knight and Fick' will give the innocent reader a very misleading impression of my practice. My choice of uncontracted τεύχεα at line-end in 22. 322 has nothing to do with Aeolic: a bizarre misunderstanding of my apparatus here and at 24. 7 has led Nardelli to suppose that the manuscripts give τεύχεη and ἄλγεη (so accented), and he informs us that these are the Ionic equivalents of Aeolic -εα (with long alpha). I confess to some bemusement at seeing my *Iliad* reviewed by someone capable of such a fantastic error. His blood will surely run cold when he realizes what he has done.

Confusion in linguistic matters appears also in his remarks about my rejection of the graph ευ for the contraction of εο or ō. The epigraphic argument is not *ex silentio*; it is that before the fourth century BCE these contractions were normally written εο in Ionic, as if they were uncontracted. There may be one or two earlier instances of ευ, but the norm was εο. We must assume it was also the norm in poetic manuscripts and that ευ is a modernization. To judge otherwise is to show irrational faith in the sincerity of the tradition.

Nardelli muddles the issue further by referring to Ionic spellings of the inherited diphthong ευ as εο, which is a separate matter. (The seven such forms which he lists as 'unanimously attested in the medieval tradition of Herodotus' in fact come from other sources.)

Given the brevity of my account of the early tradition (Praefatio V–VI), it is remarkable in how many details Nardelli contrives to misrepresent it. I said nothing of 'a bard called Homer' who 'composed ... both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*' 'sometime between the seventh and the sixth centuries BCE'; nor did I mention 'the Homeridae of Chios'. I did note that a few corruptions in the text seem to have their origin in copies written in the Attic alphabet, but I did not, as Nardelli implies, suggest that all copies were written in that script down to 403/2. On the contrary, I believe that the *Iliad* was written from the start in an Ionian alphabet of 25 letters (with qoppa). When I synchronize the division of the poem into 24 rhapsodies with the organization of the Panathenaic recitations in the time of Hipparchus, I am not in the least influenced by 'the tradition first represented by Cicero' (*De oratore* 3. 137: *Pisistrati, qui primus Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus*). The argument is that that was the moment when a division into 'recitations' was needed, no earlier and no later.

In the Praefatio I could only state summarily my finding that the readings of the 'city editions' and other early copies cited in the scholia were accumulated by Didymus and not by Aristarchus. As the arguments had not yet been presented, Nagy and Nardelli may be forgiven for cleaving to the conventional view, which I regard as mistaken. I can now refer those interested to my *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (Munich–Leipzig 2001). There they will also find ample and reasoned presentation of my views on the pre-Alexandrian tradition, on the nature of Zenodotus' text (where my position is by no means 'a mere adaptation of Van der Valk's conclusions', as Nardelli has it), and on numerous textual questions.

Even without these fuller explanations, however, my two critics might have taken my point (to which they give short shrift) that when Didymus reports the reading of Aristarchus, he does so because the reading is somehow at issue; in other words, he must be aware of a different one, with which Aristarchus' is tacitly contrasted. We can usually identify this different reading, and then it is appropriate to say of it 'novit Didymus'. This should be obvious,



and it is not dependent (as my critics seem to suppose) on my view of Aristarchus' use of manuscripts.

The deployment of 'novit Didymus' does not throw up new variants, because we have to know the reading from somewhere else before we can label it in this way. But it does provide a guarantee of antiquity that may not otherwise be available. This is also the principal value of the ancient quotations that I have collected in such numbers. I am sorry that Nagy and Nardelli are not more appreciative of their utility. To the latter I am grateful for a few addenda, though three of the items he claims I have overlooked are actually there in my apparatus, and it is not true that 'the references for quotations collected by La Roche and Ludwich were not updated'.

A further misunderstanding on Nardelli's part concerns my bracketing of lines. He lists a number of these lines and speaks of my 'refusal to delete' and of cases where 'West may well be overcautious and this reviewer would have wished to see the lines properly removed' ... 'those retained in the text with braces are no less certainly spurious than the deleted ones, but West was not confident enough (or did not dare) to delete them.' My list of sigla says plainly enough, '{ } interpolata videntur'. The choice between bracketing and omission is not an index of my confidence, but simply reflects the lines' status in terms of the transmission. The ones I omit from the text are those that appear in only a few sources and are absent from the main tradition; they are not part of the paradosis. The ones I bracket are well attested, though not necessarily in all sources.

When it comes to my choice of readings in the text, both critics hold it against me that I do not formulate or follow some mechanical criterion. Thus Nagy: 'West's approach ... does not seem to me systematic. That is, his decisions about good or bad textual traditions are not based on external evidence ... Ultimately, the "goodness" of the given tradition depends on whether West thinks that the given reading is "right" in the first place. He is not concerned whether a reading comes from an ancient source or from a conjecture, ancient or modern, as long as it is "right".' Of course! That is what textual criticism is about: rightness! Which does not mean treating the external evidence in a cavalier fashion, but treating it critically, not giving systematic preference to some particular source or type of source. This brings us back to the principle, which my critics find so disconcerting, that the editor should be a thinking being, not a puller of levers.

# 16

## Book Division

*Martin and Stephanie West*

Throughout her paper Minna Skafte Jensen speaks of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* being divided each into 24 'songs'. Let us begin by amending this tendentious expression. The ancient term was ῥαψωιδίαι, which means not 'songs' but 'recitations', or in this application presumably 'Rezitationseinheiten'. From at least the third century BCE, then, each epic was regarded as divisible into 24 'recitations', and this division was considered significant enough to be widely established in the manuscript tradition.

The use of a term referring to performance is not likely to have been something introduced by Alexandrian scholars,[1] who—even if they were able correctly to accent some obsolete words and forms on the basis of how they had heard the rhapsodes pronounce them (*JHS* 101 (1981), 114)—had little interest in the performance tradition (it is never referred to in the scholia) and were certainly not concerned to lay down where recitations should begin and end. Even if they did regularize a division into 'recitations' in the book tradition, it must have been something already more or less established beforehand. For its origins we must look back to an earlier period. What kind of 'recitations' were in question?

The occasions for complete performances of either poem were rare, and it must certainly have been more common for professional

*Symb. Osl.* 74 (1999), 68–73: contribution to a debate on Minne Skafte Jensen's paper 'Dividing Homer' in the same volume, pp. 5–35.

[1] The idea that the division is of Alexandrian origin is not quite a 'consensus' in works of reference, as Minne Skafte Jensen says. Cf. A. Lesky in *RE* Supp. xi. 839; M. W. Haslam in I. Morris and B. Powell, *A New Companion to Homer* (Leiden–New York–Cologne 1997), 58.



rhapsodes to perform individual episodes in isolation. This is suggested by the special popularity of certain episodes with archaic vase-painters (K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen 1967), 224 ff.), and it is presumably what Plato has in mind when he lists some of the Homeric scenes that Ion can recite most stirringly (*Ion* 535b). But these independently performed episodes can seldom have been coterminous with the ῥαψωιδίαι of the book tradition. If Herodotus quotes *Z* 289–92 as being from the Διομήδεος ἀριστείη, it is probably because he had heard recitals of the Aristeia that included Hector's return to Troy. Someone reciting the Διὸς ἀπάτη might most naturally have begun at *Ξ* 27 and continued to *O* 71.[2] Conversely, an independent recitation could not have begun with a line such as Τρώων δ' οἰώθη καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φύλοπις αἰνή (*Z* 1, unintelligible without the preceding verses), or ὣς εἰπὼν πυλέων ἐξέσσυτο φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ (*H* 1, cf. *ν* 1), or τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς (*ι* 1); nor with verses in which unidentified persons were the subjects of verbs (*T* 1–3, *Φ* 1, *δ* 1, *ξ* 1). In all these cases the rhapsody-division cuts ruthlessly through a narrative continuity.

Our ῥαψωιδίαι, then, cannot be regarded as potentially free-standing units, but only as parts of a continuum. That being so, it is impossible to dissociate them from the continuous recitation of the complete epics which took place at the Great Panathenaea and never, so far as we know, anywhere else. The well-known passage of Diogenes Laertius (1. 57), in which the institution is attributed to Solon, says precisely τά τε Ὁμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ῥαψωιδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον. A team of rhapsodes on each occasion had to 'go through the poems of Homer in sequence' (Pl. *Hipparch.* 228b), that is, a fixed, authentic text of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, or one that was considered fixed and authentic. Obviously it was necessary to assign his portion to each rhapsode in advance, and no more fitting name for these portions can be imagined than ῥαψωιδίαι. In view of the historical importance and prestige of the Panathenaic recitations and the dominance of Athenian books in the pre-Alexandrian

[2] Indeed, *O* 64–71 (absent from Zenodotus' text, as were 72–7) looks very much like a spurious passage added for the very purpose of rounding off a rhapsode's recitation by looking forward to the major events that he was not going to narrate, the deaths of Patroclus and Hector and the eventual fall of Troy.

transmission, it is not surprising that the boundaries of the rhapsodes' assignments should have continued to be marked in the margins of rolls and should have acquired some sort of lasting status.

It is likely that the association of the ῥαψωιδίαι with the letters of the Ionic alphabet is original. Were the epics divided each into 24 parts just because of the number of letters in the alphabet? That would hardly seem a pressing reason. There must have been more serious considerations. On the one hand, each segment needed to be of a convenient length for a single rhapsode to manage; and for what it is worth, Skafte Jensen cites Notopoulos' finding that these units were roughly comparable to what modern Cretan singers and their audiences could support. On the other hand, each poem had to be distributed in an orderly way over the festival time available. The Great Panathenaea lasted four days, according to two late scholiasts.[3] If the Homeric recitations were spread over all four, as seems likely, the division of the epics into 24 recitations makes good sense, whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* ran concurrently, with six ῥαψωιδίαι of each per day, or were squeezed into two days apiece. Evidently, once the figure of 24 had been decided on for the *Iliad*, it was resolved to impose it on the shorter epic too for the sake of uniformity.

There was no precedent to follow for the labelling of the subdivisions of a lengthy work. If letters of the alphabet were adopted rather then the numerals that were customary later for works divided into 'books' (Herodotus, Theopompus, etc.), this was well enough suited to the purpose of the division. It was not the number of the ῥαψωιδίαι that was important so much as their correct sequence. What was essential for the rhapsode who was assigned *P* was not that his portion was the seventeenth of the whole series, but that he should be ready to perform after the colleague who had *Π* and before the one who had *Σ*. Probably his study text was signed with the appropriate letter. On a similar principle the ten Athenian courtrooms were labelled from *A* to *K*, and each juror was given a ticket bearing the letter of the court he was to go to (sch. Ar. *Plut.* 277c–e). Sequence letters were also used for coin issues.[4]

[3] Sch. rec. Eur. *Hec.* 469, i. 336 Dind. (not in Schwartz); sch. Aristid. 98. 31 f. Dind., cf. 99. 6, 196. 30 f.; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932), 24.

[4] Attic *A–N*, Ptolemaic *A–Ω* and *AA–ΩΩ*: B. V. Head, *Historia numorum*[2] (Oxford 1911), p. lxxxvii; V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*[2] (Leipzig 1911–13), ii. 358. Further examples of 'numbering' by letters in F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*[2] (Leipzig–Berlin 1925), 11.



Whoever made the divisions did not simply draw an arbitrary line after every 500 or 800 verses, but tried to make the changeover of rhapsode coincide as far as possible with some natural joint in the narrative. That is why it so often falls at the point where a new day dawns, or the scene of action changes, or the poet has just made a summary of the situation before switching his focus. Such transition-markers occur within ῥαψωιδίαι as well as at their boundaries. They are part of the poet's ordinary technique for structuring his story, not a sign that he has come to the end of a dictation-session. We can infer that it was not he who was responsible for the division into ῥαψωιδίαι, because the demarcations do not always quite coincide with those of his composition. The *Odyssey* poet marks the conclusion of the excursion to Hades by the landing and sleeping on Circe's shore; then dawn sets the next episode in motion (μ 7–8). But the rhapsody-divider has put the [7] division a few lines earlier, as the ship rides the waters of Oceanus. He ended μ with the last words of Odysseus' story, whereas the poet's closure of the episode comes seventeen lines later, where everyone retires for what remains of the night. In dividing β from γ and γ from δ, he seized on the sunrise or sunset as his talisman, although the last lines of β and γ cohere so closely with what follows that it would surely not have occurred to the poet to divide after rather than before them.

We cannot, in the space available, go at any length into the question of the date when the poems were first fixed in writing or of the circumstances in which this was carried out. We can only comment that the account offered by Minna Skafte Jensen appears to rest more on clairvoyance than on argument. The following features of it strike us as especially implausible:

1. That the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were not written down before the time of the Pisistratids. The 'Nestor's cup' inscription of two centuries earlier suggests by its layout that there were already written poems in which the principle of one line for each verse had been established (H. R. Immerwahr, *Attic Script: A Survey* (Oxford 1990), 18 f.). Certainly by 525, generations after Hesiod, Archilochus, and the older elegists and melic poets, considerable amounts of poetry must have been in circulation in written form, and it would be strange if no one had yet set about committing the Homeric poems to writing. The evidence both of vase-painting and of literary reflexes makes it clear that poems similar in structure and content to our

*Iliad* and *Odyssey* were in fact current by the second half of the seventh century.[5] Indeed, even the *Doloneia* would appear to have been part of the *Iliad* by about 600 (Friis Johansen, op. cit., 70–5). Again, the notorious Attic insertions or alterations (e.g. *B* 547–51, 558, *Γ* 144, *H* 334–5) are usually assumed to date from the Pisistratid period, and this seems likely; but they presuppose an older fixed text, or they would not stand out as they do.

2. That each epic was produced in a sustained bout of dictation extending over 24 days, this period being stipulated in advance by the patron to match the number of letters in the alphabet. This seems an exceptionally fanciful hypothesis. The structure of the *Iliad* in particular points to a poem that grew by stages, by expansion within an existing frame; this was probably a process that extended over many years of the poet's life (G. P. Goold, *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977), 9–18). That it was not simply a matter of mental or oral increments but involved successive *written* versions seems indicated by the way in which some of the expansions force apart passages that would still fit perfectly together—in purely oral composition one would expect the signs of contiguity to have l[72] been washed away—and by the observation, commonplace to the analysts but nowadays brushed under the carpet, that some passages which stand later in the poem were evidently composed before and without knowledge of others which stand earlier.

3. That each *ῥαψωιδία* corresponds to one day's dictation. This is again an arbitrary notion. We have seen that the *ῥαψωιδία*-boundaries often cut through closely integrated paragraphs and cannot plausibly be identified as points at which the poet would have chosen to pause. If one tries to avoid this conclusion by saying that the joins might have been smoothed over after the dictation-sessions, that begs the question. Nor is it easy to see why the patron's alphabetic whim should have been perpetuated in the great unified poem that resulted from the commission and maintained in all or most copies through the centuries.

Finally, we note Minna Skafte Jensen's commitment to certain Parryist articles of faith which should not be allowed to pass without challenge. Her statement that 'there was no oral theory before Milman Parry' requires considerable qualification: Homer was

[5] Vases: Friis Johansen, op. cit.; literary reflexes: Alcaeus fr. 44, see *JHS* 108 (1988), 151 n. 5 [above, Chapter 4]; Stesichorus *PMGF* 209 ≈ *o* 160 ff., 113 ff.



commonly thought of as an oral poet in the eighteenth century, and the relevance of the South Slavic oral tradition to Homeric epic was well appreciated by (among others) Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, the great early nineteenth-century collector (from whose printed collections Parry's and Lord's illiterate singers indirectly derived some of their songs),[6] and Mathias Murko. The workings of the formulaic system had been studied by, for example, Kurt Witte and Karl Meister. The principal contributions of Parry and Lord, in terms of theory, were the insistence on the extension and economy of the formulaic repertory, and the belief in an uncrossable gulf dividing oral from written composition,[7] such that dictation was the only possible bridge between the creative poet and the written text that we undeniably possess.[8] This conviction does not make sufficient allowance for the cultural differences between Yugoslavia in the mid-twentieth century and archaic Greece. In archaic Greece there was no stylistic antithesis between oral and written literature; the written literature, one might say, was nothing but oral literature that had been written down. Training as a poet-perfomer did l[73] not make a man less capable of learning to write than anyone else. Nor should it have been more difficult for him to write down the poetry that he had in his head than to dictate it to another.

[6] Cf. D. Wilson, *The Life and Times of Vuk Stefanović Karadzić* (Oxford 1970); S. Koljević, *The Epic in the Making* (Oxford 1980).

[7] It is seldom noted how imprecise and confusing these terms are. Composition is neither oral nor written, it is mental. Composition and production 'with (or without) the aid of writing' may mean many different things; see above, Chapter 13 (original pp. 62 f.).

[8] In *The Singer of Tales*, to be sure, Lord modified his stance and admitted the possibility of an orally trained poet writing his own poem down (p. 149). But he maintained that that would be an abnormal case, unlikely to produce as good results as dictation.

# 17

# The Date of the *Iliad*

It is still widely assumed that the *Iliad* was composed sometime in the middle or the latter part of the eighth century. I have always maintained that it belongs in the second or third quarter of the seventh.[1] In recent years the lower dating has gained new adherents and been reinforced with new arguments, some of which would appear difficult to refute. In this paper I shall briefly summarize these arguments and then add another which, if it is found persuasive, will provide a precise *terminus post quem* for the poem: 688, or perhaps 678.

I suspect that most of those who subscribe to an eighth-century dating do so because most *other* people do; they have always been led to believe that this was the approved opinion, and they are unaware of the grounds for revising it. The relatively restricted number of scholars who have arrived at it (or at any rate sought to justify it) by a process of reasoning seem to have been moved principally by the following factors and considerations:[2]

1. The Greeks always thought of Homer as one of their oldest known poets, and from the Alexandrian period to modern times there was an established tradition of regarding him as absolutely the

*Mus. Helv.* 52 (1995), 203–19.

[1] *Hesiod. Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 46 with n. 2; *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford 1971), 205 n. 2.

[2] As representatives of such scholars I nominate W. Schadewaldt, *Von Homers Welt und Werk*, 4th edn. (Stuttgart 1966), 93–6; G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge 1962), 282–7, and *The Iliad: A Commentary*, i: *Books 1–4* (Cambridge 1985), 3 f.; A. Lesky, *Homeros* (Stuttgart 1967), 7 = *RE* Supp. xi. 693; A. Heubeck, *Die homerische Frage* (Darmstadt 1974), 213–28; J. Latacz, *Homer. Der erste Dichter des Abendlands*, 2nd edn. (Munich–Zurich 1989), 75–85; B. B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge 1991), 187–220.



oldest.[3] Verbal parallels between the Homeric poems and Hesiod or the early elegiac or melic poets were, accordingly, automatically interpreted as echoes of Homer in his successors, and the presence of all these supposed echoes of Homer appeared to confirm his priority. In some cases there was good reason to conclude that an elegist or melodist was using diction adapted from heroic epic; but all too often epic was treated as synonymous with extant epic, i.e. with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In the last two generations there has been a much greater awareness that [204] there existed in the early Archaic period a broad current of oral epic, and that only in exceptional cases can phraseology known to us from Homer be assumed to have been unique to Homer. Yet the attitudes formed over centuries are slow to change.

Ancient notions of Homer's relative or absolute chronology are in fact devoid of probative value. When they had some evidence, ancient scholars were adept at drawing chronological conclusions, but in the case of Homer they had nothing to get hold of; they did not know when he lived any more than they knew where. The ancient datings cover the entire span from the Trojan War to the mid-seventh century; some made Homer a contemporary of Gyges and Archilochus.[4] It cannot therefore be argued that so low a dating is incompatible with ancient ideas on the subject.

2. The Cyclic poems in particular have almost always been taken to be collectively later than the *Iliad*, even though the poet of the *Iliad* is obviously familiar with much of the material that they contained. The assumption that they are younger is certainly right in some cases, such as the *Cypria* and *Telegony*, though it cannot be

[3] Before the late fourth century BCE, however, Homer seems generally to have been put after Hesiod, if not as his contemporary: see my *Hesiod. Theogony*, 40 and 47, adding the Simonides apophthegm from Gnom. Vat. gr. 1144 (*FGrHist* 8 F 6; D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1991), iii. 366), Σιμωνίδης τὸν Ἡσίοδον κηπουρὸν ἔλεγε, τὸν δὲ Ὅμηρον στεφανηπλόκον, τὸν μὲν ὡς φυτεύσαντα τὰς περὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων μυθολογίας, τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν συμπλέξαντα τὸν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσείας στέφανον.

[4] See F. Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium* (Berlin 1904), 154–7. The seventh-century dating was perhaps maintained by no less a historian than Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 205), who placed Homer 500 years after the Trojan War; but we do not know when he dated the war. Euphorion (fr. 198 Lightfoot) explicitly put Homer in the time of Gyges, and Tatian (*ad Graecos* 31) offers a multiple synchronism: Homer = Archilochus = Gyges = 500 years after the Trojan War = Ol. 23 (688/5). Strabo (1. 2. 9, cf. 1. 1. 10, 3. 2. 12) refers to οἱ χρονογράφοι for the placing of Homer at or slightly after the time of the Cimmerian invasion of Asia Minor. Gyges died fighting the Cimmerians *c.*652, and Callinus refers to their impending attack as a contemporary.

proved for all. An eighth-century date for the *Iliad* is then inferred on the basis of wholly unreliable datings for the Cyclic poems:[5] *ignotum per ignotius*. Artistic representations of some episodes that were treated in the Cycle appear from the late eighth century onwards, and it is sometimes argued that these presuppose the Cyclic poems, which themselves presuppose the *Iliad*.[6] Utterly fallacious. We know that the *stories* are pre-Iliadic; it is only the particular written poems known to later antiquity that we can say are post-Iliadic, and there is no way of tying the representations to those particular texts.

3. Linguistic studies have repeatedly shown that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are less 'modern', by various criteria, than the poems of Hesiod and the longer Homeric Hymns.[7] That they were actually composed earlier has been too |[205] readily inferred. It has to be borne in mind that what are being measured are the choices consciously or unconsciously made by different poets, working in different local traditions, speaking different local dialects, and with different degrees of training and differing personal sensitivities, between alternative forms available within the current Ionian poetic language. These alternatives appear to us as older or newer, more traditional or less, but they did not necessarily appear to the poets in these terms.[8] The major determinant of the quantity of younger forms in a given poet is the extent to which his language diverges from the formulaic, and this depends on many other factors apart from his date.

4. There is good archaeological evidence for a new preoccupation with the heroic past in the second half of the eighth century. Indeed, there seems to have been an eruption of interest in it around 750, no doubt reflecting the spread of Ionian epic.[9] Some writers have

[5] For example Latacz, 80, 'etwa ab 650'. Kirk (*Songs*, 286; *Commentary*, 4) and Powell (p. 218) imagine that the *Suda* date for Arctinus (*γεγονὼς κατὰ τὴν θ̄ Ὀλυμπιάδα* = 744/1) is a basis for argument.

[6] Schadewaldt, 93; R. Kannicht, *Classical Antiquity* 1 (1982), 79–86.

[7] For example, A. Severyns, *Homère*, ii: *Le Poète et son œuvre* (Brussels 1946), 68 f., 88–92; A. Hoekstra, *Mnem.*[4] 10 (1957), 201–12; F. Krafft, *Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Homer und Hesiod* (Göttingen 1963); G. P. Edwards, *The Language of Hesiod in its Traditional Context* (Oxford 1971); especially R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Diction* (Cambridge 1982).

[8] Cf. my remarks in *Gnomon* 35 (1963), 11 f.; *CR* 15 (1965) 159; *Hesiod. Theogony*, 91, 99, 177; *CR* 23 (1973), 20.

[9] See, for example, A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh 1971), 192–4, 397; *Archaic Greece* (London 1980), 38–40, 68–78; J. N. Coldstream, *JHS* 96 (1976), 8–17; *Geometric Greece* (London 1977), 341–57; M. L. West, *JHS* 108 (1988), 151 [= above, Chapter 4].



leapt to the conclusion that it was the appearance of one great poet—Homer, of course—that sparked this off:[10] a good example of the fatal tendency, once one has a certain set of presuppositions (such as an eighth-century Homer), to slot loose bits of information into them in the hope of strengthening the structure. There may well have been some excellent epic poets around 750, who knows? But there is no reason why we should assume the *Iliad* to have come at the beginning of that new phase of the tradition rather than from its maturity.

Another example of the same tendency is to see the 'Nestor's cup' inscription from Pithecusae, dated *c.*735–720, as an allusion to the passage in the *Iliad* describing a special, huge goblet belonging to Nestor, which only he can easily lift when it is full.[11] It is no doubt an allusion to some such description in some epic poem in which Nestor appeared. But as the vessel described in the *Iliad* has its closest analogues in objects of the Bronze Age,[12] and the motif of the mighty goblet is paralleled in Ugaritic poetry current in the fourteenth century,[13] the scene is almost certainly traditional. There is no reason to think that it was an invention of the *Iliad* poet's. Therefore the Pithecusae epigram has no bearing on his date.

|[206]5. We sometimes encounter the argument that Kirk formulates thus: 'It seems inconceivable that either of the great poems could have been constructed as late as the generation of Archilochus without far more being known about their composer or composers than antiquity could discover about Homer.'[14] No doubt these two poets were well enough known in their own time in the areas in which they were active. But we cannot assume that the diffusion of their poems, which were written texts that other rhapsodes adopted, was accompanied by an equal diffusion of oral information about their personal particulars, in an age long before the rise of an interest in biography, literary gossip, or the cult of the artistic personality. It should be remembered that the ancients had practically no

[10] J. M. Cook, *BSA* 48 (1953), 33 and in *Γέρας Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου* (Athens 1953), 117 f.; R. Hampe, *Gymnasium* 63 (1956), 20; Heubeck, op. cit., 225; J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, 342; Kirk, *Commentary*, 4.

[11] *CEG* 454 (with the correction, *CEG* ii p. 304); *Il.* 11. 632–7; Heubeck, 223 f.; Kirk, *Commentary*, 4; Latacz, 80–2; Powell, 208 f.

[12] B. Hainsworth in the Cambridge *Iliad* commentary, ad loc., with literature.

[13] Baal epic, *KTU* 1. 3 i 10 ff., 'He gave a cup into his hand, | a goblet into both his hands, | a great jar, mighty to behold, | a cask (worthy) of men of the heavens, | a holy cup, no woman can look on it, | a goblet, no goddess can regard it.'

[14] Kirk, *Songs*, 286 f.

biographical information about any seventh- or sixth-century poet beyond what could be inferred from their works.

None of these arguments provides an adequate basis for dating the *Iliad* before 700; nor do I know of any other argument that might. Let us apply a rather more rigorous standard of evidence, and look for a real *terminus ante quem* that will bear a load and not collapse at a touch.

Are there, for example, any lines in seventh-century poetry which clearly reflect, not just epic of the Homeric kind, but the *Iliad* specifically? There is a passage in Tyrtaeus (10. 21–8) that certainly stands in a close relationship with one in the *Iliad* (22. 66–76), and Tyrtaeus may have drawn upon an epic model for it. But as I have remarked before,[15] the sentiments did not appear first in the *Iliad*: 'lines whose original purpose was clearly to encourage young men to fight to the death (as in Tyrtaeus) cannot have been invented for Priam's passionate appeal to Hector *not* to fight.' The Homeric poet has taken an existing piece of martial protreptic (not from Tyrtaeus, necessarily) and misused it.

The situation is similar with Mimnermus' comparison of human lives to leaves (2. 1–4), which has often been claimed as an imitation of the famous lines in Glaucus' speech to Diomedes at *Il.* 6. 146–9.[16] This poignant piece of popular philosophy, which has parallels in the Old Testament (Ps. 103: 15 f., Isa. 40: 6 f., etc.), was clearly not invented for that context in the *Iliad*, because it does not fit it; it is a quite irrelevant answer to Diomedes' question 'Who are you?', and it is dragged in for its own sake, the word γενεή serving as the sole connection.

No, for a text that clearly presupposes the *Iliad* we must come down to Alcaeus, fr. 44. 6–8, a brief fragment which refers to Achilles calling upon Thetis, and Thetis supplicating Zeus to [turn aside] her son's wrath. This not only corresponds to events in *Iliad* 1 but implies the whole framework of the $I^{207}$ epic: Zeus' response to Thetis' prayer will grant the Trojans increased success in battle until the Greeks are forced to plead with Achilles for his assistance.[17]

[15] *CR* 20 (1970), 150.

[16] The latest commentator, Archibald Allen (*The Fragments of Mimnermus* (Stuttgart 1993), 41), is rightly cautious. The elegy in which *Il.* 6. 146 is quoted verbatim from a *Xios ἀνήρ* is now known definitely not to be the work of the seventh-century Semonides of Amorgos but of Simonides of Ceos (eleg. 19 W.[2]).

[17] D. Meyerhoff, *Traditioneller Stoff und individuelle Gestaltung. Untersuchungen zu Alkaios und Sappho* (Hildesheim 1984), 46–53. M. Skafte Jensen, *The Homeric Question and the Oral-formulaic Theory* (Copenhagen 1980), 102 f., is hyper-sceptical.



That the first reliable literary echo of the *Iliad* is so late is not of much consequence for the dating of the epic. We do not possess a great quantity of poetry from before Sappho's and Alcaeus' time, apart from the Homeric poems themselves, and it may be chance that what survives does not offer us an earlier foothold, even though it does give us a couple of plausible echoes of Hesiod.[18] The evidence of early Greek art may be thought more significant. The detailed studies by K. Friis Johansen[19] and K. Fittschen[20] yielded the remarkable result that although representations of scenes from the Trojan War (the Judgment of Paris, Achilles' fight with Memnon(?), the recovery of Achilles' body, the suicide of Ajax, the Wooden Horse, the death of Astyanax, Menelaus' meeting with Helen) are to be found from about 700 onward, there are no scenes unequivocally based on the *Iliad* before about 625. 'Als wirklich gesicherte Darstellungen aus der Ilias können also nur 5 Vasenbilder gelten, die alle dem letzten Viertel des 7. Jhs. angehören.'[21] Of course, this need not mean that the *Iliad* was only composed around 630; but it is very hard to reconcile with the idea that it had been known and admired above all other poems since 730 or 750.

[18] Tyrt. 12. 43 = *Op.* 291; Sem. 6 = *Op.* 702 f.; then Alc. 347 = *Op.* 582–7.

[19] *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen 1967), a thorough revision of his *Iliaden i tidlig græsk Kunst* (Copenhagen 1934).

[20] *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen* (Berlin 1969), esp. 169–85.

[21] Fittschen, 177. He considers two possible earlier representations. (*a*) A Cycladic relief amphora from Thebes, Boston 99506, of the second quarter of the seventh century, shows a procession of women carrying something on their heads and led by a woman with a sceptre. Following Hampe, he takes the object carried to be a cloth, so that the procession might be that of the Trojan women who offer a robe to Athena in *Il.* 6. 286 ff. But it is surely not a cloth but a hard-edged rectangular object, *scil.* a chest (Friis Johansen, 272–5). (*b*) A 'Melian' neck amphora from Rheneia in the Mykonos museum, of the mid-seventh century, shows a naked man receiving armour from a robed female figure. They are assumed to be Achilles and Thetis, but it remains uncertain whether the context is that of *Il.* 19. 3–13 or Achilles' original departure for Troy (Friis Johansen, 104–22).—Karl Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der früh- und hocharchaischen Kunst* (Munich 1993), 138–43, refers further to: (*a*) an Attic Geometric pot, Louvre CA 2509, *c.*740, taken to be (a pre-Homeric version of) the duel between Ajax and Hector, with exchange of arms. The interpretation of the scene is very uncertain. (*b*) A bronze statuette of a warrior, Athens 12831, *c.*700. It has been suggested that it represents Achilles, but this seems quite arbitrary. (*c*) An Attic pithos, Athens 17762, *c.*680, showing a warrior riding in a chariot, and facing him a woman, who is said to be holding a baby, though I cannot make out the baby. This is taken to be Hector and Andromache, but it might simply be a generic scene. Schefold himself (p. 143) thinks that the *Iliad* 'erst nach 580 ihre überlieferte Fassung erhalten hat'.—Powell, (pp. 210 f.) lists two further items, neither of which there is good reason to connect with the *Iliad*.

[20] So we have a *terminus ante quem* for the poem of c.630. What about the *terminus post quem*?

1. Firstly, whereas there are no places in which Hesiod seems to me to show the influence of the *Iliad*, there are several in which the contrary is plausible.[21]

(i) In *Il.* 8. 16 Zeus threatens to throw any god who disobeys him into Tartarus, τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης. Epic poets did not routinely have occasion to describe the location of Tartarus, and the line is clearly related to Hes. *Th.* 720, where Tartarus is said to be τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης. Hesiod's three-storey version, corresponding to the traditional division of the cosmos into heaven, earth, and underworld, is surely prior; the four-storey version in the *Iliad* passage is derivative, an attempt to outdo Hesiod.

(ii) The list of Trojan rivers in *Il.* 12. 20–2 is related to Hesiod's catalogue of rivers at *Th.* 337–45; only one of them, the Karesos, does not appear there. I now think that Hesiod did not get these names from epic narrative about Troy: only the Scamander and Simoeis have a traditional place in such narrative, and the Granikos and Aisepos lie far to the east of Troy, more than halfway to Cyzicus. They all belong in a larger group that Hesiod presumably learned of from his father, the erstwhile sailor based at Cyme: they occupy the gap between the Aeolian Hermos, Kaikos, and Euenos (*Th.* 343, 345) and the Bithynian Sangarios and Parthenios (344).[22] It looks as though the *Iliad* poet has drawn on this specifically Hesiodic list.

(iii) The list of Nereids in *Il.* 18. 39–49 is likewise not drawn from the heroic poet's traditional repertory but inspired by the longer list in *Th.* 240–62 and largely stocked from it. Zenodotus and Aristarchus were so struck by the Ἡσιόδειος χαρακτήρ of the passage that they athetized it.

(iv) The poet describes the girl robots made by Hephaestus at *Il.* 18. 419 f. thus:

> τῇς ἐν μὲν νόος ἐστὶ μετὰ φρεσίν, ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐδή
> καὶ σθένος, ἀθανάτων δὲ θεῶν ἄπο ἔργα ἴσασιν.

[22] I was wrong in my commentary not to identify the Euenos with the one flowing into the Gulf of Adramyttium, which, like the Troad, would have been well known at Cyme.



This seems to be adapted from Hesiod's account of the making of Pandora at *Op.* 61–4, where Zeus commands Hephaestus to knead earth with water,

> ἐν δ' ἀνθρώπου θέμεν αὐδήν
> καὶ σθένος, ἀθανάτης δὲ θεῆς εἰς ὦπα ἐίσκειν,
> παρθενικῆς καλὸν εἶδος ἐπήρατον· αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνην
> ἔργα διδασκῆσαι, πολυδαίδαλον ἱστὸν ὑφαίνειν.

Pandora, a living woman fashioned from clay, learns her ἔργα from Athena, but how could goddesses teach anything to Hephaestus' mechanical robots,[20] which are made of gold and not alive but merely ζωῇσι νεήνισιν εἰοικυῖαι (418)? Surely he should have endowed them with all necessary skills himself.

(v) The Hesiodic phrase μινύθουσι δὲ οἶκοι, 'and household is diminish' (*Op.* 244, cf. 325), recurs at *Il.* 17. 738, awkwardly applied to houses that are on fire.

(vi) Hesiod attended funeral games organized by the sons of Amphidamas (*Op.* 654–6). Shortly before Patroclus' funeral and the associated games, the hero's ghost refers to a childhood brawl in which he had killed a boy; and so that the unfortunate child shall not be without an identity, the poet calls him 'the son of Amphidamas' (*Il.* 23. 87). I suggest that, because he had games already on his mind, the name floated into his consciousness from Hesiod.

2. The weaponry and combat tactics described in the *Iliad* have recently been subjected to a searching reappraisal by H. van Wees. He finds a whole series of features characteristic of the first half of the seventh century and in most cases less appropriate to an earlier date: the dominance of the spear as against the sword and the bow; the alternation of paired throwing-spears with single thrusting-spears; bell-corslets (first c.720); Corinthian-type helmets (first c.720); bronze greaves (if these are not a Mycenaean reminiscence); single-grip bronze-faced shields; infantry tactics. I refer to his article for the detailed arguments, which cannot be set out here.[23]

In one respect I would push the case a little further than he does. He is not convinced that the passages often interpreted as referring to hoplite phalanx formation, 13. 126–35 (cf. 152), 15. 618–22, and

[23] *Greece and Rome* 41 (1994), 1–18 and 131–55, esp. 138–46.

16. 211–17, really do so. It seems to me that he is too concerned to reconcile these passages with the general picture of the fighting. The poet here is going out of his way to convey the idea of the linked phalanx, or, to be more exact, the bunching up later known as πύκνωσις or συναspισμός, which is one of the formations used by the classical phalanx in defensive mode.[24] There are many other references in the *Iliad* to organized φάλαγγες or στίχες. Phalanx formation is first illustrated in art on Protocorinthian vases of 650–630. The kind of language used by Tyrtaeus 11. 31–3,

> καὶ πόδα πὰρ ποδὶ θεὶς καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας,
> ἐν δὲ λόφον τε λόφωι καὶ κυνέην κυνέηι
> καὶ στέρνον στέρνωι πεπλημένος ἀνδρὶ μαχέσθω,

where the juxtaposed feet, shields, etc., are those of the warrior and his adversary, is adapted in the *Iliad* passages to the new order of battle:

> φράξαντες δόρυ δουρί, σάκος σάκεϊ προθελύμνωι·
> ἀσπὶς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ·
> |210 φαῦον δ' ἱππόκομοι κόρυθες λαμπροῖσι φάλοισιν
> νευόντων, ὡς πυκνοὶ ἐφέστασαν ἀλλήλοισιν.

The polyptota now describe the intimate proximity of each man to his neighbour in the line.

3. Further seventh-century elements may be found here and there in individual passages. The Gorgon on Agamemnon's shield at 11. 36 f. is a device first attested as a shield blazon around 680–670 and not uncommon thereafter.[25] The two verses could be removed without leaving a scar, and have been criticized on the ground that the Gorgon is in competition with the central boss described in 35.[26] She is certainly an untraditional embellishment, applied by the poet perhaps to an unsuitable form of shield; but she is in keeping with the exotic character of the rest of Agamemnon's equipment in this passage, the cuirass from Cyprus with its three arching serpents, and the shield-strap with its three-headed serpent. There is no sufficient ground for denying her to the poet of the *Iliad*.

[24] See J. Latacz, *Kampfparänese, Kampfdarstellung und Kampfwirklichkeit in der Ilias, bei Kallinos und Tyrtaios* (Munich 1977), 63–6.
[25] W. Burkert, *Wien. St.* 89 (1976), 19 n. 42 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 70.
[26] H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950), 190 f.



4. The elaborate decoration of the Shield of Achilles, with its scenes of battles, cities, and so forth, has been compared with the bronze votive shields from the Idaean cave, which run from the mid eighth to well into the seventh century, and with Cypro-Phoenician metal dishes and bowls of the period 710–675.[27] The latter offer the closer parallels. The Cretan shields bear elaborate scenes of action, but they concentrate in a limited way on animal friezes and hunting scenes. The Phoenician bowls have a greater variety of theme, inspired by Assyrian palace reliefs: they show buildings and cities, including one under attack from an enemy army, men riding on horseback or in chariots, and country landscapes as the background to dramatic action. In one instance the whole circular composition is enclosed by a serpent, which seems analogous to the stream of Oceanus that encloses the scenes on Achilles' shield. When one looks at reproductions of these marvellous artefacts it is difficult to avoid the conviction that the poet of the *Iliad* must have gazed on something very much like them. At 23. 741–7 he actually refers to a silver crater of outstanding beauty, fashioned by Σιδόνες πολυδαίδαλοι and brought across the sea by Phoenician sailors; Achilles offers it as first prize in the foot-race.[28]

5. In the Embassy Achilles declares that he would not accept Agamemnon's gifts even if he were to offer ten or twenty times as much,

> |211 οὐδ' ὅσ' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσεται, οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας
> Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,
> αἳ θ' ἑκατόμπυλοί εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἑκάστας
> ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνέουσι σὺν ἵπποισίν καὶ ὄχεσφιν

(9. 381–4). Walter Burkert has shown convincingly that lines 382–4 cannot be dismissed as an interpolation, and that the passage (the only mention of Egypt in the *Iliad*) cannot plausibly be accounted for as a memory of the glory of Egyptian Thebes back in the fourteenth century. The only serious alternative is that it refers to the restored wealth and power of that city in the XXVth Dynasty,

[27] See M. W. Edwards in the Cambridge *Iliad* commentary, v. 203–6 with illustrations and literature; for the Cretan shields, J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, 286–8; for the Phoenician bowls, G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berlin 1985). The most relevant are those of Markoe's period III (Markoe, 151 f.; for the dating to 710–675, ibid. 154 f.).
[28] Cf. *Od.* 4. 615–19 = 15. 115–19.

between 715 and 663.[29] Burkert further points out that the rumour of Thebes' splendour may have rippled most strongly to the Aegean world not while the city flourished but when it fell to Assurbanipal in 663 and its stores of gold, silver, jewels, and other precious booty were all carted away to Nineveh.

> Man stelle sich vor, wie dieser einzigartige Beutezug seinen langen Weg von Oberägypten über Sinai, Palästina, Syrien bis zum Euphrat und Tigris zog . . . der ganzen vorderorientalischen 'Welt' wurde in diesem Jahr demonstriert, was das für eine Stadt gewesen war, die der König von Assyrien eingenommen hatte: die reichste Stadt der Welt.[30]

The impression made by its fall is attested also by the prophet Nahum, 3: 8–10. It is even possible, as Burkert suggests, that Greeks took part in the sack as mercenaries in Assurbanipal's army.

This arresting hypothesis would give us the year 663 as the *terminus post quem* for the *Iliad*. It is tempting to let oneself be carried away by Burkert's vivid screenplay. However, it must be admitted that the fame of Thebes' wealth might have percolated to Greece before that date, while it actually existed. In that case we should still probably not wish to go back before 700; the last twenty years or so of Thebes' prosperity would be the likeliest time.

6. It is, of course, always to Near Eastern history that we must look if we want any precise dates in this period. I wish to suggest that another spectacular Assyrian triumph has left an identifiable echo elsewhere in the *Iliad*, giving us a further, slightly earlier but perhaps somewhat firmer *terminus post quem* for the poem.

When the Achaeans build the wall and ditch round their camp, Poseidon is indignant because they have given the gods no hecatombs, and he is afraid that their wall will be more famous in future than the walls of Troy which he I[212] and Apollo have built. Zeus tells

[29] W. Burkert, 'Das hunderttorige Theben', *Wien. St.* 89 (1976) 5–21 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 59–71. It is generally agreed that 381 is an older line which the poet has taken over, and that it originally referred to Boeotian Thebes (so too Burkert, p. 8). I suspect that it had stood in a similar context in the story of Meleager, who likewise refused a princely gift (9. 576 ff.), and in whose time Thebes still flourished, as it no longer did in Achilles'.

[30] Op. cit., 17 f. E. R. Dodds in the printed handouts for his Oxford Homer lectures *c.*1958 put the mention of Egyptian Thebes under the heading 'Homer's knowledge of Egypt—Mycenaean (Lorimer)?', but added '(Could also be due to an archaising poet who had heard of its recent destruction)'.



him not to worry: after the end of the war he may break the thing down, disperse it into the sea, and cover the site over again with the sands of the beach (7. 442–64). In a digression at the beginning of book 12 the poet looks ahead to the time when that was carried out. After the fall of the city and the departure of the Achaeans, he says, Poseidon and Apollo diverted all the rivers of the Troad against the wall for nine days, while Zeus made the rain pour down without stopping. Poseidon 'led the way' with his trident in hand, dug out all the stone and timber parts of the structure into the waves, levelled the site, and covered it with the sands.

The passage was described by Leaf as 'so patently late that it has not escaped the remarks of the most careless critics'.[31] We may agree that it is 'late' in the sense of untraditional. The whole theme of the fortification wall and ditch round the Achaean camp has the appearance of being not an inherited element in the story but an invention of the *Iliad* poet himself. But it is fully integrated into the poem; an *Iliad* without it would not be the *Iliad* we are studying.[32] Its postwar demolition is an essential part of the invention. It was of this that Aristotle observed that ὁ πλάσας ποιητὴς ἠφάνισεν. The two passages about the destruction by Poseidon in books 7 and 12 guarantee each other. As Von der Mühll wrote, 'beide Stellen passen so zueinander, daß sie demselben Dichter, also dem Iliasdichter, gehören müssen'.[33]

I believe that this novel story of a flood in the Troad, introduced by the *Iliad* poet, shows Assyrian connections at two levels, mythical and historical. Firstly it appears to owe some of its features to the Mesopotamian tradition of a universal flood. The main sources for the myth are the two classic Babylonian epics, *Atraḫasīs* and *Gilgāmesh*. Both of these poems go back well into the second millennium but were still being copied and read in seventh-century Assyria. Both have points of contact with the *Iliad*, but the *Gilgāmesh* epic in particular has, directly or indirectly, exercised a powerful and extensive influence on the Greek poem, as many scholars have

[31] W. Leaf, *The Iliad*, 2nd edn. (London 1900–2), i. 524.

[32] Cf. E. Bethe, *Homer. Dichtung und Sage*, i: *Ilias* (Leipzig 1914), 120–43; M. L. West, 'The Achaean Wall', *CR* 19 (1969) 255–60 [= below, Chapter 19].

[33] Arist. fr. 162 *ap.* Strab. 13. 1. 36; P. Von der Mühll, *Kritisches Hypomnema zur Ilias* (Basel 1952), 204.

acknowledged.[34] The *Iliad* poet must have been acquainted with something much like it, and it is therefore likely that he was acquainted with the flood story which occupies a substantial portion of Tablet XI of the Nineveh version.

[213] The points which the Trojan flood in *Iliad* 12 has in common with the Babylonian flood are as follows. Both are caused by gods, in anger at the activities of men. There are many days of continuous rain, nine in the *Iliad*, six in the Babylonian account. Poseidon 'leading the way' with his trident recalls *Gilg.* XI. 99–102,

> Shullat and Hanish were marching in front,
> the (god's) throne-bearers were marching over mountain and land;
> Erragal was tearing out the mooring-posts,
> Ninurta was marching, he opened the weirs.

The final state of the site in the *Iliad* (12. 30, λεῖα δ' ἐποίησεν) may be compared with *Gilg.* XI. 134, 'the flood-plain was level as a roof'. It is also relevant that this is the one Homeric passage in which the heroes are referred to as the ἡμίθεοι, the Half-gods (23), implying the Hesiodic idea that the Trojan War marked the end of a distinct historical era in which the earth was populated by a breed of men different from ourselves. The association of this era-close with a deluge may be significant, since in Mesopotamian as well as biblical traditions the Flood marked the principal dividing-point between mythical eras.[35]

The second level of connection with Assyria relates to historical realities and leads us towards a dating. Where did the poet get the notion of diverting rivers against a wall to wash it away? This could never be a natural idea in Greece, where most rivers were of modest size and walls were of stone, not mud brick. The concept belongs in the land where there was no stone and no timber: Mesopotamia.[36]

[34] F. Dirlmeier, *Rh. Mus.* 98 (1955), 18–37 = *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Heidelberg 1970), 55–67; Á. Szabó, *Acta antiqua* 4 (1956), 55–108; T. B. L. Webster, *Minos* 4 (1956), 104–16 and *From Mycenae to Homer* (London 1958), 82; H. Petriconi in A. S. Crisafulli (ed.), *Linguistic and Literary Studies in honor of Helmut A. Hatzfeld* (Washington, DC 1964), 329–42; G. K. Gresseth, *CJ* 70. 4 (1975), 1–18; J. R. Wilson, *Échos du monde classique* 30 (1986), 25–41; M. Reichel, 'Gräzistische Bemerkungen zur Struktur des Gilgamesch-Epos' in B. Brogyanyi and R. Lipp (edd.), *Historical Philology: Greek, Latin and Romance* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 87, Amsterdam–Philadelphia 1992), 187–208; M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), Chapter 7.

[35] R. Scodel, *HSCP* 86 (1982), 33–50; cf. H. W. Singor, *Hermes* 120 (1992), 402.



I submit that the inspiration was provided by a specific, unique, sensational occasion on which river waters were brought into a city for the express purpose of carrying its structures away so that people of the future should find no trace of it. The king responsible was Sennacherib; the city was none other than Babylon, which he captured on the first day of Kislimu (November/December) in 689 BCE. In his inscriptions he records how, after burning the city, he tore down its walls, temples, and ziggurats and threw them in the Araḫtu, a channel connecting with the Euphrates. Further:

> In the midst of that city I dug canals, and levelled their earth in the waters. I destroyed the outlines of its foundations, and made it more level than the Flood did. So that in after days the site of that city and of the gods' houses should not be identifiable, I dissolved it in the waters and turned it into a flood-plain.
>
> So that the site of that city should [not be id]entifiable, I tore up its ground and caused it to be carried down the Euphrates to the sea; its soil went all the way to Dilmun (Bahrein).[36]

[214] It had always been customary for vanquished cities to be looted and burned, but the scale and manner of this Assyrian endeavour to erase the ancient enemy capital from the map were unprecedented. Babylon was destined to lie ruined and largely deserted for eleven years.

We have two viewpoints on the matter: one from Sennacherib's inscriptions, the other from those of his son and successor Esarhaddon, who adopted a different policy towards Babylonia and rebuilt the devastated city. He began the work of restoring it in 678 or 677 and continued through the decade. His account of what had befallen Babylon begins with a description of how wickedness had come to prevail in Sumer and Akkad.

> Then Marduk, chief of the gods, became furious, and devised evil to level the land and destroy its people. The Araḫtu, a river of inundation, a raging flood, a wild swell, a powerful tide, a replica of the deluge, was brought in; it sent its waters through the city, its dwellings, its cult places, and made it a wilderness. The gods and goddesses who dwelt within it flew away like birds

[36] III R 14. 50–4 and *KAH* ii. 122. 36–9 in D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Chicago 1924), 83 f., 137 f.; H. D. Galter, *Studia Orientalia* 55 (1984), 164 f., 169. For the archaeological evidence of the destruction, which was not as total as the inscriptions imply, see Grant Frame, *Babylonia 689–627 B.C.: A Political History* (Istanbul 1992), 55 f.

and went up to heaven; the people who dwelt there fled to another place and took refuge in an unknown land.[37]

Marduk had originally 'written down' seventy years as the time that Babylon should remain waste. But when Esarhaddon became king, the god's merciful heart calmed down, and he 'inverted' the number, that is, he changed it from 1.10 (=70) to 10.1 (=11), and ordained the resettlement of the city after eleven years. Encouraged by consistently good omens and assured that this was the gods' will, Esarhaddon set to work. The first step was to clear the site of the vegetation that had overgrown it and to fill in the canals that Sennacherib had dug across it.

I mobilized my whole work-force and the entire land of Karduniaš (Babylon). They felled the trees and marsh reeds with axes and tore out the roots. I removed the water of the Euphrates from within it, and directed it to its former course.[38]

Later, as he records how he restored the temples and images of the gods, Esarhaddon attributes the removal of the excess water to these deities themselves:

The gods and goddesses who dwelt within it, who had carried away the waters of overflow (dam-breach) and cloudburst—their appearance had turned dark: I renovated them from their sadly ruined state.[39]

There are two significant differences of perspective between the Sennacherib and Esarhaddon inscriptions. Firstly, Esarhaddon avoids naming his father as the one responsible for the destruction: he represents it as the consequence of the gods' anger with Babylon. Secondly, whereas both kings refer to the mythical Flood as a term of comparison, it is Esarhaddon who develops the *l*[215] theme more vividly. Sennacherib only compares the final effect with that caused by the Flood; he does not liken his canals to the mythical cataclysm. It is Esarhaddon who portrays the diverted water as 'a river of inundation, a raging flood, a wild swell, a powerful tide, a replica of the deluge'.

If we now turn back to the Iliadic account of the destruction of the Achaean wall, we see that it is not based merely on the rumour

[37] R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (Graz 1956), 13 f., Episodes 5 ff.
[38] Ibid. 19, Episode 18. [39] Ibid. 23, Episode 32.



of a distant event. It reflects both Sennacherib's and Esarhaddon's official propaganda concerning that event. In some respects it shows a closer relationship to Sennacherib's account, in others to Esarhaddon's:

| | |
|---|---|
| Destruction due to gods' displeasure: | E. |
| River waters channelled into site: | S., E. |
| Raging flood washed everything away: | E. |
| Foundations torn up and turned into the water: | S. |
| Débris washed out to sea: | S. |
| Site left level: | S. |
| Purpose: to deny posterity knowledge of the place: | S. |
| River(s) returned (by gods) to original bed: | E. |

Moreover, the passage shows an amalgamation of the royal propaganda with elements drawn from the literary Flood myth to which both monarchs allude.

This amalgam can have only one origin: Assyrian court poetry. We know that there was a tradition of such poetry under the Neo-Assyrian kings. We have fragments of poems celebrating military exploits of Sargon II and Assurbanipal.[40] It is a reasonable assumption that Sennacherib's triumph over Babylon was also celebrated in a poem or poems. A few years later, when Esarhaddon put his stamp on the situation, the poetic version will have been revised to reflect his view of events, but it would not be surprising if it still preserved elements of Sennacherib's. Perhaps Esarhaddon's emphasis on divine agency and on the deluge theme reflects what the poet or poets had already made out of the affair.

We cannot say what line of communication may have run between Assyrian court poetry of the early seventh century and the creator of the *Iliad*.[53] But the hypothesis that such a line existed glows brighter in the light of the several quasi-Homeric narrative motifs and devices that we find in the account of a battle in another Sennacherib inscription, the Chicago Prism, which contains the final version of his Annals and must date from the later 680s. In his eighth campaign in 691 BCE he found himself opposed by an alliance of the Elamite and Babylonian armies. At this point the style of the narrative becomes markedly more expansive and rhetorical or poetic; one may

[40] A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* (*State Archives of Assyria*, iii, Helsinki 1989), 47–53.

suspect that a poem underlies it.[41] There is a catalogue of the enemy's allies, amounting to 24 contingents. Then we read:

[216] The gathering (of Elamite and Babylonian troops) joined up; like the onset of a swarm of locusts in springtime [cf. *Il.* 2. 469–73, 21. 12] they were rising up against me all together to do battle. The dust from their feet covered the face of the broad heavens like a heavy storm in severe cold weather [cf. *Il.* 3. 10–14]. They had established their line before me at Halulê on the bank of the Tigris; they had seized the approach to my watering-place, and were sharpening their weapons. As for me, to Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabû, Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, the gods in whom I trust, I prayed for success over the mighty foe. They at once heard my prayers [ἔκλυον αὐδῆς] and came to my aid. I raged like a lion [λέων ὥς]. I put on my corslet; my helmet, emblem of battle, I placed on my head [cf. *Il.* 3. 332, 336, etc.]; my excellent battle-chariot, which flattens the foe, I hastily mounted in my heart's fury. The strong bow which Assur gave me I seized in my hands; the arrow that cuts off lives I grasped in my palm. Against the whole army of the evil enemy I gave forth a savage shout like a storm, I roared like Adad [cf. *Il.* 18. 215–24].

He goes on to describe how he attacked the enemy like the onset of a raging storm and defeated them.

I made their blood run down on the broad earth like an inundation; my galloping steeds, my chariot-team, were plunging into the streams of their blood as into a river; the wheels of my battle-chariot, which lays low the wicked and the evil, were bathed in blood and guts [cf. *Il.* 11. 531–7, 20. 498–502].

The narrative continues with mutilation and stripping of the dead. The kings of Elam and Babylon and the princes in league with them flee in their chariots across the corpses of their own troops 'like young doves pursued' (cf. *Il.* 21. 493).

We have quantities of Assyrian royal annals from earlier centuries, and there is nothing to compare with this dramatic account, though some of the similes are anticipated (armies compared to locusts; warriors like lions; enemy fleeing like birds). Burkert's tentative suggestion ('one might even toy with the idea') that 'some Greek singer had arrived in Assyria together with the mercenaries, and that he composed this song on the battle of Halule which so much pleased the king that it was incorporated in the official annals,' will

[41] Chicago Prism, v 43 ff., ed. R. Borger, *Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke* (2nd edn., Rome 1979), i. 83 f.



not, I imagine, recommend itself to many. What we are seeing is rather the development of a native Assyrian tradition. The new motif of the blood-spattered chariot-wheels[42] is entirely in the spirit of Assyrian bloodthirstiness. Soon afterwards, perhaps, it found its way into Greek epic by the same route as the account of the flooding of Babylon.

If this highly specific line of transmission is admitted—did an Assyrian poet somehow make his way to the West, learn Greek, become a Greek poet?—it offers a tempting solution to the problem of how the *Iliad* poet (and his follower, the *Odyssey* poet) arrived at such a close acquaintance as they apparently had with the *Gilgāmesh* epic and perhaps other Akkadian poems. But influences from oriental poetry certainly affected Greece on a wide front over [217] many centuries, and we should not seek to attribute too much to a single contact.

Now, what conclusion is to be drawn regarding the date of the *Iliad*? A basic *terminus post quem* must be the destruction of Babylon, 689 BCE, or, to be practical, 688, since Babylon fell into Sennacherib's hands late in 689 and the demolition works must have occupied many weeks or months. But we must allow a little time for the poetic mythologizing of the event. And if Poseidon's and Apollo's restoration of the Trojan rivers to their former beds should reflect the beginning of Esarhaddon's operations at Babylon ('I removed the water of the Euphrates from within it, and directed it to its former course') we shall have to come down to 678/7. After all, that was the moment—after the river had been returned to its former channel and the site levelled up, but before any significant rebuilding had been done—when the situation corresponded most closely to what is described in the *Iliad*. At that point an Assyrian poet, surveying the scene at Babylon or hearing a report of it, and echoing something of Sennacherib's propaganda and something of Esarhaddon's, might have told the tale on some such lines as these:

The gods were angry with Babylon on account of its great misdeeds, and resolved to destroy it so completely that men of the future should not be able to identify its outlines. They brought the waters of the Euphrates

[42] Compared with the Homeric parallels by H. Wirth, *Homer und Babylon* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1921), 149 f.; W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age* (Cambridge, Mass. 1992), 118 f.

against it with the force of the mythical Flood; Adad gathered his storm-clouds, and the rain fell in torrents for days on end; Assur marched ahead, and dug the foundations of the buildings out into the river to be carried away seawards. The place became a flood-plain, a wilderness. Afterwards, at the intercession of Esarhaddon, the great king, the gods' anger abated; the waters were returned to their original courses and the ground levelled.

A final observation. The event that provides the model for the *Iliad* passage is the destruction of a great city. A poet preoccupied with the Trojan War may initially have toyed with the notion of adapting it to the destruction of Ilios itself. But that was clearly impossible; anyone familiar with the site, as our poet clearly was,[43] knew that it had not been levelled and that the walls built by Poseidon and Apollo still stood. He therefore displaced the operation to his I[218] Achaean camp, of which there was indeed no sign on the ground. This explains why the gods are made to employ what seem such extreme measures, the diversion of many rivers and a nine-day deluge, merely to dispose of an abandoned fortress.

We now have an accumulation of arguments for a seventh-century *Iliad*. We have a *terminus post quem* of 688 or 678, and a *terminus ante quem* of *c.*630. If Burkert's Theban scenario is accepted, the upper date is brought down to 663. It may in any case be felt that a date in the 680s or 670s would be too high in view of the Gorgon on Agamemnon's shield, the developed state of phalanx tactics, and the continuing absence of artistic representations based on the *Iliad*. On the other hand, a date in the 630s might be judged implausibly low for a poet in whose mind the demolition of Babylon and the wealth of Thebes were still vivid images. That leaves us with the period

[43] I believe in fact that the *Iliad* was largely or wholly composed at Ilios, and that it has its title from its early currency there, just as the titles of the epics *Cypria*, *Phocais*, *Naupactica* reflect their local origins and their attributions to a Cypriot, Phocaean, and Naupactian poet respectively. As I sat amid the ruins of Troy on a beautifully clear day in September 1994 and surveyed the landscape—the Dardanelles, Imbros with Samothrace towering behind it, Tenedos, and a very obvious Batieia on the horizon, halfway to the hidden beach of Beşik Bay—the conviction grew stronger: *he composed it here*. *Il.* 20. 307 f. clearly alludes to rulers in the Ilios of the poet's own time who claim descent from Aeneas; they will have been his patrons. Schadewaldt (p. 95) assumes without justification that this 'Dardanian' dynasty could only last till about 700, when he supposes that Aeolian settlers first arrived. It now seems that Dardanians and Greeks must have mingled there from the tenth century: see D. Hertel in *Studia Troica* 1 (1991), 131–44.

I speak of 'the poet' because I have also come to take seriously the view that 'Homer' was a fictitious person, the imagined ancestor of the Homeridai. But that is another story. [Below, Chapter 28.]



between 670 and 640 as the most likely time for the composition of the poem, with perhaps a preference for the decade 660–650.

This brings us well into (if not past) the reign of Gyges and close to the time of Archilochus, which is where Euphorion and others put Homer. Burkert pertinently asks whether literary history really requires a great gap between Homer on the one hand and Callinus, Tyrtaeus, and Archilochus on the other.[44] The answer is, as he suggests, that it does not. I do not see that it requires any gap at all.

By the same token, if all these poets (and also Semonides?) belong approximately in the same generation, one wonders whether literary history will continue to be comfortable with a Hesiod isolated from them by a thirty- or forty-year gap, or with a Eumelus dated if anything even earlier. Eumelus is said to have 'overlapped' (ἐπιβεβληκέναι) with Archias the founder of Syracuse, but we do not know how long Archias lived or the basis for the statement. The chronographers' datings of Eumelus to 764/1 or 744/1 are of no more value than their datings of Arctinus, Cinaethon, or Lesches. Pausanias' belief that the Messenians' Prosodion to Delos, attributed to Eumelus, pre-dated the first Messenian War, may have been mistaken: it is doubtful whether Delos enjoyed such national importance in the eighth century, and the emphasis on liberty in the fragment which Pausanias quotes from the song (*PMG* 696) rather suits the time of the revolt from Sparta *c.*660.[45]

As regards Hesiod, the chronology that I have used in the past allowed for a *Theogony* that might be as early as 730 and a *Works and Days* that might be as late as 660 but was more likely to be no later than 690. The reckoning was based on acceptance of Plutarch's connection of the Amphidamas of *Op.* 654 with the Lelantine War, and on a dating of that shadowy conflict to the period I[219] 730–700.[46] It has to be admitted that these are unreliable premises, and if it were thought advantageous to downdate the two poems to (say) 680–670, I should see no serious obstacle.

Certainly, the Greeks may have started to record poetry in writing by the second half of the eighth century. From the layout of the 'Nestor's cup' epigram, with its three verses each written on a

[44] *Wien. St.* 89 (1976), 19 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 69 f.

[45] Clem. *Strom.* 1. 21. 131. 8 = Eumel. test. 2 Bernabé; Eusebius, Cyril, Jerome, see ibid., test. 3–5; Paus. 4. 4. 1, 33. 2 = test. 7–8.

[46] *Hesiod. Theogony*, 41–6.

separate line, it has been inferred that its inscriber was familiar with books of verse in which that convention was already followed, as it always was later for stichic verse.[47] But perhaps it was not until the first half of the seventh century that any texts achieved sufficiently wide circulation to survive into the Classical period.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

For my latest treatment of this subject see *The Making of the Iliad* (Oxford 2011), 15–19.

1. On these passages see now below, Chapter 18, and on (i)–(iii) also the notes ad loc. in *The Making of the Iliad*.
2. I have been justly reprehended for suggesting that the Greeks did not make walls of mud brick. Of course they often did. The Achaeans' wall, however, was of timber and stone (12. 29, 178). Cf. B. Hainsworth in the Cambridge commentary, p. 345.

   The late T. F. R. G. Braun drew my attention to Xen. *Hell.* 5. 2. 4–5, which relates how the Spartans undermined the walls of Mantinea in 385 by damming the local river, 'though the poet of the *Iliad* would have needed a rather skilled μάντις to tell him so'.
3. See now below, Chapter 25 (end).

[47] H. R. Immerwahr, *Attic Script: A Survey* (Oxford 1990), 18 f.

# 18

# Echoes of Hesiod and Elegy in the *Iliad*

The dogma that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed in the eighth century and antedate all other recorded Greek poetry by a clear margin is no longer sustainable. Growing numbers of scholars have come to accept that they belong in the seventh century.[1] This is not just a change of fashion but a scientific advance based on an accumulation of evidence grounded in archaeology. In the *Iliad* we have:

- In 5. 741 f., and again in 11. 36 f., Gorgon blazons on armour (Athena's aegis and Agamemnon's shield respectively). This is a device first attested in this function around 670.[2] More generally, the weaponry and combat tactics described in the poem show a series of features characteristic of the first half of the seventh century and in most cases less appropriate to an earlier date.[3]
- In 6. 92, 273, 302 f. a temple (with a locked door and no doubt a roof) containing a seated statue of Athena that is life-size, or

Original paper.

[1] Cf. W. Kullmann, *Gymnasium* 65 (1958), 546; id., *Die Quellen der Ilias* (Wiesbaden 1960), 380–2; my *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 46; E. Heitsch, *GGA* 220 (1968), 180 f.; W. Burkert, *Wien. St.* 89 (1976), 5–21 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 59–71; O. Taplin, *Homeric Soundings* (Oxford, 1992), 33–5; H. van Wees, *Greece and Rome* 41 (1994), 1–18, 131–55; id. in I. Morris–B. Powell (edd.), *A New Companion to Homer* (New York–Leiden–Cologne 1997), 692; my paper in *Mus. Helv.* 52 (1995), 203–19 = above, Chapter 17; J. P. Crielaard in id. (ed.), *Homeric Questions* (Amsterdam, 1995), 217, 233–5, 258 f., 263–5, 274; M. W. Dickie in Ø. Andersen and M. W. Dickie (edd.), *Homer's World* (Bergen 1995), 29–56; W. Kullmann, ibid. 57; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, 4th edn. (London 1999), 274; W. Kullmann, *Realität, Imagination und Theorie* (Stuttgart 2002), 60, 75 f., 98 (with further references in n. 8), 104.

[2] W. Burkert, *Wien St.* 89 (1976), 19 n. 42 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 70; Ingrid Krauskopf in *LIMC* iv(1). 300, 322. Gorgons do not appear at all in art before the seventh century.

[3] H. van Wees (as n. 1), esp. 138–46; id. in H. v. Wees (ed.), *War and Violence in Ancient Greece* (London–Swansea 2000), 125–66.

nearly so, or larger: something very unlikely, so far as our knowledge goes, before the seventh century.

- In 9. 381–4 Egyptian Thebes is cited as a place of fabulous wealth. This must reflect its prosperity in the XXVth Dynasty (715–663 BCE). Burkert (as in n. 1) has contended that what most brought this wealth to the world's attention was the display of booty taken from it by Assurbanipal in 663, and that the *Iliad* passage postdates that event. Whether or not we embrace that particular scenario, the passage is a strong pointer to the seventh century, and anyone who argues otherwise is indulging in special pleading.
- A little later, at 9. 404 f., Achilles refers to Apollo's shrine at Pytho as an alternative paradigm of opulence. Although Delphi was a functioning oracular centre from perhaps 800, its reputation took time to spread, and during the eighth century it is far surpassed in the wealth of its dedications by Perachora. It was surely not until after 700 that an Ionian poet would be likely to look to it as the supreme treasurehouse of Greece, on a par with the pre-war wealth of Troy.[4]
- In 11. 698–701 Nestor speaks of a prize-winning, four-horse chariot team that his father had sent to compete at games in Elis. As some assumed in antiquity (sch$^{bT}$ 11. 700b, Strabo 8. 3. 30) and as several modern scholars have persuasively argued, the poet must have the Olympic Games in view. But they did not begin to attract more than a local crowd until around 700 and did not have chariot racing till 680.[5]
- In 12. 17–33 we hear that after the war Poseidon and Apollo were to efface the Achaean fortifications by diverting river waters against them. From a series of motivic correspondences with the relevant Assyrian records, I have argued that the idea was inspired by Sennacherib's levelling of Babylon by diverted river waters in 689.[6]

[4] Cf. Catherine Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles* (Cambridge 1990), 126–47, who finds no convincing evidence of a temple in the sanctuary area before the mid-seventh century; M. W. Dickie (as in n. 1), 37.

[5] Paus. 5. 8. 7; Dickie (as in n. 1), 37 f.; Crielaard (as in n. 1), 258 f.; Kullmann, *Realität, Imagination und Theorie*, 101–4.

[6] Above, Chapter 17; *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 377–80.



- In 13. 4–6 Zeus turns his eyes northwards to the lands of the horse-herding Thracians and of the Ἱππημολγοὶ γλακτοφάγοι, the Mare-milkers who live on dairy produce. These are not fabulous people but real ones, Scythians or other steppe pastoralists, that Greeks only encountered after penetrating into the Black Sea and beyond the mouth of the Danube. Archaeology finds no evidence of Greeks in the Black Sea before 700. The earliest settlements do not appear till around the middle of the seventh century.
- The design of Achilles' shield, with its scenes of battles, cities, and so on, has its closest archaeological parallels in Cypro-Phoenician metal dishes and bowls of the period 710–675. When one looks at reproductions of these marvellous artefacts, it is hard to avoid the conviction that the poet must have seen something much like them.[7]

These passages cannot be dismissed as interpolations. Their testimony is consistent, giving us an unshakeable *terminus post quem* for the *Iliad* of *c.*680. As for the *Odyssey*, its numerous echoes and imitations of Iliadic passages show it to be the later of the two epics.[8] Its poet drew also on an *Argonautica* that showed some knowledge of northerly regions of the Black Sea and cannot have been composed earlier than the mid-seventh century.[9]

The question of the relationship of the *Iliad* to other seventh-century verse must accordingly be approached with a more open mind than most scholars in the past were able to summon up. The author of the *Iliad* lived in a world full of poetry. He makes numerous references to myths and stories lying outside the ambit of his epic. He may not have known any of the Cyclic poems in the form in which they were later current, but he certainly knew much of the material that went into them. Besides stories relating to the Trojan War he was familiar with the failed attack on Thebes by the Seven and the more successful one by their sons, the Epigonoi; the way he

[7] See G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berlin 1985), esp. 151–5; M. W. Edwards, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. v: *Books 17–20* (Cambridge 1991), 203–6, with illustrations and literature. In 23. 741–7 Achilles gives a Phoenician silver crater of outstanding beauty as a prize in the foot-race.

[8] See the detailed study by Knut Usener, *Beobachtungen zum Verhältnis der Odyssee zur Ilias* (Tübingen 1990).

[9] *CQ* 55 (2005), 39–64 [=below, Chapter 22], esp. 57 f.

refers to subsidiary episodes of the story suggests knowledge of an ample epic narrative, a *Thebaid*. He knew poems embodying extensive saga relating to Pylos, Elis, and Aetolia; narratives about Heracles' Labours for Eurystheus and other exploits; and various other chapters of epic mythology.[10]

All of these poems may have been current only in oral form. But we cannot exclude the possibility that some of them already circulated as written texts, and that the poet of the *Iliad* either read them or heard them recited by singers who had derived them from a book.[11] We have no reason to suppose that the *Iliad* was the first hexameter poem to achieve written circulation. Alphabetic writing had been used in Greece for several generations before it was composed, and although oral poets had no immediate reason to adopt the medium, it is clear that some poetry was circulating in written form by the mid-seventh century: Archilochus, Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Semonides, all appear in literary history at this time because their works were written down and preserved. Older than these were Hesiod's two poems, the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*; close paraphrases of passages from the latter poem by Semonides (fr. 6) and Alcaeus (fr. 347) show that knowledge of it had spread across the Aegean.

How does the *Iliad* relate to Hesiod or the early elegists? Its language is more archaic, or rather, it shows fewer signs of modernity; that we can concede. But the facts reviewed above prove that its poet was active not much earlier than they, if at all earlier. We cannot establish priorities on the basis of linguistic analysis.[12] There is nothing *a priori* impossible, therefore, in the presence of echoes of Hesiod or elegy in the *Iliad*. In what follows I shall adduce a series

[10] See further *The Making of the Iliad* (Oxford 2011), Chapter 3.

[11] Cf. what is reported by A. B. Lord in *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*, i (Cambridge, Mass.–Belgrade 1954), 54 f., on Balkan singers who learned some of their songs from books.

[12] As Richard Janko strove to do for early hexameter poetry in his *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* (Cambridge 1982). The problem is that when poets in different parts of Greece, speaking different dialects in their everyday life, one of them perhaps a man aged thirty, another a septuagenarian, are composing in an archaizing traditional style that they have inherited from different lines of teachers in different regional traditions, we cannot take it for granted that their positions on the archaism/neologism axis will be an accurate reflection of their temporal sequence. This is even more true when their subject matter diverges so widely as Hesiod's does from that of the epic poets, or when we have elegists addressing their fellow citizens on contemporary issues.



of passages where it seems to me that such echoes are likely or at least plausible. Of course not all of them are of equal weight, and the reader must judge them as he or she sees fit; but they all, I think, deserve consideration.

## THE *THEOGONY*

I begin with the *Theogony*. From several passages it is evident that the poet of the *Iliad* presupposes a theogonic framework something like the Hesiodic. He mentions the gods down in Tartaros who are called Titans (14. 279), and who include Zeus' father Kronos and Iapetos (8. 479–81); it was Zeus who consigned Kronos to that subterraqueous region (14. 203 f.). Zeus was one of three sons born to Kronos and Rhea, the other two being Poseidon and Hades (15. 187 f.), and Hera was born of the same parents (4. 59). Hephaestus is her son (1. 572, 21. 330), while Apollo and Artemis are Zeus' children by Leto (1. 9, 20. 71, 24. 605–9). This is all in agreement with Hesiod.

Certainly, not everything of a theogonic character in the *Iliad* can be derived from Hesiod's poem. The status of Oceanus and Tethys as the first parents (14. 201 = 302, cf. 246) cannot; nor does Hesiod mention the myth of the division of the world by lot among the three sons of Kronos (15. 189–93), which is of Babylonian origin[13] and must therefore have come to the *Iliad* poet from some other poetic source. There are several allusions to episodes of strife and violence among the Olympians—an attempt to tie Zeus up (1. 399–406), Zeus throwing other gods around (1. 591, 14. 257, 19. 126–31) or torturing Hera (15. 18–24)—that not only find no echo in Hesiod but are at odds with his picture of a harmonious team working under the direction of their chosen leader. The hundred-handed figure called Briareos whom Thetis brings up from the sea to defend Zeus against his opponents in 1. 401–6 is known to Hesiod, but there he is one of three brothers, and the only occasion on which he helped Zeus was when Zeus himself brought the three up from Tartaros to assist him in the Titanomachy by throwing volleys of rocks. If we want the poet of the *Iliad* to have got all of his theogonic lore from one source, it would have to be one that he and Hesiod had in common.

[13] See *The East Face of Helicon*, 109 f.

However, there is no reason to take such a reductionist approach. If Hesiod's poems had in fact already become known across the Aegean, it is likely enough that they came to the *Iliad* poet's attention in addition to whatever he heard of the same kind elsewhere. When we review the *loci similes*, we shall find in the *Iliad* pockets of Hesiodic thought allied to Hesiodic language. The parallels extend to the *Works and Days* as well as the *Theogony*. In some instances there are grounds for postulating a common source. In others it is plausible that the poet had direct knowledge of the two Hesiodic poems.

2. 781–3 *γαῖα δ' ὑπεστονάχιζε Διὶ ὣς τερπικεραύνωι*
*χωομένωι, ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυφωεῖ γαῖαν ἱμάσσηι*
*εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς.*

The simile is a surprising one, as it refers to a fabled phenomenon of which none of us has personal experience. It must have been put in the poet's mind by some account of Zeus lashing Typhoeus and causing the earth to groan. The three lines contain a concentrated nexus of parallels with two passages of Hesiod: *Th.* 304–6 *ἣ δ' ἔρυτ' εἰν Ἀρίμοισιν ὑπὸ χθόνα λυγρὴ Ἔχιδνα* | . . . | *τῆι δὲ Τυφάονά φασι μιγήμεναι ἐν φιλότητι*; 843 *ὑπεστονάχιζε δὲ γαῖα* [v.l. *ἐπεστ-*] (when Zeus attacked Typhoeus); 857 *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δή μιν δάμασε πληγῆισιν ἱμάσσας*, | *ἤριπε γυιωθείς, στονάχιζε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη*. Hesiod is not necessarily the direct model, as there is a significant difference of perspective: the *Iliad* poet treats Zeus' defeat of Typhoeus as a recurrent though localized phenomenon; for Hesiod it is a past event, though in *Th.* 869 he acknowledges Typhoeus as the source of storm winds that blow now.

4. 59 *καί με πρεσβυτάτην τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης.*

This agrees with Hesiod's account, though there is no significant verbal parallel. Hesiod lists Kronos' three daughters as Hestia, Demeter, and Hera (*Th.* 454). We take this to be the order of their original birth. But the order was reversed when he swallowed them and regurgitated them, cf. 497 *πρῶτον δ' ἐξήμεσσε λίθον, πύματον καταπίνων*. Hence the original firstborn, Hestia, became the youngest, as is made explicit in *Hymn. Aphr.* 22 f., *Ἱστίηι, ἣν πρώτην τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης*, | *αὖτις δ' ὁπλοτάτην βουλῆι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο*. By the same token Hera became the eldest of the sisters—note the verbal parallel between 4. 59 and *Hymn.*



*Aphr.* 22—and similarly Zeus is reckoned the eldest of the three sons (13. 355, 15. 166).

5. 155–8 *ἔνθ' ὅ γε τοὺς ἐνάριζε, φίλον δ' ἐξαίνυτο θυμόν*
*ἀμφοτέρωι, πατέρι δὲ γόον καὶ κήδεα λυγρά*
*λεῖπ', ἐπεὶ οὐ ζώοντε μάχης ἔκ νοστήσαντε*
*δέξατο, χηρωσταὶ δὲ διὰ κτῆσιν δατέοντο.*

The grief of the bereaved father over his slain sons is a typical Iliadic motif. But the observation that his property was shared out among more distant heirs (because he no longer had sons to leave it to) is neither typical nor obvious. It may have come into the poet's head from Hesiod's lines on the misfortunes of the man who never marries, *Th.* 604–7: (*ὅς κε . . .*) *ὀλοὸν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἵκηται* | *χήτει γηροκόμοιο· ὃ δ' οὐ βιότου γ' ἐπιδευής* | *ζώει, ἀποφθιμένου δὲ διὰ ζωὴν* [v.l. *κτῆσιν*] *δατέονται* | *χηρωσταί*. The variant *κτῆσιν* no doubt comes from a scribal reminiscence of the Iliadic passage, but the parallel is in any case striking. The idea arises more naturally in Hesiod's train of thought.

6. 179–82 *πρῶτον μέν ῥα Χίμαιραν ἀμαιμακέτην ἐκέλευσεν*
*πεφνέμεν· ἣ δ' ἄρ' ἔην θεῖον γένος, οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων,*
*πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα,*
*δεινὸν ἀποπνείουσα πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο.*

Cf. *Th.* 319–22 *ἣ δὲ Χίμαιραν ἔτικτε πνέουσαν ἀμαιμάκετον πῦρ* | . . . | *τῆς ἦν τρεῖς κεφαλαί· μία μὲν χαροποῖο λέοντος*, | *ἣ δὲ χιμαίρης, ἣ δ' ὄφιος κρατεροῖο δράκοντος*. (The two following lines, 323 f., are identical with *Il.* 6. 181 f. and interpolated from there.)

The Hesiodic passage cannot plausibly be claimed as the source for the *Iliad* poet, whose verses are better constructed. *Χίμαιραν ἀμαιμακέτην* is the primary combination (cf. *Il.* 16. 328 f. *ὅς ῥα Χίμαιραν* | *θρέψεν ἀμαιμακέτην*); Hesiod has awkwardly transferred the epithet to the fire that the creature exhaled, making a peculiarly ungainly line, his 'worst hexameter'.[14] In the *Iliad* the Chimaira comes in as an integral element in the story of Bellerophon. That is its context for Hesiod too, as he completes his treatment of the monster with 325 *τὴν μὲν Πήγασος εἶλε καὶ ἐσθλὸς Βελλεροφόντης*. It is likely, therefore, that the common

[14] Cf. my note, *Hesiod, Theogony*, 254.

phraseology in the Hesiodic and Iliadic descriptions derive from a common model, a poem about Bellerophon.

8. 13–16 ἦ μὰν ἑλὼν ῥίψω ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα,
τῆλε μάλ', ἦχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον,
ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός,
τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης.

Cf. *Th.* 811 ἔνθα δὲ μαρμάρεαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός; 720 f. τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης· τόσσον γάρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα; 868 ῥῖψε δέ μιν θυμῷ ἀκαχὼν ἐς Τάρταρον εὐρύν.

*Iliad* 8 contains a series of passages with parallels in a particular section of the *Theogony* (720–868), a section that was also relevant to 2. 781–3. Here there may be a direct relationship. Zeus threatens to throw any god who defies him into the Tartaros where he had once thrown the Titans. The poet makes his Tartaros even deeper than Hesiod's, not just as far below earth as earth is below heaven, but the same distance below Hades. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916), 57 n. 1, 'daß er der spätere ist, zeigt schon die Steigerung, daß er den Tartaros noch unterhalb des Hades ansetzt. Sein Vers 15 stammt aus Theog. 811.' Similarly Erich Bethe, *Homer. Dichtung und Sage* ii (Leipzig–Berlin ²1929), 311–13.

8. 404–5 οὐδέ κεν ἐς δεκάτους περιτελλομένους ἐνιαυτούς
ἕλκε' ἀπαλθήσεσθον, ἃ κεν μάρπτησι κεραυνός.

Another threat by Zeus. The ten-year period recalls *Th.* 801–3, where Hesiod states that a god who swears falsely by the water of Styx lies in a coma for a year and is then banished from the divine company for nine years, returning in the tenth. As in the previous case, the *Iliad* poet takes it a step further: the lesions of Zeus' thunderbolt victims will not heal *even* in ten years.

8. 442–3 αὐτὸς δὲ χρύσειον ἐπὶ θρόνον εὐρύοπα Ζεύς
ἕζετο, τῶι δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγας πελεμίζετ' Ὄλυμπος.

Cf. *Th.* 842 ποσσὶ δ' ὕπ' ἀθανάτοισι μέγας πελεμίζετ' Ὄλυμπος | ὀρνυμένοιο ἄνακτος. Hesiod's use is closer to the original. His Zeus is in motion, pounding after Typhoeus with thunderbolts. In the *Iliad* passage the shaking of Olympus has little point except to underline Zeus' dominance; and it might more logically have been attributed to his backside than to his feet.



σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω
8. 477–81 χωομένης, οὐδ' εἴ κε τὰ νείατα πείραθ' ἵκηαι
γαίης καὶ πόντοιο, ἵν' Ἰαπετός τε Κρόνος τε
ἧμενοι οὔτ' αὐγῆς Ὑπερίονος Ἠελίοιο
τέρπονθ' οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι, βαθὺς δέ τε Τάρταρος ἀμφίς.

Cf. *Th.* 736–8 ἔνθα δὲ γῆς δνοφερῆς καὶ Ταρτάρου ἠερόεντος | πόντου θ' ἀτρυγέτοιο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος | ἑξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν; 759–61, the sun's rays never shine on the house of Night's children in the underworld. Iapetos and Kronos, singled out in the list of deities in the proem of the *Theogony* (18 Ἰαπετόν τε ἰδὲ Κρόνον), are the two Titans who stand out later in the poem as constituting a serious individual danger to Zeus: Kronos who tries to swallow him and who is the leader of the Titans, and Iapetos who rears a brood of dangerous sons including Atlas and Prometheus. That the Iliadic Titans come from Hesiod was assumed by Carl Robert, *Studien zur Ilias* (Berlin 1901), 168.

12. 20–3 Ῥῆσός θ' Ἑπτάπορός τε Κάρησός τε Ῥοδίος τε
Γρήνικός τε καὶ Αἴσηπος δῖός τε Σκάμανδρος
καὶ Σιμόεις, ὅθι πολλὰ βοάγρια καὶ τρυφάλειαι
κάππεσον ἐν κονίῃσι καὶ ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν.

These are listed as the rivers that flow down from the Ἰδαῖα ὄρεα, which Poseidon and Apollo brought together in one torrent after the war to wash away the Achaeans' fortifications. All except the Karesos appear in Hesiod's catalogue of rivers: *Th.* 340–2 Φᾶσίν τε Ῥῆσόν τ' Ἀχελῶιόν τ' ἀργυροδίνην | Νέστόν τε Ῥοδίον θ' Ἁλιάκμονά θ' Ἑπτάπορόν τε | Γρήνικόν τε καὶ Αἴσηπον θείόν τε Σιμοῦντα | …345 θείόν τε Σκάμανδρον. Aristarchus inferred that Hesiod read the Homeric poems, as otherwise he would not have mentioned such insignificant rivers as these.[15] In my commentary on the *Theogony* passage I wrote that 'it is certainly in earlier poetry about Troy that we must seek Hesiod's source'.[16] There is no doubt that he knew poetry about Troy, cf. *Op.* 164 f., 651–3. But Scamander and Simoeis are the only rivers in the list that flow into the Trojan plain or have any regular place in poetry about Troy. Aisepos is the only other one mentioned elsewhere in the *Iliad*: it is the river below Zeleia, where

[15] Sch. 12. 22a (Aristonicus) καὶ ὅτι ἀνέγνω Ἡσίοδος τὰ Ὁμήρου ὡς ἂν νεώτερος τούτου· οὐ γὰρ ἐξενήνοχε τοὺς ποταμούς, μὴ ὄντας ἀξιολόγους, εἰ μὴ δι' Ὅμηρον.

[16] *Hesiod, Theogony*, 260.

Pandaros comes from (2. 825, 4. 91), and it flows into the Propontis some eighty miles east of Troy. The Granikos is nearly as distant and has no part to play in any narrative about the Trojan War. The location of the other four rivers, those named in 12. 20, was problematic for ancient scholars. (Cf. Bethe, *Homer*, ii. 308.) If the poet borrowed them from Hesiod, there is no guarantee that they were in Asia Minor at all; Rhodios and Heptaporos are grouped with Thracian rivers in *Th.* 341, and Rhesos and Karesos also sound like Thracian names. Hesiod probably got many of his river names from his father, the erstwhile sailor based at Cyme. The Scamander, Simoeis, Granikos, and Aisepos occupy the gap that would otherwise appear between the Aeolian Hermos, Kaikos, and Euenos (*Th.* 343, 345) and the Bithynian Sangarios and Parthenios (344). They justify their place in Hesiod better than they do in the *Iliad* passage, where their channelling into one stream is a geographical absurdity.

Then in 12. 23 comes the phrase *ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν*. The term *ἡμίθεοι* occurs only here in the Homeric poems. Hesiod and others use it, as here, in speaking collectively of the men of the heroic age from the viewpoint of the present.[17] It does not necessarily follow that the *Iliad* poet is drawing on Hesiod, but he shares with him not only the word *ἡμίθεοι* but the concept of the heroes as a distinct breed of men: *Op.* 159 f. *ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται | ἡμίθεοι, προτέρη γενεὴ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν*. If we read the line as suggesting that the Trojan War marked the end of the breed of heroes, that makes another link (cf. *Op.* 161–5).

13. 19–20 *τρέμε δ' οὔρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλη*
*ποσσὶν ὕπ' ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος.*

Cf. *Th.* 842 f. quoted above on 8. 442–3.

13. 333–44 *τῶν δ' ὁμὸν ἵστατο νεῖκος ἐπὶ πρυμνῆισι νέεσσιν·*
*ὡς δ' ὅθ' ὑπὸ λιγέων ἀνέμων σπέρχωσιν ἄελλαι*
*ἤματι τῶι, ὅτε τε πλείστη κόνις ἀμφὶ κελεύθους,*
*οἵ τ' ἄμυδις κονίης μεγάλην ἱστᾶσιν ὀμίχλην,*
*ὣς ἄρα τῶν ὁμόσ' ἦλθε μάχη, μέμασαν δ' ἐνὶ θυμῶι*
*ἀλλήλους καθ' ὅμιλον ἐναιρέμεν ὀξέϊ χαλκῶι.*
*ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχη φθεισίμβροτος ἐγχείῃσιν*
*μακρῆις, ἃς εἶχον ταμεσίχροας· ὄσσε δ' ἄμερδεν*
*αὐγὴ χαλκείη κορύθων ἄπο λαμπομενάων*

[17] See my note on Hes. *Op.* 160 (*Hesiod, Works and Days* (Oxford 1978), 191). Cf. Bethe, *Homer*, ii² 308–10.



*θωρήκων τε νεοσμήκτων σακέων τε φαεινῶν,*
*ἐρχομένων ἄμυδις. μάλα κεν θρασυκάρδιος εἴη,*
*ὅς τότε γηθήσειεν ἰδὼν πόνον οὐδ' ἀκάχοιτο.*

Several details suggest a relationship with *Th.* 698–706:

*ὅσσε δ' ἄμερδε καὶ ἰφθίμων περ ἐόντων*
*αὐγὴ μαρμαίρουσα κεραυνοῦ τε στεροπῆς τε.*
*καῦμα δὲ θεσπέσιον κάτεχεν χάος· εἴσατο δ' ἄντα*
*ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖν ἠδ' οὔασιν ὄσσαν ἀκοῦσαι*
*αὖτως ὡς ὅτε γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθεν*
*πίλνατο . . .*
*σὺν δ' ἄνεμοι ἔνοσίν τε κονίην τ' ἐσφαράγιζον.*

Note the winds raising a dust-storm, 334–6 ≈ *Th.* 706; the blinding gleam of weapons, 340–1 ≈ *Th.* 698 f.; the effect on the imaginary observer, 343 f. ≈ *Th.* 700–3. Not a formulaic combination.

14. 231 *ἔνθ' Ὕπνωι ξύμβλητο, κασιγνήτωι Θανάτοιο.*

Cf. 16. 672 *Ὕπνωι καὶ Θανάτωι διδυμάοσιν*; *Th.* 213, Sleep and Death as children of Night; 756 *ἣ δ' Ὕπνον μετὰ χερσί, κασίγνητον Θανάτοιο*; 758–66, the house of the two brothers and the business they do. Sleep's kinship to death is at home in a genealogical poet; it is irrelevant to the story about immortals in *Il.* 14.

14. 271 *ἄγρει νύν μοι ὄμοσσον ἀάατον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ.*

That the gods swear by the water of Styx is a Hesiodic doctrine, *Th.* 400, 775–806; cf. *Il.* 2. 755 *ὅρκου γὰρ δεινοῦ Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ* ≈ *Th.* 776 *δεινὴ Στύξ*, 805 *τοῖον ἄρ' ὅρκον ἔθεντο θεοὶ Στυγὸς ἄφθιτον ὕδωρ*. However, Hera shows no sign of following the Hesiodic procedure and making a libation of the water.

14. 273–4 *ἵνα νῶϊν ἅπαντες*
*μάρτυροι ὦσ' οἱ ἔνερθε θεοὶ Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἑόντες.*
278–9 *θεοὺς δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἅπαντας*
*τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους, οἵ Τιτῆνες καλέονται.*
15. 224–5 *μάλα γάρ κε μάχης ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἄλλοι,*
*οἵ περ ἐνέρτεροί εἰσι θεοί, Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἑόντες.*

Cf. *Th.* 851 *Τιτῆνές θ' ὑποταρτάριοι Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἑόντες*. For the motif in 15. 224 f. of the noise from a gods' conflict reaching the underworld, cf. below on 20. 56–66.

18. 39–49 ἔνθ' ἄρ' ἔην Γλαύκη τε Θάλειά τε Κυμοδόκη τε,
Νησαίη Σπειώ τε Θόη θ' Ἁλίη τε βοῶπις
Κυμοθόη τε καὶ Ἀκταίη καὶ Λιμνώρεια
καὶ Μελίτη καὶ Ἰαιρα καὶ Ἀμφιθόη καὶ Ἀγαυή
Δωτώ τε Πρωτώ τε Φέρουσά τε Δυναμένη τε
Δεξαμένη τε καὶ Ἀμφινόμη καὶ Καλλιάνειρα,
Δωρὶς καὶ Πανόπη καὶ ἀγακλειτὴ Γαλάτεια
Νημερτής τε καὶ Ἀψευδὴς καὶ Καλλιάνασσα·
ἔνθα δ' ἔην Κλυμένη Ἰάνειρά τε καὶ Ἰάνασσα,
Μαῖρα καὶ Ὠρείθυια ἐϋπλόκαμός τ' Ἀμάθεια,
ἄλλαί θ' αἵ κατὰ βένθος ἁλὸς Νηρηΐδες ἦσαν.

The catalogue of Nereids was athetized by Zenodotus and Aristarchus ὡς Ἡσιόδειον ἔχων χαρακτῆρα. Hesiod of course specialized in such lists, and indeed in *Th.* 243–62 he has a catalogue of fifty Nereids in which many of the same names appear and two or three whole lines are virtually identical. The scholion notes further that Homer's practice, unlike Hesiod's, is to speak of collectivities of goddesses, such as Muses or Eileithyiai, without giving them individual names.

Internal evidence suggests that the names of the Muses in *Th.* 77–9 were actually invented by Hesiod.[18] As for the Nereids, one or two such as Thetis and Amphitrite will have existed as individual figures before Hesiod, but his list of fifty names must be for the most part his own creation. The list in *Il.* 18. 39–49 is surely indebted to it.[19] Klaus Nickau has made the important observation that the Nereids which are common to the two lists all come in the first half of Hesiod's catalogue (243–50), except for Nemertes, who is prominent as the one he names last. Several of the names that are not among Hesiod's Nereids occur elsewhere in the *Theogony*: Thaleia (as a Muse, 77), Klymene, Ianeira (as Oceanids, 351, 356). Others are generated internally within the list: Thoe > Amphithoe, Nemertes > Apseudes, Ianeira > Ianassa, Kallianeira, Kallianassa. The acknowledgment in 49 that there are others in addition to those named may be an indication that the poet was aware of a longer catalogue.[20]

[18] See my *Hesiod, Theogony*, 32.

[19] Cf. Carl Robert, *Studien zur Ilias* (Berlin 1901), 563; Inez Sellschopp, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Hesiod* (Hamburg 1934), 59–61; Klaus Nickau, *Untersuchungen zur textkritischen Methode des Zenodotos von Ephesos* (Berlin–New York 1977), 230–6.

[20] J. Th. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches* (Lund 1949), 75; Nickau (as in n. 19), 235.



There remains a question about the authenticity of the passage. In my edition and my *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (Munich–Leipzig 2001), 244 f., I took the view that it is a rhapsode's interpolation. Certainly it is easily detachable, and its disproportionate and irrelevant suspension of the progress of the narrative may be thought a departure from the *Iliad* poet's normal manner. If he was responsible for it, perhaps he added it after composing the main narrative. Whether it was he or a rhapsode, Hesiod was the source.

20. 56–66 δεινὸν δ' ἐβρόντησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
ὑψόθεν· αὐτὰρ ἔνερθε Ποσειδάων ἐτίναξεν
γαῖαν ἀπειρεσίην ὀρέων τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα,
πάντες δ' ἐσσείοντο πόδες πολυπίδακος Ἴδης
καὶ κορυφαὶ Τρώων τε πόλις καὶ νῆες Ἀχαιῶν·
ἔδδεισεν δ' ὑπένερθεν ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀϊδωνεύς,
δείσας δ' ἐκ θρόνου ἅλτο καὶ ἴαχε, μή οἱ ὕπερθεν
γαῖαν ἀναρρήξειε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,
οἰκία δὲ θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη
σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ.
τόσσος ἄρα κτύπος ὦρτο θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνιόντων.

The passage shows the influence of Hesiod's Titanomachy and Typhonomachy; cf. M. W. Edwards (as in n. 7), 293 f. The sequence of Zeus, Poseidon, and Aidoneus, the three sons of Kronos (15. 187 f.), suggests the three levels of the universe, sky, earth, and underworld. 'Zeus, though a self-declared bystander, is involved in the activities because he features in the regular Titanomachy motif' (Edwards 295). With 56 cf. *Th.* 839 σκληρὸν δ' ἐβρόντησε; with 61–5, *Th.* 681 f. ἔνοσις δ' ἵκανε βαρεῖα | Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα ποδῶν, 850 τρέε δ' Ἀΐδης ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσων; with 65, *Th.* 739=810 ἀργαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ; with 66, *Th.* 705 τόσσος δοῦπος ἔγεντο θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνιόντων.

20. 491–2 βαθεῖα δὲ καίεται ὕλη,
πάντηι τε κλονέων ἄνεμος φλόγα εἰλυφάζει.

Cf. *Th.* 692–4 (κεραυνοί) ἱερὴν φλόγα εἰλυφόωντες . . . λάκε δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ μεγάλ' ἄσπετος ὕλη.

22. 122–7 ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός; . . .
οὐ μέν πως νῦν ἐστιν ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης
τῶι ὀαριζέμεναι, ἅ τε παρθένος ἠϊθέός τε.

Cf. *Th.* 35 ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην; *Il.* 22. 122 is a formulaic line that occurs also in 11. 407, 17. 97, 21. 562, and 22. 385. But the association of ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα with the proverbial 'tree and stone' in the Hesiodic line might have prompted the *Iliad* poet to introduce a variant of the latter four lines later. It is not at all clear what either he or Hesiod means by it, but from the Hesiodic passage he might well have drawn the impression that it was appropriately applied to inconsequential chatter that ought to be brought to an end.[21]

24. 428 τῶν οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντο καὶ ἐν θανάτοιό περ αἴσῃ.

Cf. *Th.* 503 οἵ οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντο χάριν εὐεργεσιάων. The Hesiodic phrase is paralleled in later Greek: Eur. *Alc.* 299 σύ νύν μοι τῶνδ' ἀπόμνησαι χάριν, Thuc. 1. 137. 2 πειθομένωι δ' αὐτῶι (ἔφη) χάριν ἀπομνήσεσθαι ἀξίαν. In the Homeric line we have it with ellipse of χάριν but otherwise in a form matching Hesiod's verse, which could be the model.

## THE *WORKS AND DAYS*

So much for the passages that seem to echo the *Theogony*. It will be noted that the Titanomachy, the Typhonomachy, and the intervening description of the nether regions appear to have made a particular impression on the *Iliad* poet. I now turn to apparent or possible reminiscences of the *Works and Days*.

6. 266–8 χερσὶ δ' ἀνίπτοισιν Διὶ λείβειν αἴθοπα οἶνον
ἄζομαι· οὐδέ πήι ἐστι κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι
αἵματι καὶ λύθρωι πεπαλαγμένον εὐχετάασθαι.

Cf. *Op.* 724 f. μηδέ ποτ' ἐξ ἠοῦς Διὶ λείβειν αἴθοπα οἶνον | χερσὶν ἀνίπτοισιν; 733 f. μηδ' αἰδοῖα γονῆι πεπαλαγμένον ἔνδοθι οἴκου | ἱστίηι ἐμπελαδὸν παραφαινέμεν. In Hesiod the libation with unwashed hands and the defilement by visible polluting matter on the body are unconnected, though only a few lines apart; in the *Iliad* they are run together as aspects of a single picture.

[21] Similarly P. Von der Mühll, *Kritisches Hypomnema zur Ilias* (Basel 1952), 334, 'die im Sinn von "harmloses langes Geplauder" schiefe Anwendung der alten Phrase'. On these and other instances of the phrase see my *Hesiod, Theogony*, 167–9, and *The East Face of Helicon*, 431.



9. 502 καὶ γάρ τε Λιταί εἰσι, Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο.

This type of admonitory assertion of the existence of a (novel, abstract) deity is in the Hesiodic manner. Cf. *Op.* 11 f. οὐκ ἄρα μοῦνον ἔην Ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν | εἰσὶ δύω; 256 ἥ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυία; more material in my commentary on 11–46. Calling the Prayers daughters of Zeus gives them a high status and suggests a delegated authority that it would be unwise to defy. *Op.* 256 again provides a parallel. Hesiod goes on to say that when men mistreat Dike she goes and reports them to Zeus so that he can punish them. In exactly the same way in *Il.* 9. 510–12 it is stated that if someone obstinately refuses to hear the Prayers they go to Zeus and ask him to send Ate upon that man so that he pays the penalty. This is a new invention on the Hesiodic model.

16. 385–8 ἦμαρ ὀπωρινῶι, ὅτε λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ
Ζεύς, ὅτε δὴ ἄνδρεσσι κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπήνηι,
οἳ βίηι εἰν ἀγορῆι σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας,
ἐκ δὲ Δίκην ἐλάσωσι, θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.

Here too the poet is evidently influenced by Hesiod's teachings about Dike. Cf. *Op.* 220–4 τῆς δὲ Δίκης ῥόθος ἑλκομένης ἦι κ' ἄνδρες ἄγωσιν | δωροφάγοι, σκολιῆις δὲ δίκηις κρίνωσι θέμιστας. | ἣ δ' ἕπεται κλαίουσα πόλιν καὶ ἤθεα λαῶν, | ἠέρα ἑσσαμένη, κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι φέρουσα | οἵ τέ μιν ἐξελάσωσι καὶ οὐκ ἰθεῖαν ἔνειμαν; 250 f. ἀθάνατοι φράζονται, ὅσοι σκολιῆισι δίκηισιν | ἀλλήλους τρίβουσι, θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες; σκολιαὶ δίκαι also 219, 262, 264. For βίη (16. 387) as the antithesis of δίκη cf. *Op.* 275 καί νυ Δίκης ἐπάκουε, βίης δ' ἐπιλήθεο πάμπαν. In *Op.* 256–62 it is made clear that Zeus' punishment for unrighteous dealings falls upon the whole δῆμος. In 238–47 Hesiod has set out a range of public calamities that Zeus may send upon the unrighteous man's community: famine, plague, sterility, decline, military disaster, shipwrecks. The storm and flooding described in 16. 385–92 fall into the same category. But the passage is quite untypical of the *Iliad*.

17. 30–2 ἀλλά σ' ἐγώ γ' ἀναχωρήσαντα κελεύω
ἐς πληθὺν ἰέναι, μηδ' ἀντίος ἵστα' ἐμεῖο,
πρίν τι κακὸν παθέειν· ῥεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω.

The final phrase is a sententious tag of no special appropriateness to Menelaus' warning. It is perhaps adapted from the more general

teaching of *Op.* 217 f., *δίκη δ' ὑπὲρ ὕβριος ἴσχει | ἐς τέλος ἐξελθοῦσα· παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω.*

17. 547–50 *ἠΰτε πορφυρέην ἶριν θνητοῖσι τανύσσαι*
*Ζεὺς ἐξ οὐρανόθεν, τέρας ἔμμεναι ἢ πολέμοιο*
*ἢ καὶ χειμῶνος δυσθαλπέος, ὅς ῥά τε ἔργων*
*ἀνθρώπους ἀνέπαυσεν ἐπὶ χθονί, μῆλα δὲ κήδει.*

A rainbow may be a portent of *χειμών* in the sense of storm, but hardly of winter cold, which is what 549 f. describe. The relative clause appears to be inspired by *Op.* 494 f. *ὥρῃ χειμερίῃ, ὁπότε κρύος ἀνέρα ἔργων | ἰσχάνει.* The reference to the suffering of the flocks corresponds to *Op.* 512 ff., where Hesiod goes on to describe how the cold affects animals, even those insulated by *λάχνη*, and the cattle and goats.

17. 737–8 *ἄγριος ἠΰτε πῦρ, τό τ' ἐπεσσύμενον πόλιν ἀνδρῶν*
*ὄρμενον ἐξαίφνης φλεγέθει, μινύθουσι δὲ οἶκοι.*

Cf. *Op.* 244 *οὐδὲ γυναῖκες τίκτουσιν, μινύθουσι δὲ οἶκοι.* (For the context see above on 16. 385–8.) Hesiod uses the phrase in a natural way, of households diminishing or falling in status as the Zeus-sent afflictions ravage the community. Its application to burning houses in the *Iliad* is odd and clearly secondary.

18. 419–20 *τῆις ἐν μὲν νόος ἐστὶ μετὰ φρεσίν, ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐδή*
*καὶ σθένος, ἀθανάτων δὲ θεῶν ἄπο ἔργα ἴσασιν.*

The lines refer to the girl robots that Hephaestus has created to serve in his house. They seem to be adapted from Hesiod's account of the making of Pandora in *Op.* 61–4, where Zeus commands Hephaestus to knead earth with water, *ἐν δ' ἀνθρώπου θέμεν αὐδήν | καὶ σθένος, ἀθανάτης δὲ θεῆς εἰς ὦπα εἰσκειν, | παρθενικῆς καλὸν εἶδος ἐπήρατον· αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνην | ἔργα διδασκῆσαι, πολυδαίδαλον ἱστὸν ὑφαίνειν.* Pandora was a living woman who learned her *ἔργα* from Athena. But how could goddesses teach anything to Hephaestus' mechanical robots, which are made from gold and not alive but merely *ζωῆισι νεήνισιν εἰοικυῖαι* (418)?

18. 485–7 *ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται,*
*Πληϊάδας θ' Ὑάδας τε τό τε σθένος Ὠρίωνος*
*Ἄρκτόν θ', ἣν καὶ Ἅμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν.*

486 = *Op.* 615. In Hesiod the Pleiades, Hyades, and Orion are a group of constellations in the same quarter of the sky; he is referring to the season of their setting, which is the time to plough. In the *Iliad* the verse serves as a ready-made selection of constellation-names to give specificity to the *τείρεα*. The poet adds only one other. If he had not had the Hesiodic line conveniently at his disposal, he might have mentioned Sirius or Bootes to give a wider coverage of the sky.



23. 87–8 *ἤματι τῶι, ὅτε παῖδα κατέκτανον Ἀμφιδάμαντος*
*νήπιος, οὐκ ἐθέλων, ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθείς.*

This comes in Patroclus' ghost's account of how in his youth he came to leave his native Opous and enter Peleus' house. A childish brawl over a game of knucklebones cannot have had more than a tangential place in epic tradition, and the incident is probably invented *ad hoc*. Who is this Amphidamas? In my note on Hes. *Op.* 656 I ventured the conjecture that, with funeral games already on his mind, the *Iliad* poet lit on the name under the influence of that passage, where Hesiod relates that he once attended funeral games organized by the sons of Amphidamas. The same passage is relevant to the next item:

23. 629–31 *εἴθ' ὡς ἠβώοιμι βίη τέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη,*
*ὡς ὁπότε κρείοντ' Ἀμαρυγκέα θάπτον Ἐπειοί*
*Βουπρασίωι, παῖδες δ' ἔθεσαν βασιλῆος ἄεθλα.*

Nestor reminisces. Funeral games are an epic motif, but it is doubtful whether there was any independent tradition of these games for Amarynkeus; epic convention, so far as we know, would not favour games in which the same hero won four out of the five contests, as Nestor claims he did. The poet has invented games of an earlier generation for Nestor to reminisce about, and chosen as the honorand the father of an Epeian killed at Troy, Diores (2. 622, 4. 517). The last phrase, *παῖδες δ' ἔθεσαν βασιλῆος ἄεθλα*, recalls Hesiod's lines about the games for Amphidamas, *Op.* 654–6 *ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼν ἐπ' ἄεθλα δαΐφρονος Ἀμφιδάμαντος | Χαλκίδα τ' εἰς ἐπέρησα· τὰ δὲ προπεφραδμένα πολλά | ἆθλ' ἔθεσαν παῖδες μεγαλήτορος.* In saying that the dead king's sons organized the games, Hesiod is presumably not deploying an epic formula but stating the actual circumstances of the games that he attended. If this is the source for *Il.* 23. 631, the *Iliad* poet has restored the more epic *ἄεθλα* for the contracted form used by Hesiod.

24. 44–5 *ὣς Ἀχιλεὺς ἔλεον μὲν ἀπώλεσεν, οὐδέ οἱ αἰδὼς*
*γίνεται, ἥ τ' ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἠδ' ὀνίνησιν.*

Cf. *Op.* 317 f. αἰδὼς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένον ἄνδρα κομίζειν, | αἰδώς, ἥ τ' ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἠδ' ὀνίνησιν. Aristarchus athetized 45 as interpolated from the Hesiod passage, as Aristonicus records (sch. 45a):

> Athetized, as it has been transferred from Hesiod by someone who thought the utterance was incomplete. Also it produces a contradiction with the context, for if αἰδώς harms people, it would be reasonable for Achilles to choose to be ἀναιδέστατος. In Hesiod, however, it is to be taken sententiously, for there it really makes sense, αἰδώς sometimes bringing benefit and sometimes harm. We have to understand the ἐστιν [*sc.* in 44], so that it is οὐδέ οἱ αἰδὼς ἐστι, and the sense is complete.

Plutarch on the other hand in his commentary on the *Works and Days* (fr. 45 Sandbach) claimed that the two Hesiodic lines were interpolated from Homer. Colin Macleod defends 24. 45 as a polar expression in which the emphasis is on ὀνίνησιν, as it were, 'as it harms men, so it also profits them'.[22] But any reference to its capacity for causing harm seems quite out of place in the Iliadic context, and Aristarchus was very likely right to diagnose interpolation. There are other instances of lines interpolated in Homer from the Hesiodic poems.[23] In this case the example is irrelevant to my argument. But if the line is after all genuine, we shall certainly have to say that the poet of the *Iliad* has thoughtlessly adapted it from Hesiod. The same Hesiodic passage, incidentally, if it is not the source of *Od.* 17. 347 αἰδὼς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένωι ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι, is at any rate responsible for the variant reading κεχρημένον ἄνδρα κομίζειν.

## ELEGY

Martial elegy comes into view about 650 BCE in Callinus of Ephesus and the Spartan Tyrtaeus. It cannot have been created at that moment on both sides of the Aegean simultaneously. It must have been a genre established some time before, and it is a reasonable assumption that the *Iliad* poet was familiar with it. Of course it was heavily influenced by heroic epic and pervaded with its diction. But

[22] C. W. Macleod, *Homer. Iliad Book XXIV* (Cambridge 1982), 92.
[23] *Il.* 1. [265] comes from *Sc.* 182, 18. [535–8] from *Sc.* 156–9, 18. [608a–d] (in a papyrus) from *Sc.* 207–13.



the influence need not have been all one way.[24] When the Homeric heroes exhort their men to courage and resistance, overlaps with the elegists are sometimes apparent, and in some cases the elegiac version may be judged the primary one; in other words, the epic poet is adapting motifs from exhortations addressed to contemporary soldiers and citizens in current crises.

If we cannot always tell whether a Hesiodic parallel means that Hesiod was the model, it is still more difficult with elegy to identify dependence on specific passages. We are dealing with typical paraenetic motifs that were probably used in many poems, and the amount of elegy that has survived from the time is small. Still, the comparisons will be worth making.

2. 796–7 ὦ γέρον, αἰεί τοι μῦθοι φίλοι ἄκριτοί εἰσιν
ὥς ποτ' ἐπ' εἰρήνης· πόλεμος δ' ἁλίαστος ὄρωρεν.

Cf. Callin. 1. 3 f. ἐν εἰρήνηι δὲ δοκεῖτε | ἧσθαι, ἀτὰρ πόλεμος γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἔχει. This is a call to action in a real situation, addressed to young men who are failing to rouse themselves. The reproach to Priam in the *Iliad* passage, on the other hand, is hardly apt: he has posted a lookout to watch for an Achaean sortie and is holding an assembly of the citizens, presumably to debate what to do. The poet has availed himself of a hortatory commonplace. Cf. Von der Mühll (as in n. 21), 61 n. 87, 'Wenn eine direkte Beziehung vorliegt, so ist Kallinos ursprünglicher: Ihr haltet Ruhe, wie wenn Friedenszeit wäre, gegenüber: Du schwatzest endlos, wie zur Friedenszeit.'

5. 529–32 ὦ φίλοι, ἀνέρες ἔστε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔλεσθε
ἀλλήλους τ' αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας·
αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σόοι ἠὲ πέφανται ('are killed'),
φευγόντων δ' οὔτ' ἄρ κλέος ὄρνυται οὔτέ τις ἀλκή.

(≈15. 561–4.) Cf. Tyrt. 11. 11–14 οἳ μὲν γὰρ τολμῶσι παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες | ἔς τ' αὐτοσχεδίην καὶ προμάχους ἰέναι, | παυρότεροι θνήσκουσι, σαοῦσι δὲ λαὸν ὀπίσσω· | τρεσσάντων δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ' ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή, and for the appeal to αἰδώς, Callin. 1. 2 οὐδ' αἰδεῖσθ' ἀμφιπερικτίονας.

6. 487–9 οὐ γάρ τίς μ' ὑπὲρ αἶσαν ἀνὴρ Ἀΐδι προϊάψει·
μοῖραν δ' οὔ τινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν,
οὐ κακόν, οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ἐπὴν τὰ πρῶτα γένηται.

[24] Cf. D. Mülder, *Die Ilias und ihre Quellen* (Berlin 1910), 10 f., 115 f., 148–58; P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik* (Leipzig ³1921–3), 703.

Cf. Callin. 1. 8–13 θάνατος δὲ τότ' ἔσσεται, ὁππότε κεν δὴ | Μοῖραι ἐπικλώσωσ'· ἀλλά τις ἰθὺς ἴτω ... | οὐ γάρ κως θάνατόν γε φυγεῖν εἱμαρμένον ἐστίν | ἄνδρ', οὐδ' εἰ προγόνων ἦι γένος ἀθανάτων.

8. 56–7 μέμασαν δὲ καὶ ὧς ὑσμῖνι μάχεσθαι
χρειοῖ ἀναγκαίηι, πρό τε παίδων καὶ πρὸ γυναικῶν.

Cf. Callin. 1. 6 f. τιμῆέν τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀγλαὸν ἀνδρὶ μάχεσθαι | γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχου.

8. 95 μή τίς τοι φεύγοντι μεταφρένωι ἐν δόρυ πήξηι.

Cf. Tyrt. 11. 17 f. ἀργαλέον γὰρ ὄπισθε μετάφρενόν ἐστι δαΐζειν | ἀνδρὸς φεύγοντος δηΐωι ἐν πολέμωι.

9. 318 ἴσηι μοῖρα μένοντι, καὶ εἰ μάλα τις πολεμίζοι.

Achilles is arguing that there is no point in his fighting because he gets no thanks or reward. A man who holds back gets the same lot as one who fights strenuously. The poet is adapting the protreptic argument that the same fate—death—awaits the man who avoids battle and the one who prosecutes it. The Callinus passage quoted above on *Il.* 6. 487–9 continues (1. 14 f.): πολλάκι δηϊοτῆτα φυγὼν καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων | ἔρχεται, ἐν δ' οἴκωι μοῖρα κίχεν θανάτου.

13. 95 αἰδώς, Ἀργεῖοι, κοῦροι νέοι.

The address to the νέοι is characteristic, not of epic narrative, but of paraenetic elegy: Callin. 1. 1 f. κόθ' ἅλικμον ἔξετε θυμόν, | ὦ νέοι; Tyrt. 10. 15 ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε, 11. 10 ὦ νέοι. Cf. D. Mülder (as n. 24), 150.

13. 279–86 τοῦ μὲν γάρ τε κακοῦ τρέπεται χρὼς ἄλλυδις ἄλλη,
οὐδέ οἱ ἀτρέμας ἧσθαι ἐρητύετ' ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός,
ἀλλὰ μετοκλάζει καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους πόδας ἵζει,
ἐν δέ τέ οἱ κραδίη μεγάλα στέρνοισι πατάσσει
κῆρας ὀϊομένωι, πάταγος δέ τε γίνετ' ὀδόντων·
τοῦ δ' ἀγαθοῦ οὔτ' ἄρ τρέπεται χρὼς οὔτέ τι λίην
ταρβεῖ, ἐπειδὰν πρῶτον ἐσίζηται λόχον ἀνδρῶν,
ἁρᾶται δὲ τάχιστα μιγήμεναι ἐν δαΐ λυγρῆι.

The passage comes in the dialogue between Idomeneus and Meriones in which, before plunging back into the fray, they extol their own and each other's courage and prowess in increasingly long-winded speeches. The technique of describing what happens to two contrasted types of man is strongly reminiscent of elegy; cf. Callin. 1. 14–21, Tyrt. 10. 1–10, 11. 11–14.



15. 494–8 ὃς δέ κεν ὑμέων
βλήμενος ἠὲ τυπεὶς θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπηι,
τεθνάτω· οὔ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένωι περὶ πάτρης
τεθνάμεν· ἀλλ' ἄλοχός τε σόη καὶ παῖδες ὀπίσσω,
καὶ οἶκος καὶ κλῆρος ἀκήρατος.

*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.* Let a man not fear death in battle: if it happens, it will be a seemly death, compensated for by the safety he has won for his family, house, and land. Cf. Tyrt. 10. 1 f. τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα | ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἦι πατρίδι μαρνάμενον, 12. 31–4.

15. 661–3 ὦ φίλοι, ἀνέρες ἔστε, καὶ αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῶι
ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ δὲ μνήσασθε ἕκαστος
παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων καὶ κτήσιος ἠδὲ τοκήων.

A reprise of sentiments already illustrated on previous passages.

17. 363–5 οὐδ' οἳ γὰρ ἀναιμωτεί γ' ἐμάχοντο,
παυρότεροι δὲ πολὺ φθίνυθον, μέμνηντο γὰρ αἰεί
ἀλλήλοις καθ' ὅμιλον ἀλεξέμεναι φόνον αἰπύν.

See on 5. 529–32 above.

22. 71–6 νέωι δέ τε πάντ' ἐπέοικεν
ἄρηϊ κταμένωι, δεδαϊγμένωι ὀξέϊ χαλκῶι,
κεῖσθαι· πάντα δὲ καλὰ θανόντί περ, ὅττι φανήηι·
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολιόν τε κάρηι πολιόν τε γένειον
αἰδῶι τ' αἰσχύνωσι κύνες κταμένοιο γέροντος,
τοῦτο δὴ οἰκτιστον πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.

This is the most famous example of parallelism with an elegiac text. It comes from Priam's appeal to Hector from the wall of Troy. The parallel passage is Tyrt. 10. 19–30:

τοὺς δὲ παλαιοτέρους, ὧν οὐκέτι γούνατ' ἐλαφρά,
μὴ καταλείποντες φεύγετε, τοὺς γεραιούς.
αἰσχρὸν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο, μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
κεῖσθαι πρόσθε νέων ἄνδρα παλαιότερον,
ἤδη λευκὸν ἔχοντα κάρηι πολιόν τε γένειον,
θυμὸν ἀποπνείοντ' ἄλκιμον ἐν κονίηι,
αἱματόεντ' αἰδοῖα φίλαις ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα—
αἰσχρὰ τά γ' ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νεμεσητὸν ἰδεῖν,

καὶ χρόα γυμνωθέντα· νέοισι δὲ πάντ' ἐπέοικεν,
ὄφρ' ἐρατὴς ἥβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχηι,
ἀνδράσι μὲν θηητὸς ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξίν
ζωὸς ἐών, καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών.

The *Iliad* poet has adapted, if not Tyrtaeus himself,[25] a closely similar, presumably elegiac protreptic.[26] Those who hold that Tyrtaeus was imitating the *Iliad* passage have failed to grasp the essential point that the argument was evidently conceived in the first place as an encouragement of young men to fight to the death (as in Tyrtaeus), not to avoid fighting by taking refuge behind city walls (as in Priam's speech). Cf. sch$^{bT}$ 71–3, *δοκεῖ τοῦτο προτρεπτικὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ θάνατον ἢ ἀποτρεπτικόν.*

Tyrtaeus contrasts the fine spectacle of the slain young warrior with the ugly and shameful vision of the old, white-haired, white-bearded one as he expires clutching his bleeding genitals. In the *Iliad* the antithesis breaks down: the fine young corpse (irrelevant to Priam's argument) is still juxtaposed with an old man with white hair and beard and lacerated genitals, but this old man is not a warrior fallen in the front line but Priam himself, who has not fought in the field and will not be wounded by a spear; his laceration has therefore to be attributed to savaging by dogs, not scavenging strays but his own house-dogs. It was for this that that grotesque and unconventional motif was introduced in 66 ff., *αὐτὸν δ' ἂν πύματόν με κύνες πρώτηισι θύρηισιν | ὠμησταὶ ἐρύουσιν κτλ.*

The verbal parallels between the two passages are so great that Tyrtaeus comes seriously into question as the source, though it would be surprising that his poetry became known so quickly in Ionia. On the other hand he is writing in a tradition of Ionian elegy, and it is quite conceivable that he took over material from Ionian elegists and repeated it with little change.

I will mention finally a case where a passage of the *Iliad* probably is the model for a seventh-century elegist, though not one of the first generation.[27]

[25] So Mülder (as n. 24), 157 f.; Von der Mühll (as n. 21), 333.
[26] Cauer (as n. 24), 650–2.
[27] It used to be supposed that *ἓν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χῖος ἔειπεν ἀνήρ κτλ.* (Simon. eleg. 19) was such a case, so long as it was possible to ascribe the fragment to Semonides of Amorgos. It no longer is.



4. 372–5 οὐ μὲν Τυδέι γ' ὧδε φίλον πτωσκαζέμεν ἦεν,
ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρὸ φίλων ἑτάρων δηΐοισι μάχεσθαι,
ὡς φάσαν οἵ μιν ἴδοντο πονεύμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἔγώ γε
ἤντησ' οὐδὲ ἴδον· περὶ δ' ἄλλων φασὶ γενέσθαι.

This comes from Agamemnon's rebuke to Diomedes in the Epipolesis; he contrasts him unfavourably with his father Tydeus. The parallel is Mimn. 14. 1–3 *οὐ μὲν δὴ κείνου γε μένος καὶ ἀγήνορα θυμόν | τοῖον ἐμέο προτέρων πεύθομαι, οἵ μιν ἴδον | Λυδῶν ἱππομάχων πυκινὰς κλονέοντα φάλαγγας.* Here too the present fighting spirit is contrasted unfavourably with that of a hero of the previous generation (his identity unfortunately not known to us), one whom the speaker did not himself see but has heard about from those who did. The possibility that this is an early echo of the *Iliad* gains colour from the fact that in lines 5 ff. Mimnermus continues: *τοῦ μὲν ἄρ' οὔ ποτε πάμπαν ἐμέμψατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη | δριμὺ μένος κραδίης, εὖθ' ὅ γ' ἀνὰ προμάχους | σεύαιθ' αἱματόεν<τος ἐν> ὑσμίνηι πολέμοιο.* The idea of Athena finding fault with a warrior is at home in the epic, and in the *Iliad* it is specifically Diomedes who receives her criticism: like Agamemnon, she contrasts him with Tydeus, 5. 800 *ἦ ὀλίγον οἱ παῖδα ἐοικότα γείνατο Τυδεύς κτλ.* It looks as if both passages may have been present to Mimnermus' mind. Add that his phrase *Λυδῶν . . . πυκινὰς κλονέοντα φάλαγγας* has its closest Homeric parallel in the same part of the *Iliad*, again in connection with Diomedes: 5. 93 *ὣς ὑπὸ Τυδείδηι πυκιναὶ κλονέοντο φάλαγγες | Τρώων.*

If we accept the inference that Mimnermus knew the *Iliad*, it becomes likely that his fr. 2. 1–4, *ἡμεῖς δ', οἷά τε φύλλα φύει πολυάνθεμος ὥρη | ἔαρος, . . . | τοῖς ἴκελοι πήχυιον ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄνθεσιν ἥβης | τερπόμεθα*, was directly inspired by *Il.* 6. 146–9, *οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν κτλ.*, which, be it noted, comes again in the same part of the poem, still within what Herodotus (2. 116. 3) calls the *Διομήδεος ἀριστείη*. Mimnermus, writing at Smyrna sometime in the last third of the seventh century, becomes perhaps the earliest literary witness to the *Iliad* (apart from the poet of the *Odyssey*, if he was earlier, which is an open question).[28] Next comes Alcaeus of Mytilene (frr. 44 and 395).

[28] On the chronology of Mimnermus cf. my *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin–New York 1974), 72–4; Archibald Allen, *The Fragments of Mimnermus* (Stuttgart 1993), 9–12.

## CONCLUSIONS

Those not yet accustomed to the idea of the Homeric epics as products of the seventh century should shake themselves down and come to terms with it. This means, among other things, ceasing to conceive the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as floating aloft in a space of their own, pre-dating the rest of Greek literature, irradiating it but untouched by it. The poet of the *Iliad* very probably knew Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days* as well as other theogonic poetry. We cannot tell whether he knew the particular elegists of whom a few excerpts have come down to us, but he certainly knew elegy of the type they practised.

# 19

# The Achaean Wall

Of the theses and arguments of earlier scholarship that Professor D. L. Page selects for fresh presentation in his delightful books on the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, perhaps the most sensational is that a whole episode of our *Iliad*, containing the building of fortifications round the Greek camp, was added after the time of Thucydides.[1] He anticipated that his discussion would be 'grievous to some', and resolved not to complain if there was any 'growling of old lions' (p. vi). Perhaps J. A. Davison, who growled in *GRBS* 6 (1965), 5 ff., counts as an old lion; perhaps I shall seem rather to be one of Plato's puppies, *χαίροντες τωι ἕλκειν τε καὶ σπαράττειν τῶι λόγωι τοὺς πλησίον ἀεί*. But it is difficult not to react like some sort of disturbed animal—one that beholds, as it might be, pursuing its majestic and inexorable course along the forest path, a steamroller that has mistaken its route.

By this image I intend to convey respect and alarm: respect for the gravity and strength of Page's scholarship, and alarm at the impartiality (as he calls it) with which he bends whatever he encounters to make his path. After quoting part of the passage (1.9–11) in which Thucydides makes some remarks about the conduct of the Trojan War, and drawing attention to the statement that the Greeks built fortifications round their encampment after an initial victory, Page invites us to consider two 'facts'. The first 'fact' is that 'in the Iliad the fortifications round the Greek camp take the full limelight for the first and last time in the Seventh Book, when they are actually built'. The incautious reader of this sentence might well suppose that

*CR* 19 (1969), 255–60. There the footnotes were numbered anew on each page.

[1] *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley 1959), 315 ff. To the discussions cited by him on p. 335 add at least G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 4th edn. (Oxford 1934), 295–7.

the fortifications in question, the wall and the trench, played no significant part in the rest of the *Iliad*; that their existence was suspiciously limited to a single episode of substance, and perhaps a few odd verses elsewhere. The truth is, of course, that once they have been built they are frequently mentioned again, in every book from the eighth to the eighteenth, as well as in the twentieth and twenty-fourth. As for their 'taking the limelight', we may recall that the manuscript title of *M* is τειχομαχία, and that is because the Trojan onslaught on the wall and its breaching by Sarpedon and Hector are its main subject. Plato can use the word as a sufficient form of reference to that episode (*Ion* 539b). As the long battle continues into *O*, the wall continues to play its part as a line of defence. To anyone with an ordinary understanding of epic technique, it will be plain that the building of the wall is subordinate: it is built in order to be fought over. They will be duly sceptical as Page continues: 'That is the one question which [256] everybody could answer about the wall: In what year was it built? *It was built in the tenth year*, during the course of the Iliad's story.' What of the long fight at the wall? Surely it would be remembered by many who forgot the merely preparatory episode of its erection. However, we shall see that speculation about what people might remember is not essential to the point at issue.

The second 'fact' is: 'Thucydides quotes the presence of the wall as proof of his statement *that the Greeks won a battle on arrival at Troy*.' Fair enough; but the odd use of the verb 'quote' is a hint of what is to follow. The statement is immediately converted into 'Thucydides goes out of his way to quote the Iliad as evidence that the wall was built at the beginning, in the first year, of the war'. That is not the case. Thucydides does not refer to the *Iliad* on this matter, let alone quote it; nor could he very handily, since the *Iliad* is not about the first year of the war, and mentions the events of that year only in a few very brief allusions.[2]

From his two 'facts' Page infers that Thucydides' *Iliad* lacked the building of the wall in *H*. He then passes on to two 'easily refutable

[2] On p. 319 Page suggests that if Thucydides did not know the passage in which the wall was built, he might have inferred that it was built at the beginning of the war from Ξ 30–2. It is not clear to me whether Page means that the lines actually imply such a version. At any rate, they do not; they are not a piece of narrative about the landing (as Page's translation seems designed to suggest), but a statement of the local relationship between the wall and the ships that are highest up the beach. (Rightly Leaf.) Cf. *N* 681 ff.



rejoinders'. One is that Thucydides might have forgotten about *H*. The 'easy refutation' consists of a sarcastic juxtaposition of the two 'facts': 'in an otherwise carefully considered argument, looking to the Iliad for proof of a point about the wall, he forgot the only passage in which the wall is the principal theme', etc. I repeat that someone thinking of the wall in the *Iliad* would not necessarily think first and foremost of *H*; and that we have no reason to suppose that Thucydides is thinking of the *Iliad* at all, since he is not concerned with what happened in the tenth year of the war. But this brings us to the second 'easily refutable rejoinder'. It is that Thucydides may be referring not to the *Iliad* but to some other branch of the epic tradition. Page's answer is that Thucydides has just been using information from the catalogue of ships in *B*, and continues to deal with its implications right up to the controversial passage: 'It would indeed be a desperate remedy, to plead that he might now suddenly switch over to some other source—a source flatly contradicted by the Iliad on the point at issue.' The term 'desperate', it seems to me, can more fittingly be applied to the plea that Thucydides must stick to the same source, although he is turning to a quite new point, and that if that source plainly does not contain the information in question, it must have been changed since.

If Thucydides had wanted epic evidence for the events of the beginning of the war, he would naturally have turned not to the *Iliad* but to the *Cypria*, a poem familiar to Herodotus, Euripides, and Plato, and in fact more widely known in the fifth and fourth centuries than ever before or after. There he would have found an account of the battle that the Greeks fought when they landed. If he cared to believe the testimony of a poet, he had no need to make inferences from fortifications in order to discover whether the Greeks won the first battle or not. Obviously he does not care to rely on the *Cypria*, and that is consistent with his general policy. He assumes a historical basis for the epic tradition of a Trojan War and a Mycenaean hegemony, but citations of [257] Homer's testimony are hedged about with expressions of reserve: ὡς Ὅμηρος τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν, εἴ τωι ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι (1. 9. 4); τῆι Ὁμήρου αὖ ποιήσει εἴ τι χρὴ κἀνταῦθα πιστεύειν, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμῆσαι (1. 10. 3). He prefers to make deductions from the most basic and generally agreed facts, and to cite Homer where possible for support. It was a basic fact that the Greeks established themselves in a camp on the shore of the Troad and maintained their position

there for ten years. To suppose that they did so in an unfortified camp, when they had to disperse their forces in search of supplies, would be contrary to common sense as well as to the ordinary practice of Thucydides' time. He therefore took the fortification for granted, and inferred the initial victory.

Page sees that Thucydides might have argued in this way (pp. 318 f.), but assumes that his reasoning would have been rudely checked by *H* in the form in which we know it. He would not have been free to suppose that the wall was built at the beginning of the war, and he 'could not possibly quote the Iliad in support' of that supposition. I repeat once more: he does not quote the *Iliad*, and may or may not have remembered that the Greeks were there represented as building their wall in the tenth year; if he did remember it, he would dismiss it as a military absurdity.

Our *Iliad* has no hint of a wall or trench from the first excursion of the armies in *B* (note especially *B* 464–5) to the middle of *H*; then it records the construction of a wall and trench; and then a wall and/or a trench appear in eleven consecutive books.[3] If Thucydides' *Iliad* contained the first and third of these elements without the second, it was a stranger poem than ours. Then there is another difficulty. In *I* 349–50 Achilles comments explicitly on the fact that Agamemnon has built a wall and trench since his own withdrawal from the fighting. Page is forced to admit that the lines are firmly embedded in their context (p. 338 n. 32); and he can only suggest that 'the Embassy here alludes to a traditional incident of which the Iliad at large took no notice but which the Athenian poet made the starting-point and principal theme of his substantial addition to the Iliad'. Let us just pause and consider Page's proposed sequence of composition:

1. We start with Homer's *Iliad*, in the latter parts of which the wall appears many times, but without any account of its building.
2. A different poet (pp. 304–13) composes the Embassy. He knows and alludes to a version of the wrath-story which contains the building of the wall at a similar stage in the narrative as in our *Iliad*; but he chooses to interpolate his composition into Homer's *Iliad*, which does not contain it. *H* and *Θ* were designed to assist the incorporation of the Embassy (p. 338 n. 32).

[3] Cf. E. Bethe, *Homer*, i (Leipzig–Berlin 1914), 120 f.



3. A long time after that (ibid.), another poet finally adds the building episode; and all the other references, in Homer and in the Embassy-poet, click into place.

A highly improbable sequence; and even if you care to believe it, you still have an *Iliad* in which, in Thucydides' time, the only clear reference to the building of the wall, *I* 349–50, puts that event in the tenth year of the war.

From Thucydides, Page turns to the structure of the *Iliad* itself, and finds an 'enormous fault' which is incompatible with the idea 'that the Iliad was I[258] planned, as a whole and in its major parts, by a great or even a competent artist'. At the end of the first day's fighting, in which the Greeks have had much the better of things (though 'an unbroken run of successes' is exaggerated), Nestor (*H* 343) proposes the construction of the wall and trench,

μή ποτ' ἐπιβρίσηι πόλεμος Τρώων ἀγερώχων.

Page's translation, 'to protect our army from being crushed by the attack of these proud Trojans', tendentiously suppresses the hypothetical note sounded by ποτε. This is not just a quibble. The normal purpose of proposal-speeches in Homer is not to portray realistically whatever mood might be expected to follow the events last described, but to prepare for future developments. The Greeks have had more success than we ever expected in view of Zeus' plan to depress them. That phase is now completed, and night has fallen. Nightfall brings debate, paving the way for the next day's action. From now on the Greeks will be pressed back and back until their ships are on the point of going up in flames. Homer decides that they need fortifications to prolong the battle. In order that they can be built, there must be a truce, and that is why Nestor and Priam are now made independently to propose an armistice in which the dead can be cremated.[4] It is to justify this proposal that Nestor makes the true observation, πολλοὶ γὰρ τεθνᾶσι κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί (*H* 328), and there is no incongruity in its coming after a day of successes.

I had better say that I do not in fact believe that *H* 323 ff. was what Homer originally planned as the sequel to the first day's fighting. Preparation for a Trojan recovery begins at *Z* 73. In the course of that book Hector says farewell to Andromache as if he were about to

[4] Cf. Bethe, 219 ad fin.

go out for the last great battle, beginning gloriously but ending in his death; and he fetches Paris back to the fight. Paris kills a man in *H* 8, but it is in *Λ* that he really fulfils a need, wounding with his arrows heroes whom Homer will not allow to be worsted by Hector in close combat.[5] So it seems that Homer, while writing *Z*,[6] has the events of *Λ* in mind as the immediate sequel. The abrupt nightfall in *H* 273 ff., which is not really needed to resolve the duel between Ajax and Hector (a divine rescuer is the usual answer when neither combatant can be killed), may be explained from the desire to let Agamemnon enjoy an arming scene before his *aristeia* (*Λ* 15 ff., cf. *K* 254 ff. (Diomedes, Odysseus), *N* 240 ff. (Idomeneus), *Π* 130 ff. (Patroclus), *T* 364 ff. (Achilles)). If *Λ* was composed next, that is why it contains no mention of the Greek fortifications except in the suspect passage 47–55.[7] The end of *Λ* sees the Greeks already in a parlous state, and Patroclus seems on the point of bringing Nestor's urgent and effective appeal to the ears of Achilles. When he reaches Achilles in *Π*, his report corresponds to the situation as it was in *Λ* (*Π* 23–7 = *Λ* 825–6, 659–62); he fails to mention the breach of the wall in *M* (which he certainly observed, *O* 395). [259] Achilles in his reply shows awareness of what has happened in *O* (*Π* 60–3), but apparently ignores the embassy in *I* (*Π* 72, 84–6; cf. Page, p. 308).

Having got so far, I believe, Homer decided to expand his story (*a*) by screwing up the crisis to a higher pitch, with a breach of fortifications and danger of fire at the ships, and (*b*) by transferring the embassy, which Achilles *anticipates* in *Λ* 609, and which would be impossible in the situation now to be described, before the *Λ* battle. This change of plan involved the building of fortifications (*H* 323–end) and a battle in which the Greeks are worsted sufficiently to motivate the embassy (*Θ*). The style of these parts is hurried, because they are not being composed for their own sake but

[5] Cf. W. Schadewaldt, *Iliasstudien* (Leipzig 1938), 12–13, 61 n. 2.

[6] Of course Homer was an 'oral poet', in the sense that he was practised in the techniques of oral poetry and accustomed to use them in public performance. But what we have got is not what he recited on any of those occasions but what he wrote down, or caused to be written down, over a period of (at the least) several months. It will have been a re-creation of the same type as would occur in an oral performance; but the absence of an audience meant that it was subject to no limit of length, and it grew in the writing to a length that no oral poem had ever had or sought.

[7] See Bethe, 131 f., 162; Schadewaldt, 39–42; G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge 1962), 219.



only as preparation; Homer is not very interested in their contents, though he is able to put some brilliant passages into them.[8]

Page has one final argument in support of his belief in a fourth-century interpolation. Nestor proposes burning the dead 'so that each man may carry the bones home to his children when we return to our native land'. With these lines, *H* 334–5, Page blandly closes his quotation, adding in a note that Aristarchus athetized them, but not revealing why. His argument proceeds: the lines describe a practice known only from Athens, and only there after 464 BCE. Otherwise 'it was uniform Hellenic custom to bury the fallen in a *polyandrion* on the battlefield'. The implication coincides strikingly with the conclusion drawn from Thucydides: the whole passage was composed and added to the *Iliad* in the fourth century.

Closing a quotation involves deciding to quote certain words and deciding not to quote the next words. In closing his quotation at *H* 335, Page must have decided that it was better not to quote 336, in which Nestor goes on to propose raising a common tumulus over the pyre. Can we understand him to mean, 'after burning the bodies, let us gather the bones in urns for transportation home, and raise a cenotaph over the residue of wood-ash'? Something of the kind is done in *Ψ* 252 ff., for the special reason that Patroclus' remains are to be kept for final interment with those of Achilles, but there the procedure is clearly explained. Here Nestor simply speaks of raising one tumulus over the pyre, and that is all that is said in 435 when the thing is done. The only natural interpretation is that they buried the remains in a *polyandrion* on the battlefield, following that 'uniform Hellenic custom' with which, in Page's submission, the passage is so strikingly at variance. The text, then, puts two mutually incompatible proposals in Nestor's mouth, and the contradiction is actually one of the grounds recorded for the ancient athetesis.[9] Of the alternative proposals, it is the second that is carried out in the event; and the second is in both passages inseparably linked with the building of

[8] Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916), 58 f., and Bethe, 104 ff., recognize their function as a bridge allowing the introduction of *I*; but they regard *I* and *K* as independent lays by other poets, and Wilamowitz regards the bridge as the work of a post-Homeric poet who wanted to bring them into Homer's *Iliad*. I believe it is all Homer's work except *K*.

[9] The other is that 'let us burn the bodies' represents the ordinary custom of cremating the dead, and should not be followed by 'so that we can take the bones home' (sch. A ad loc., cf. ad *Δ* 174, *Σ* 334). There is force in the argument. If Nestor is proposing a novel end, he ought not to mention only the ordinary means.

the wall, while the first occupies two self-contained lines which could be removed without leaving a scar. 334–5 is an interpolation; it may indeed be a fourth-century interpolation. A two-line interpolation of that date is no surprise. Interpolation of [260] a whole episode would be contrary to all we believe we know about the history of the Homeric text.

Page is fully aware that this last difficulty will trouble readers less unprejudiced than himself, and his approach to it is characteristic: steamroller it. 'It is vain to assert that nobody any longer composed this sort of thing in the 4th century B.C.; and that, if anybody did, such a composition could not have become part of the standard text. Such assertions have no foundation in reason. They have no value as intuitively apprehended axioms; and there is no factual evidence to support them' (pp. 323 f.). Such assertions have a quite adequate foundation in reason. First, the Alexandrian editors had at their disposal texts not only from Athens but from Argos, Chios, Marseilles, Sinope, Cyprus, and Crete, and no doubt other places; they also had one owned and marked by Antimachus. None of these copies need have been older than 400 BCE, but it is likely that at least some had non-Athenian antecedents from before that date. The manuscript tradition must have broadened out considerably in the latter part of the fifth century. So it is hardly likely that a fourth-century Athenian interpolation could have got into all the Museum copies, or, on the other hand, that the absence of a whole episode from any of them would have gone unremarked. At Athens itself the recitation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* at the Panathenaea was a long-established institution, and there was presumably an official copy. A fourth-century interpolation that within a hundred years dominated the whole Athenian tradition, let alone the national tradition, is difficult to believe in. Secondly, if poets capable of writing such fair imitations of Homeric epic existed in fourth-century Athens, it is strange that they produced no poems of their own, and successfully hid their names from ancient and modern curiosity. Strange, too, that their free attitude to the Homeric text should coexist with the piety of Plato's Ion and of the Homeridae and other rhapsodes who counted it their duty and privilege to recite Homer and interpret him and honour his memory.

The lion growls, the puppy yelps and snaps; the steamroller passes. And lo, the bent branches spring up again, the ferns and grasses raise their bullied heads. Pitch nature out with a fork, or batter her with rhetoric: the end result is the same.



## ADDENDA (1969)

It is by no means certain that the interpolation *H* 334–5 must be dated after 464 BCE; see Gomme on Thuc. 2. 34. 1.

Page's discussion of the wall has now been criticized also by O. Tsagarakis in *Hermes* 97 (1969), 129 ff. His approach differs from mine.

# 20

# *Iliad* and *Aethiopis*

An influential doctrine holds that major portions of the *Iliad* were formed on the model of an epic that related the death of Achilles much as it was related in the Cyclic *Aethiopis*. I shall argue that there is much good in the theory, but that it requires a significant modification. Important conclusions will follow about the genesis of the *Iliad*, its status as an instant and authoritative classic, and the situation of epic poetry in the late seventh century.

## THE CONTENTS OF THE *AETHIOPIS*

Before embarking on the argument it will be convenient to have in view Proclus' synopsis of the *Aethiopis*' contents, preserved before the text of the *Iliad* in the tenth-century manuscript known as Venetus A. I give it here in translation, with additions and amplifications (in square brackets) from the parallel account in the Apollodorus epitome (5. 1 + 3–6), whose past tenses I have altered to presents for consistency, and with some supplementary notes. The poem was divided into five books, and its length may therefore be estimated at some 2500 or 3000 lines. It was attributed to Arctinus of Miletus.

The Amazon Penthesilea arrives to fight with the Trojans, a daughter of the War-god, of Thracian stock. [She has involuntarily killed Hippolyte, and is purified by Priam. When a battle is fought she kills large numbers, including

*CQ* 53 (2003), 1–14.



Machaon.] She dominates the battlefield, but Achilles kills her and the Trojans bury her. And Achilles kills Thersites after being abused by him and insulted over his alleged love for Penthesilea. This results in a dispute among the Achaeans about the killing of Thersites. Achilles then sails to Lesbos, and after sacrificing to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, he is purified from the killing by Odysseus.

Memnon, the son of [Tithonus and] Eos, wearing a panoply made by Hephaestus [and accompanied by a large force of Aethiopians], arrives to assist the Trojans. Thetis prophesies to her son about the encounter with Memnon.[a] When battle is joined, Antilochus is killed by Memnon,[b] but then Achilles kills Memnon. And Eos confers immortality upon him after prevailing on Zeus.[c]

Achilles puts the Trojans to flight and chases them into the city, but is killed by Paris and Apollo. [At the Scaean Gates he is shot by Alexander and Apollo in the ankle.] A fierce battle develops over his body, in which Ajax [kills Glaucus. He hands over Achilles' armour to be taken to the ships; as for the body, he] takes it up and carries it towards the ships, with Odysseus fighting the Trojans off.[d]

Then they bury Antilochus, and lay out the body of Achilles. Thetis comes with the Muses and her sisters, and laments her son.[e] And presently Thetis snatches her son from the pyre and conveys him to the White Island. When the Achaeans have raised the grave-mound, they organize an athletic contest, [in which Eumelus wins in the chariot-race, Diomedes in the sprint, Ajax in the discus, Teucer in the archery. They offer Achilles' armour as the prize for the outstanding hero.] And a quarrel arises between Odysseus and Ajax over the arms of Achilles.[f]

(a) This is understood to mean that she warned Achilles that if he fought Memnon, he would kill him, but be killed himself directly afterwards. Cf. *Il.* 18. 96.

(b) The circumstances are assumed to be as related by Pindar, *Pyth.* 6. 28–42. One of the horses drawing Nestor's chariot was hit by an arrow shot by Paris, preventing Nestor's escape from the onset of Memnon. He shouted to his son Antilochus for help, and Antilochus came and fought Memnon, losing his own life but saving his father's. It is further conjectured that Achilles had [2] been avoiding Memnon because of his mother's warning, but that now, incensed by the death of his young friend Antilochus, he joined battle with him. Antilochus' death at Memnon's hands is recalled in *Od.* 3. 112, 4. 187 f.; cf. *Od.* 24. 78 for his place in Achilles' affections and 11. 522 for Memnon.

(c) The evidence of vase paintings and of the (pseudo-)Aeschylean *Psychostasia*[1] makes it practically certain that the *Aethiopis* contained a scene similar to *Il.* 22. 209–13, in which the mortal destinies (κῆρες) of Achilles and Memnon were weighed against each other in Zeus' golden scales.

(d) For the famous battle for Achilles' body cf. *Od.* 24. 37–42; Aristonicus on *Il.* 17. 719. In the *Little Iliad* (fr. 2) Achilles' arms were awarded to Odysseus in preference to Ajax on the basis of their relative contributions to the recovery of the corpse, as assessed by Trojan girl spectators.

(e) The arrival of the Nereids and the lament of the Muses are described in the account of Achilles' obsequies in *Od.* 24. 43–92; cf. Pind. *Isth.* 8. 57–60. So are the raising of the tumulus and the funeral games; not, however, the translation to Leuke, for in both of the *Odyssey*'s underworld scenes Achilles is in Hades with the other Achaean heroes. It is reflected in Pind. *Ol.* 2. 79–83 and *Nem.* 4. 49.

(f) The quarrel over the arms is also recalled in the *Odyssey*, 11. 544–60. According to sch. Pind. *Isth.* 4. 58b, the *Aethiopis* included Ajax's suicide. Proclus' summary omits it to avoid an overlap with the *Little Iliad.*

## PRECURSORS OF THE NEOANALYSTS

More than 150 years ago Friedrich Gottlob Welcker in his pioneering work on the Epic Cycle observed some of the parallelisms between the *Aethiopis* and the *Iliad.* In accord with prevailing assumptions inherited from Aristarchus, he took it as axiomatic that the *Iliad* came first and that all similarities in the Cyclic poems were the result of imitation. Thus he sees the weighing of Achilles' and Memnon's destinies in the *Aethiopis* as repeated from that of Achilles' and Hector's destinies in *Iliad* 22, and the posthumous transportation of Memnon's body to the east by his mother Eos as an imitation of the translation of Sarpedon's body to Lycia by Sleep and Death in *Iliad* 16. The battle for Achilles' body and its rescue by Ajax and Odysseus was an imitation of the battle for Patroclus' body in *Iliad* 17.[2]

[1] See West (2000), esp. 345 f. [Full references are listed at the end of this chapter.]
[2] Welcker (1849), 189, 191.



Welcker notes that while 'Homer' shows signs of acquaintance with some elements of the saga that found full expression in the Cyclic poem, he appears ignorant of others:[3] he looks ahead to Achilles' death, but when Thetis states that this will follow directly after Hector's death (*Il.* 18. 96), and when Zeus in *Il.* 15. 69–71 gives the impression that once Hector is dead there will be nothing to stand in the Achaeans' way and stop them taking Ilion, Welcker inclines to infer that these events were not, in the poet's mind, to be delayed by the arrival of Amazon and Aethiop armies and the renewed battles that ensued. Achilles' posthumous translation to Leuke, likewise, he recognizes to be a post-Iliadic idea, perhaps the invention of Arctinus himself.[4]

Until and beyond the end of the nineteenth century, scholars who perceived what seemed significant links between the two epics either took the *Iliad* to be primary[5] or, in cases where the converse relationship seemed more probable, were able to accommodate this in their theories of the *Iliad*'s composition: the passages in question came in what they regarded as late additions to the poem. Thus Wilamowitz and others, believing *Iliad* 8 to be 'late', were ready to allow that the episode in which one of Nestor's horses is wounded and he has to be rescued from Hector (8. 80 ff.) was derived from the similar scene reconstructed for the *Aethiopis*, where he was saved by Antilochus.[6] Elard Meyer saw that the Nereids' appearance with Thetis at *Il.* 18. 35–69 was a reflection of their lamentation for Achilles, but he considered the scene to be the addition of a *Bearbeiter.*[7] Carl Robert thought it very possible that the Thersites episode in *Iliad* 2 was later than the story of his death at Achilles' hands (*Aethiopis*), but in any case it 'gehört zu den jüngeren Zuthaten'.[8] He also regarded as a late addition the funeral games for Patroclus, in which Antilochus' closeness to Achilles (23. 556) seemed to him to presuppose the *Aethiopis.*[9]

[3] Ibid. 200, 'die Poesie des Arktinos enthielt, außer der vollen Ausfuhrung von vielen Bestandtheilen der Sage die bei Homer schon durchblicken, nicht wenige Thatsachen und Personen die wir bei diesem gar nicht berührt finden.'
[4] Ibid. 220–2.
[5] See references in Schadewaldt (1951), 406 f. (n. 4).
[6] Wilamowitz (1884), 372, cf. (1916), 45 f.; Robert (1901), 164 f.; Bethe (1914), 100, 110 f., 231.
[7] Elard Hugo Meyer, *Indogermanische Mythen*, ii: *Achilleis* (Berlin 1887), 108.
[8] Robert (1901), 470, cf. 566.
[9] Ibid. 570.

In fact there were quite a number of cases where, on an unprejudiced assessment, the *Aethiopis* appeared to have had the primary version and the *Iliad* the secondary. There was no obvious instance of the converse. In 1906 Otto Gruppe drew the consequence:

> Der Sagenstoff der *Aithiopis* ist dem Dichter der *Odyssee* und sehr wahrscheinlich auch dem der *Ilias* bekannt. Man nimmt allerdings gewöhnlich an, dass die zahlreichen übereinstimmenden Züge . . . in der *Ilias* ursprünglich seien; genauere Prüfung wird uns jedoch überzeugen, dass vielmehr der Dichter der *Ilias* der Nachahmer gewesen sei, und zwar geht die Uebereinstimmung so weit, dass er und der Verfasser der *Odyssee* wahrscheinlich nicht bloss den Stoff der *Aithiopis*, sondern auch schon dessen Formulierung, d.h. sehr wahrscheinlich die *Aithiopis* selbst kannten.[10]

This distinction between the subject-matter of the *Aethiopis* and its instantiation in the text known to classical readers is of course a necessary one, and subsequent scholars have generally been scrupulous in drawing it. Few of them have been as decisive as Gruppe in claiming that the *Aethiopis* itself preceded the *Iliad*. The usual thesis is that the *Iliad* poet knew a poem with similar contents (but perhaps lacking the Amazon episode).

Dietrich Mülder broke new ground in taking an essentially unitarian view of the *Iliad* while finding in it reflexes of various hypothetical older poems, not all of them connected with the Trojan War. As one *Grundschicht* of the epic he postulated an '*Achilleis*' which included the death of Achilles.[11] A later poet shortened the focus so that the death of Hector became the climactic event, the Achilles material being then distributed between Achilles and the new figure of Patroclus.[12] The account of Patroclus' death, the battle for his body, and his funeral were all modelled on those of Achilles.[13] The Nereid scene with Thetis' lament in *Iliad* 18 was based on a lament for Achilles, either when he died or (more probably) when he first set out from Phthia.[14]

Löwy assumed a 'Memnonlied' whose account of Achilles' death was the model for Patroclus' death in the *Iliad* and the source of the weighing of destinies motif; [14] Memnon himself was the model for Sarpedon. On the other hand, the main framework of the *Iliad* must

[10] Gruppe (1906), 680, cf. 681 n. 6, 682 nn. 1 and 5, 683 n. 2.
[11] Mülder (1910), 78–81, 319. [12] Ibid. 160, 168–70.
[13] Ibid. 181–91, 266, 270. [14] Ibid. 193, 197.



have existed beforehand, otherwise the Memnon poet would not have been forced to concentrate on Achilles' demise. He brought his opponent from so far away only because Troy's natural defenders had already been used up. It was anomalous for Achilles and Memnon both to be wearing armour made by Hephaestus, and Achilles' was evidently primary. The use of Antilochus' death as a mechanism for bringing Achilles into the battle was in Löwy's opinion more naturally taken as an imitation of the Patroclus episode than vice versa. So the *Iliad*'s narrative and that of the Memnon poem each showed the influence of the other: a good example of 'epische Schichtung'.[15]

## THE NEOANALYSTS

It was above all Schadewaldt's *Iliasstudien* of 1938 that established the superiority of unitarianism over the old type of analysis which strained to detect multiple layers of composition in the Homeric poems and the contributions of different poets and redactors. Analytic intelligence was still to be applied, but focused on the poet's aims and procedures and on the links binding the various parts of the poem together. If we are all unitarians now, it is due not least to Schadewaldt.

This power-shift in the republic of Homeric studies favoured the growth of what was and is called Neoanalysis, a kind of analysis for unitarians, where the object of inquiry was the prior context of narrative motifs that the poet could be argued to have taken over from earlier compositions. The pioneers of the movement were a Greek and a Swiss scholar, J. Th. Kakridis and Heinrich Pestalozzi.[16] Their essential ideas, so far as they concern the *Iliad*'s relationship to the *Aethiopis*, had been anticipated by Gruppe, Mülder, and others, but in the new unitarian climate their approach was seen to supplement the prevailing critical dialectic in an illuminating way, and it found a receptive audience at least in Germany. It was taken up and developed by Alfred Heubeck and especially by Schadewaldt, and

[15] Löwy (1914), esp. 88–90.
[16] J. Th. Kakridis, "Ἡ σκηνὴ τῶν Νηρηίδων εἰς τὸ Σ τῆς Ἰλιάδος", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 42 (1930), 66–78; id. (1944/1949); Pestalozzi (1945).

given its definitive expression in 1960 in a major work by Wolfgang Kullmann.[17]

Since then there has been little further extension of Neoanalytic reasoning, but the conclusions already reached, with a fair degree of consensus among the scholars involved, have continued to carry conviction with many students. In this country, it is true, they received short shrift from D. L. Page, who found them disagreeable to his own assumptions,[18] and they are of course left aside by such writers as are interested only in the qualities of the *Iliad* as it is and not in how it came to be so, as if the latter were not I[5] essential to the understanding of the former, a thing's nature (*natura*, *φύσις*) being inseparable from the sources and manner of its growth. Three British scholars who have accepted Neoanalytic thinking with decisiveness are Malcolm Willcock, Richard Janko, and Ken Dowden.[19] In Germany Kullmann has continued to explain and defend his position with clarity and eloquence.[20]

I may be excused a more detailed review of Neoanalyst writings and arguments, as there exist a number of excellent surveys of the subject to which the reader may be referred.[21] What concerns us here is the major thesis that may be formulated as follows:

> The poet of the *Iliad* knew, if not the *Aethiopis* itself, a poem that related in very similar terms the arrival of Memnon at Troy, his success on the battlefield, his killing of Antilochus as he tried to save his father Nestor, the mobilization of Achilles despite his mother's warnings, the weighing of

[17] Heubeck (1950); Schadewaldt (1951); Kullmann (1960). Two other important works of that era that are at least partly Neoanalytic in tendency are Howald (1946) and Reinhardt (1961).

[18] See his reviews of Kullmann (1960) and Schoeck (1961) in *CR* 11 (1961), 205–9; 13 (1963), 21–4.

[19] M. M. Willcock, 'The Funeral Games for Patroclus', *BICS* 20 (1973), 1–11; 'Antilochos in the Iliad', *Mélanges Édouard Delebecque* (Aix-en-Provence 1983), 479–85; id. (1997), 174–89; Janko (1992), 312–14; Dowden (1996).

[20] 'Zur Methode der Neoanalyse in der Homerforschung', *Wien. St.* 15 (1981), 5–42; 'Oral Poetry Theory and Neoanalysis in Homeric Research', *GRBS* 25 (1984), 307–23, repr. in I. J. F. de Jong (ed.), *Homer: Critical Assessments* (London–New York 1999), i. 145–60; 'Ergebnisse der motivgeschichtlichen Forschung zu Homer (Neoanalyse)', in J. Latacz (ed.), *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung* (*Colloquia Raurica* 2, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1991), 425–55; these all reprinted in his *Homerische Motive* (Stuttgart 1992).

[21] Lesky (1967), 759–63 (=73–7 of the Sonderausgabe); Heubeck (1974), 40–8; Kullmann (as n. 20); M. E. Clark, 'Neoanalysis: A Bibliographical Review', *CW* 79 (1986), 379–94; Willcock (1997).



> the two heroes' destinies, the defeat of Memnon, Achilles' assault on Troy, his death at the Scaean Gates, the battle for his body, the lamentations for him involving the Nereids and Muses, his funeral, and the funeral games held in his honour.

This *Memnonis* (as some scholars have labelled it) served as a model for much of the last third of the *Iliad*. Patroclus' aristeia was based on that of Achilles in the *Memnonis*, Memnon's role as exotic ally of the Trojans being taken by the Lycian Sarpedon. Sarpedon's posthumous transportation to his homeland by Sleep and Death is a reflex of Memnon's translation to an immortal life. When Patroclus charges on towards Troy in contravention of Achilles' injunctions, and is killed at the Scaean Gates by Hector and Euphorbus with assistance from Apollo, this is adapted from the death of Achilles, who was killed at the Scaean Gates by Paris with the assistance of Apollo.[22] The story of Achilles' death is likewise the source of the long battle for Patroclus' body in *Iliad* 17, and of the Nereid scene at the beginning of 18. Patroclus also corresponds to Antilochus in the *Memnonis*, taking his place as the great friend of Achilles whose death motivates him to return to the field and take vengeance on the enemy who killed him. Hector takes the place of Memnon. The elaborate funeral and funeral games for Patroclus—grander than his true status warrants—are again modelled on those for Achilles in the other poem.

## THE FLAW IN THE *MEMNONIS* THEORY

Certainly, the extensive parallelism between *Iliad* 16–23 and the *Aethiopis* cannot be fortuitous, and it is not to be explained away as the consequence of two poets drawing independently on stock motifs.[23] There is an intimate relationship between the two I[6] narrative sequences. Surely one must have been modelled on the other. And once one has set aside the prejudice that Cyclic material must be secondary, there can be no serious doubt that the Achilles story was primary and served as the matrix for the narrative about Patroclus in the *Iliad*.

[22] H. Mühlestein, 'Euphorbos und der Tod des Patroklos', *SMEA* 15 (1972), 79–90=his *Homerische Namenstudien* (Frankfurt 1987), 78–89, has argued that Euphorbus ('Good Herdsman') was an invented figure based on Paris. This is accepted by Janko (1992), 414 f.; cf. Dowden (1996), 54 n. 38.

[23] The line taken by Fenik (1968), 239 f.

The death of Achilles, after all, was a theme very much on the *Iliad* poet's mind. He is constantly looking forward to it, and indeed creates the expectation that it will occur before the end of the poem.[24] He had presumably told the story himself. When he told it, he no doubt treated it in much the same fashion as is reconstructed for the putative *Memnonis*. Willcock has observed that the reflection of Achilles' death in that of Patroclus 'surely derives from the fact that Homer himself, the composer of the *Iliad*, had on other occasions sung of the death of Achilles in the Skaean gate, the recovery of his body, and the arrival of Thetis and the Nereids to mourn. There is no need to hypothesize an external source.'[25]

At this point it may seem that I am endorsing the *Memnonis* theory, with the elegant but minor simplification that the *Memnonis* was part of the *Iliad* poet's own repertoire, or if you like his own composition. But another, rather more important simplification is necessary.

The problem with the *Memnonis* theory is, in a word, Memnon. The *Iliad* contains not the slightest hint that the story of Achilles will involve such a person, or that such a person exists. This shining fact has not escaped notice (Reinhardt (1961), 350), and some of the Neoanalysts have tried to deal with it. Pestalozzi says it is quite understandable because the *Iliad* normally does not reach outside its own frame, except for Achilles' death and the fall of Troy[26]—a ruinous exception, if Achilles' death is so closely connected with Memnon. The reader of Kullmann's *Die Quellen der Ilias* will be left in no doubt of the extent to which the *Iliad* does take note both of anterior and of subsequent events in the Troy saga. For Schoeck the 'Merkwürdigkeit' of Memnon's absence is explained by the consideration that from the Iliadic heroes' point of view he does not

[24] Wilamowitz thought that in the genuine *Iliad* of Homer, which lacked the funeral games and the ransoming of Hector, the fighting resumed after Patroclus' obsequies and the poem ended soon afterwards with Achilles' death (1916, 77–9, 513).

[25] [Willcock's footnote:] 'When Homer sang, on other occasions, of the death of Achilles, he doubtless included the lavish funeral of the hero and magnificent funeral games . . . *Iliad* 23 no doubt carries the resonance from that other song, for, as with the Nereids, Patroclus does not, in heroic terms, rate the honors paid to him: Heubeck [1950], 465–6.'—Willcock (1997), 188. Cf. also M. W. Edwards in the Cambridge *Iliad* commentary, Vol. V: *Books 17–20* (Cambridge, 1991), 17–19.

[26] Pestalozzi (1945), 8, cf. 41.



exist because he has not yet come to Troy.[27] But why has the poet not brought him to Troy, if he is to play such a major role in the story before Achilles' death? The Lycian contingent is there from the beginning: why not the Aethiopians?

But this Aethiop army is something that the *Iliad* poet not only does not mention, but cannot have imagined. For him the Aithiopes are a virtuous people who live at the ends of the earth, by Oceanus (1. 423; 23. 205–7). The gods go from time to time to feast with them. Clearly they lie outside the community of nations and have no dealings with other men. The idea that a troop of them should turn up for the closing phases of the Trojan War is, on the *Iliad*'s terms, as fantastic as would be the arrival of a legion of Phaeacians or Hyperboreans.[28]

The conclusion is plain and unavoidable. The *Iliad* poet knew the story of Achilles' death at the Scaean Gates, and the events that followed it in the *Aethiopis*, but he did not know the Memnon episode that preceded it in the Cyclic epic.

## THE SOLUTION

What, then, in his version, were the circumstances in which Achilles made his last assault on Troy? He gives us a strong clue at 18. 95 f., when he makes Thetis say, on hearing her son state his resolve to make Hector pay for Patroclus' death,

> ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι, οἳ ἀγορεύεις·
> αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἕκτορα πότμος ἑτοῖμος.

Achilles is to die 'straight after Hector'. Whatever the poet has in mind at this point, it is not that after killing Hector Achilles will

[27] Schoeck (1961), 22. I suppose this is what Dowden (1996), 58, means when he writes 'Memnon, naturally, does not appear in the *Iliad*'.

[28] Penthesilea's monstrous regiment is not quite so out of this world, as the *Iliad* knows of Amazons in central Anatolia (3. 189); but they were the foes of Priam's Phrygian allies, and it is not apparent why they should have wanted to assist the Trojans. Normally they are aggressors wherever they go. The capering Myrina of *Il.* 2. 814 (Kullmann (1960), 303) has nothing to do with Penthesilea's expedition: she was dead and buried before it appeared on the horizon. She was later identified as an Amazon, but necessarily from an earlier generation; some made her the wife of Dardanus (Eust. 351. 21).

return to the ships, spend the next two days on Patroclus' funeral and funeral games, sit through an eleven-day truce, then take up arms against the Amazons, kill Penthesilea and Thersites, sail off to Lesbos for purification, return to Troy, and fight and defeat Memnon, before at last falling to Paris' arrow.[29]

The Neoanalysts explain the lines as the mechanical adaptation of a similar prophecy in the *Memnonis*, that Achilles would die 'straight after Memnon'.[30] Something of the sort no doubt lies behind the sentence in Proclus' summary of the *Aethiopis*, *καὶ Θέτις τῷ παιδὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Μέμνονα προλέγει*.[31] But we have seen that the *Iliad* poet did not know the Memnon story; and even on the assumption that he did, it would make no sense for him to have Thetis prophesying Achilles' death *αὐτίκα μεθ' Ἕκτορα*.

In the *Iliad* as the poet finally left it Achilles does not die 'straight after Hector'. His death has been put off to an unspecified date, still (we imagine) in the near future. But the prophecy in 18. 96 must reflect an earlier conception of the narrative plan—very likely a version that the poet had actually sung—in which Achilles after killing Hector did just what Patroclus does after killing Sarpedon: forgot the advice he had been given and went on pursuing the enemy to the gates of Troy.[32]

A curious feature of the poet's organization of the battle in 21–2 has not been sufficiently remarked. At the end of the Theomachy, while the other gods return to Olympus, Apollo goes in to Troy to defend its walls from the danger of imminent capture (21. 515–20); it is as if he were being put in position to help Paris kill Achilles.[33] Priam, seeing his cohorts in rout before Achilles, orders the gates to be opened so that they can take refuge in the city. Apollo contrives that all the Trojans get safely in, except for Hector, and that Achilles too is kept outside. So the stage is cleared for Achilles' pursuit of Hector round the walls; the Achaeans will be watching from the stalls, the Trojans from the balcony, and the gods from the gods.

This disposition, with the army fleeing before their champion is overthrown, is already anticipated at 21. 224–6 and 294–7. But it

[29] This has often been noted: Welcker (1849), 200; Robert (1881), 114; Reinhardt (1961), 350; Hölscher (1966), 114 f.

[30] Pestalozzi (1945), 9; Schadewaldt (1951), 167, 192 f.; Kullmann (1960), 38, 311.

[31] Welcker (1849), 173.

[32] This was seen by Schwartz (1918), 27 f.



reverses the usual sequence. Elsewhere the champion is killed first, and then his followers, seeing that he has fallen, lose heart and turn to flight.[33]

What would have happened if the *Iliad* poet had followed this standard pattern in the case before us? An ineluctable chain of events would have been set in motion. With the battle raging around him, there could be no question of Achilles' going back to the ships after killing Hector. The Trojans would have turned to flight, and Achilles must have led the Achaeans in hot pursuit, right to the gates of Troy. Then verily the Danaans would have taken the city *ὑπὲρ μόρον* on that very day,[34] had not Apollo quickly spoken to Paris . . .

That was surely what happened in the *Iliad* the poet had previously sung; that was still what he had in mind when he made Thetis predict Achilles' death *αὐτίκα μεθ' Ἕκτορα*. Achilles fell shortly after killing Hector. There followed the long battle for his body that in our poem has been transposed to become the battle for Patroclus' body; the lamentation by Thetis and the Nereids that in our poem has been transposed to make a lament for Patroclus; the magnificent funeral and funeral games that in our poem have become Patroclus'.

The influence of the earlier version may be seen in 22. 376 ff. After stripping Hector's corpse, Achilles exhorts the Achaeans to join him in attacking the city and to find out whether the Trojans will continue to resist. At 385 he suddenly changes his mind, remembering that Patroclus still lies unburied at the ships. The battle is abandoned for the day, and there is no more of it in the poem.[35]

[33] Cf. 5. 27–9/37; 11. 744–6; 16. 290–2; 21. 206–8; *Od.* 9. 58–61; Proclus, *Cypria* arg. 10, *ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτοὺς τρέπεται ἀνελὼν Κύκνον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος*, with the parallel account in Apollod. epit. 3. 31, *ἐκβαίνει μετὰ Μυρμιδόνων Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ λίθον <βα>λὼν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν Κύκνου κτείνει· ὡς δὲ τοῦτον νεκρὸν εἶδον οἱ βάρβαροι, φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν*; Proclus, *Aethiopis* arg. 2–3, *ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεὺς Μέμνονα κτείνει . . . τρεψάμενος δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεισπεσὼν κτλ.*; Fenik (1968), 13.

[34] Cf. 16. 698; 20. 29 f.; 21. 517.

[35] Cf. Schwartz (1918), 28, who takes the change of plan to betoken a change of poet: 'wenn irgendwo, so ist es hier deutlich, daß ein anderer Dichter das Wort ergreift'; Howald (1946), 139 f.; Schadewaldt (1951), 168 f.; Reinhardt (1961), 362, 376; Lesky (1967), 761 = 75.

## A NEW PROBLEM

The composition and elaboration of the *Iliad* is likely to have occupied its author for much of his life.[36] Naturally there were some changes of plan along the way. The major change here identified gave the epic the glowing final chapter that it now has, the Ransoming of Hector. Achilles' mortality still hangs over the poem, but his death is deferred to some point beyond it.

However, this creates a difficulty. Suppose, having heard the *Iliad* to the end, we entreat the poet to tell us tomorrow how Achilles did die. He has provided for the resumption of the fighting on the day after Hector's funeral (24. 667–70, 779–81). |[9] When the fighting resumes, he will have to devise a new sequence of events to bring Achilles storming at the Scaean Gates. No problem, one might say. With Hector dead the Achaeans will have a clear run across the plain. But an epic song calls for more than that. There must be serious resistance first—another champion to carry all before him for a while, to hold back the Achaean tide; only when he is overcome will it be able to burst forward and once again reach Troy. But who could this champion be? The best remaining warrior on the Trojan side is Aeneas. But he is earmarked to survive the fall of the city to perpetuate its kingship (*Il.* 20. 300–8). For this very reason he has been advised by Poseidon to avoid facing Achilles and to fight in the front line only after Achilles is dead (20. 332–9).

Our poet, then, having shaped the *Iliad* as he has, will find himself in an embarrassing position when it comes to composing a song about the death of Achilles while maintaining consistency with his *magnum opus*. He has painted himself into a corner.

A younger poet found a solution, but it involved breaching the integrity of the given scenario by bringing in an entirely new hero to fill the gap left by Hector: Memnon. We observe in the late seventh century a sudden fashion for filling out and prolonging the tale of Troy's defeat by having new heroes and armies arrive unheralded from foreign parts to fight on behalf of that home of lost causes. Inevitably they all failed.[37] We can list four of them:

[36] So Dowden (1996), 48.

[37] On their similarities cf. B. Fenik, *Iliad X and the Rhesos* (Brussels–Berchem 1964), 28–40; id. (1968), 149 f.



1. Rhesus and his Thracians (*Il.* 10, interpolated).[38]
2. Penthesilea and her Amazons (*Aethiopis*).
3. Memnon and his Aethiopians (*Aethiopis*).
4. Eurypylus the son of Telephus and his Mysians (*Little Iliad*).

The Achaeans for their part receive new blood after Achilles' death in the form of his son Neoptolemus, who is as unknown as the rest to the *Iliad* poet;[39] it was he who vanquished Eurypylus in the *Little Iliad*, and he had a full part in the *Iliou Persis* and *Nostoi*.

Memnon was a newcomer to mythology, with no accomplishments to his name before he came to Troy and met his death; an empty personage altogether.[40] His coming had a specious justification, in that as the son of Eos and Tithonus he was Priam's nephew. Aeschylus' *Memnon* apparently contained a scene in which he explained this under questioning from Priam.[41] In the *Aethiopis* he cut a splendid figure, the handsomest man on the scene (*Od.* 11. 522), kitted out with a ἡφαιστότευκτος πανοπλία.[42] Achilles, of course, has armour from the same atelier. But such divine |[10] equipment ought to be the special property of one hero, not of two, and Achilles' set, fully and naturally accounted for as it is in the *Iliad*, is clearly primary, Memnon's wantonly derivative.[43]

To prove himself a worthy antagonist of Achilles, Memnon must begin by enjoying a spell of success on the battlefield. This is only possible so long as he does not meet Achilles. The poet apparently used the motif of a warning by Thetis to keep Achilles away from

[38] Cf. G. Danek, *Studien zur Dolonie* (Vienna 1988); West (2001), 10 f.

[39] The two passages in which he appears, 19. 326–37 and 24. 466–7, are surely interpolated. He is however known to the *Odyssey* (11. 492–540).

[40] Holscher (1955), 396 f.

[41] West (2000), 344. Tithonus' place in the Trojan genealogy is stated at *Il.* 20. 237. There if anywhere the poet might have mentioned Memnon if he had known anything of him (Reinhardt (1961), 349).

[42] Proclus' phrase; cf. Hes. *Th.* [984] *Μέμνονα χαλκοκορυστήν*; Virg. *A.* 1. 489 *Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma*; 1. 751 (Dido's questions to Aeneas), *Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma*; 8. 383 f. (Venus to Vulcan), *arma rogo nunc quibus Aurorae uenisset filius armis*; 8. 383 f. *genetrix nato: te filia Nerei, | te potuit lacrimis Tithonia flectere coniunx*. The last passage has been taken to imply a scene in the *Aethiopis* in which Eos visited Hephaestus to ask for arms for her son, as Thetis does in *Iliad* 18 (E. Fraenkel, *Phil.* 87 [1932], 242 = *Kleine Beiträge* ii. 173). But Virgil, whose knowledge of the poem may have been indirect, perhaps extrapolated the visit from Memnon's possession of the arms.

[43] Löwy (1914), 90; *contra*, Pestalozzi (1945), 43; Schoeck (1961), 47.

him: she told him (adapting *Il.* 18. 96) that he was destined to die soon after Memnon. Having no special animus against Memnon, Achilles was content to hold himself back. To override this restraint when the time came, the poet imitated the *Iliad*'s powerful mechanism. He had Memnon kill Antilochus, a friend of Achilles', so arousing the latter's fury and his need for vengeance. His friendship with Antilochus, however, though mentioned casually in the *Iliad*, is never developed or explained as Patroclus' is, and the use of his death in the *Aethiopis* remains a pale shadow of the Patroclus drama in the *Iliad*.[44]

It is often maintained that certain passages in the *Iliad* hint at the role that Antilochus is to play in the *Memnonis*. As mentioned earlier, many have thought that the episode in which one of Nestor's horses is wounded and he is rescued from Hector by Diomedes (8. 80 ff.) was derived from the episode related in the *Aethiopis* where he was saved by Antilochus.[45] That Antilochus is chosen to take the news of Patroclus' death to Achilles (17. 652 ff.), and that he holds his hands as they weep together (18. 32 f.), has been taken as an indication of a special relationship between them,[46] though there has been no sign of it hitherto, and Achilles does not say a word to Antilochus after hearing the news. Particular significance has been attached to an incident at the funeral games. Achilles proposes to award the second prize in the chariot race to Eumelus despite his having finished last.

[44] Cf. Löwy, ibid.; Robert (1901), 446 f., 'wie die Aithiopis dies Verhältniss [Antilochus' friendship with Achilles] noch weiter ausgebildet hat, so dass er zu einem zweiten Patroklos wird, ist bekannt'; Bethe (1914), 100, 'dies Verhältnis ist in der Ilias ganz unbekannt bis auf Ψ 556. Die Aithiopis aber hat es ausgestaltet'; Reinhardt (1961), 353 f., 'wenn derselbe Achill . . . die Rache für Antilochos, da er auch *sein* Freund ist, übernimmt, so werden Tod und Rache aneinander geknüpft, aber die Verknüpfung ist viel lockerer als im Falle des Patroklos'.

[45] Besides the scholars cited in n. 6 cf. Pestalozzi (1945), 9–11; Schadewaldt (1951), 163; Von der Mühll (1952), 147 f.; Kullmann (1960), 31 f., 314; Reinhardt (1961), 357, 364; Schoeck (1961), 20–2; E. Heitsch, 'Homerische Dreigespanne', in W. Kullmann and M. Reichel (edd.), *Der Übergang von der Mündlichkeit zur Literatur bei den Griechen* (Tübingen 1990), 153–74; Willcock (1997), 179–81. On the other hand Schadewaldt (1938), 97 n. 2, had considered that the poet of the *Aethiopis* could equally well have taken the passing crisis described in *Iliad* 8 and developed it with the heightened pathos typical of post-Homeric epic. Erbse (1993), 393–8, argues at length for the primacy of the *Iliad* passage.

[46] Bethe (1914), 100, 'hier ist kaum ein anderer Zweck denkbar als der, den Antilochos einmal wieder zu nennen, und zwar soll er offenbar als naher Freund Achills erscheinen'; Schadewaldt (1951), 191; Willcock (1997), 181 f.



Antilochus, who has actually come in second and wants his rightful prize, protests that Eumelus could be found another one. Achilles readily agrees, *χαίρων Ἀντιλόχωι, ὅτι οἱ φίλος ἦεν ἑταῖρος* (23. 556).[47] But seven lines later, when he sends Automedon to fetch the extra prize, Automedon is designated likewise as his *φίλος ἑταῖρος* (563).

[11] In all, the evidence amounts to very little. If the *Iliad* poet (or an early diasceuast) had really wanted to convey that Achilles had a greater than average affection for Antilochus, he could have done much more about it. When Achilles dies, his bones are to be united with Patroclus' in one container (23. 83–91, 244–8): there is no provision for Antilochus to join them.[48]

## THE MOTHER OF ALL EPICS

Forty years ago, having done our Parry and Lord, we knew it was foolish to talk of earlier or later books of Homer, to suggest that two similar passages might sometimes be related as imitation to model, or to try to identify relationships between one poem and another, seeing that they were all transient entities, constantly changing their shape, like clouds drifting through the boundless troposphere of oral epic; any passing similarities that we might perceive between two of them resulted merely from their being formed from the same common elements.

It was good for us to go through that phase. But sooner or later we had to come to terms with the fact that the epics of which we have any knowledge, the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the Cyclic poems, were not oral poems—at any rate, not in the same sense as the oral poems that Parry and Lord described—but written texts. They belong in a

[47] Robert (1901), 570, 'andererseits setzt das enge Verhältniss, in dem Antilochos zu Achilleus steht (556), die Aithiopis voraus'; Bethe and Schadewaldt, locc. citt.; Von der Mühll (1952), 361; Kullmann (1960), 316; Willcock, loc. cit.

[48] Reinhardt (1961), 351. In *Od.* 24. 76–9, on the other hand, Achilles is told that his bones are in a golden urn, mixed with those of Patroclus, while Antilochus' are there separately: *χωρὶς δ' Ἀντιλόχοιο, τὸν ἔξοχα τίες ἁπάντων | τῶν ἄλλων ἑτάρων μετὰ Πάτροκλόν γε θανόντα*. This reflects the *Aethiopis* or another version of the *Memnonis*. Cf. Schoeck (1961), 106. See also Erbse (1993), 398–403, for criticism of the view that Antilochus is represented as a special friend of Achilles'.

period of history at which, while oral epic no doubt continued to exist, some poems were being written up and so taking on a more stable identity and a (more or less) fixed form.[49] By the end of the seventh century it is clear that certain of these poems, identifiable with epics current in the classical period, were widely familiar. The Lesbian poets knew Hesiod, the *Iliad*, some Homeric Hymns, and if not the *Cypria*, *Iliou Persis*, and *Nostoi*, at any rate poems containing much of the same material.[50] Alcman must have known the *Aethiopis* or something closely related, for in *PMGF* 68 he couples Ajax with the bloodthirsty Memnon, whom we have seen to be not a traditional participant in the Trojan War but a figure invented to meet a difficulty created by the *Iliad* poet. Memnon is unknown to seventh-century art, though a popular subject from the first quarter of the sixth century. Vase painters had begun to depict recognizably Iliadic scenes from about 630. Two artists of *c.*580–70, Sophilos and Kleitias, both chose to paint the funeral games for Patroclus rather than those for Achilles, which is some indication of the *Iliad*'s dominant status at Athens.[51]

We cannot tell whether the *Iliad* was the first epic to be written up. But no other poet, we may assert, devoted so much time and craftsmanship to the construction of a $I^{12}$ gigantic, yet coherent and many-splendoured narrative. Structural analysis shows that he did not compose it sequentially from *A* to *Ω* but started with a much more compact design, into which he later inserted many additional episodes and retardations.[52 s1] Nineteenth-century critics such as

[49] Cf. Dowden (1996), with his conclusion (p. 61) that 'Homer, his contemporaries and his immediate predecessors . . . were knowingly producing fairly fixed products.'

[50] M. L. West, 'The View from Lesbos', in M. Reichel and A. Rengakos (edd.), *Epea Pteroenta. Festschrift für Wolfgang Kullmann* (Stuttgart 2002), 207–19 [=below, Chapter 27].

[51] Sophilos: Athens 15499; Kleitias: Florence 4209 (the François Vase). Cf. A. M. Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists* (Cambridge 1998), 117–20. On the handle of the same vase Kleitias painted Ajax carrying Achilles' corpse, as in the *Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad*, so he can hardly have been unfamiliar with the poetic account of the funeral games for Achilles.

[52] Cf. D. Young, *Arion* 6 (1967), 306; M. L. West, *CR* 19 (1969), 258f. [above, Chapter 19]; G. P. Goold, 'The Nature of Homeric Composition', *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977), 1–34, esp. 9–12, 17–19, 32f.; J. Pinsent, 'The Odyssized *Iliad*', in J. Pinsent and H. V. Hunt (edd.), *Homer 1987: Papers of the Third Greenbank Colloquium* (*Liverpool Classical Papers* 2, 1992), 75–84; Dowden (1996), 50.



Hermann, Grote, and Christ reached some valid conclusions about the stages of the process, but went wrong in their assumption that a different poet had to be postulated for each stratum of composition.[53 s2] To quote the late George Goold:

> Indeed, it may be said once and for all that Analytical Scholarship in general, when freed from the stultifying shackles of multiple authorship, invariably projects a more satisfying and convincing picture of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* being put together than either the Unitarian or the Oralist schools.[54]

There can be little doubt that one poet was responsible for the whole *Iliad*, except for the *Doloneia* and probably some minor interpolations elsewhere.[55] It is perfectly possible to accept this and still hold that there are 'early' and 'late' portions. Some parts may have been composed and written down thirty or forty years before others.

This great act of creation occurred in the middle decades of the seventh century, as many lines of evidence indicate and many modern scholars agree.[56] The end product became known and acclaimed and acknowledged as authoritative. Other poets had to take it as a given and accommodate their narratives to it. To tell of Achilles' death it was necessary to invent a Memnon as the successor to Hector. He appears in art not long after 600, and he is known to the poet of the *Odyssey* (11. 522) as well as to Alcman (above). Evidently a *Memnonis* established itself not too long after the

[53] For a convenient summary of their theories see R. C. Jebb, *Homer: An Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey* (Glasgow 1887), 119–28.

[54] Goold (as n. 52), 19. He continues: 'Thus Eduard Schwartz in his magnificent book on the *Odyssey* (how can one mention such a work save in terms of the highest praise?) describes down to the most trivial minutiae the processes by which the poem was enlarged until it attained its final form. Replace his several authors distorting their predecessors' compositions by a single author expanding his own, and one obscurity after another disappears.'

[55] Cf. West (2001), 11–14.

[56] Cf. E. Heitsch, *GGA* 220 (1968), 180f.; W. Burkert, *Wien. St.* 89 (1976), 5–21 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 59–71; O. Taplin, *Homeric Soundings* (Oxford 1992), 33–5; H. van Wees, *Greece and Rome* 41 (1994), 1–18, 131–55; id. in I. Morris and B. Powell, *A New Companion to Homer* (New York–Leiden–Cologne 1997), 692; M. L. West, *Mus. Helv.* 52 (1995), 203–19 [=above, Chapter 17]; J. P. Crielaard in J. P. Crielaard (ed.), *Homeric Questions* (Amsterdam 1995), 274; M. W. Dickie in Ø. Andersen and M. W. Dickie (edd.), *Homer's World* (Bergen 1995), 29–56; W. Kullmann, ibid. 57; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, 4th edn. (London 1999), 274; W. Kullmann, *Gnomon* 73 (2001), 658, 'Latacz' Ansatz der Ilias im 8. Jh. . . . beruht auf reiner Konvention und kann nicht richtig sein'.

*Iliad*, perhaps around 630 or 620; the *Iliad* poet might still have been alive.

The Memnon poet's account of Achilles' death, with all the ensuing episodes (battle for the body, lamentation by Nereids, funeral and games), corresponded, as we have seen, to the *Iliad* poet's earlier version, before he transferred the whole sequence to Patroclus. This raises interesting questions. How did the younger poet come to have the earlier version? Had he heard the older poet recite it? Had it continued to be recited by other rhapsodes? Was it in written circulation?

Epics on other parts of the Trojan saga, related to the poems of the classical Cycle [13] if not identical, were no doubt solidifying at the same period. The *Odyssey* (at any rate in its final form) comes quite late in the series. Its poet not only knew and imitated the *Iliad*. He knew the *Memnonis*. He shows an extensive acquaintance with the subject matter of the *Little Iliad*,[57] and must have known, if not that very text, something quite similar. He was familiar with the Ἀχαιῶν νόστος as a subject of epic song (1. 326, 10. 15), and composed his own epic against that background; his references to the other heroes' returns are in fair agreement with the content of the Cyclic *Nostoi*.[58] The song that he puts in Demodocus' mouth at 8. 500–20, which began with the Trojans wondering what to do with the Wooden Horse after the apparent departure of the Achaeans and then described the sack of Troy, corresponds remarkably well in its scope to the Cyclic *Iliou Persis* (F. Blass, *Die Interpolationen in der Odyssee* (Halle 1904), 288). The *Odyssey* reflects Greek knowledge of distant shores (Egypt, Libya, and as I hope to show elsewhere, the northern Euxine)[59] at an epoch no earlier than the second half of the seventh century. Taking into account its familiarity with the post-Iliadic *Memnonis* and with poems that gave a major role to the post-Iliadic Neoptolemus, we may be inclined to date it down to the last quarter of the century. Not that there is any compelling reason to put it

[57] Ajax's defeat over the armour of Achilles (11. 543 ff.); Deiphobus as Helen's last husband (cf. 4. 276, 8. 517); Neoptolemus and Eurypylus (11. 506 ff., 519 f.); Odysseus' entry into Troy disguised as a beggar (4. 242 ff.); Epeios' building of the horse (8. 492 ff.).

[58] The Cyclic poem, on the other hand, seems to have made only one brief allusion to Odysseus' return (Neoptolemus' path crossed with his at Maronea), no doubt because a separate *Odyssey* was already current. Cf. Howald (1946), 166.



before 600; the Lesbian poets, for all their enthusiasm for Ionian epic, show no knowledge of it.[59]

I have spoken of the *Odyssey* poet's knowing 'the *Memnonis* rather than the *Aethiopis*, because two important motifs contained in the *Aethiopis* find no echo in the *Odyssey* or are contradicted in it: the Amazon episode, and Achilles' translation to Leuke. The absence of allusion to Penthesilea and her army may be fortuitous, but their story had no organic connection with that of Memnon and Achilles' death, and it could well have been a secondary addition.[60] As for the translation to Leuke, it is incompatible with Achilles' presence in Hades together with other Achaean heroes in both Nekyiai, and the poet seems to have no notion of it. It may, however, be presupposed by Alcaeus' reference to Ἀχίλλευς ὁ τὰς (or γᾶς) Σκυθίκας μέδεις (fr. 354).[61] Its presence in the *Aethiopis* excellently suits the ancient ascription of that epic to a Milesian poet, Arctinus, as Leuke belongs in the zone of late seventh-century Milesian exploration and colonization.

With the fixing of epic poems in written texts, rhapsodes' creativity was able to express itself in novel ways: by adding new sections to these texts, transcribing passages [14] from one into another, or making forced combinations of separate pieces. Parry and Lord and their followers thought to banish all such concepts from Homeric criticism. And indeed they are probably inappropriate concepts, so long as we are talking about the time before the poems were written down. But in the period between about 620 and 520

[59] Cf. D. Meyerhoff, *Traditioneller Stoff und individuelle Gestaltung. Untersuchungen zu Alkaios und Sappho* (Hildesheim–Zurich–New York 1984), 13. Alcaeus' mention of the spring Artakia (440) and of the Phaeacians (441) may have belonged in an Argonautic context. There are of course considerably earlier artistic representations of the Cyclops story, but nobody supposes this to have been an invention of the *Odyssey* poet. The hexameter(?) fragment ascribed to Alcman that refers to Circe's preparation of Odysseus' men for their approach to the Sirens (*PMGF* 80) is of doubtful authorship [cf. above, Chapter 4 n. 4].

[60] Pestalozzi (1945), 5; Schadewaldt (1951), 158. Howald (1946), 127, writes that of the motive for introducing it 'laßt sich kaum mehr sagen, als daß es fur einen hervorragenden Helden gleichsam eine Anstandspflicht war, auch mit einer Amazone sich gemessen zu haben; auch Herakles und Theseus haben ihr Amazonenabenteuer'. When Proclus in his life of Homer lists an Ἀμαζονία among the works attributed to him, followed by the *Little Iliad* and *Nostoi*, this is probably equivalent to the *Aethiopis*; it is not good evidence for the separate currency of the Amazon part. Penthesilea appears in art from about 600.

[61] H. Hommel, *Der Gott Achilleus* (*Sitzb. d. Heidelb. Ak.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1980(1)), 9–12.

operations of this sort were not only possible, they were repeatedly performed. The poet of the *Doloneia* interpolated his work in the *Iliad*; it never had an independent existence, being designed from the start to be inserted in its present place. The author of the *Memnonis* perhaps made use of an already formed account of Achilles' death and what followed it. The Amazon episode, I have suggested, was prefixed subsequently.[62] [64] In the *Odyssey* a long description of Alcinous' house and garden has been transposed from a speech in book 6 to a narrative context in book 7.[63] A sequel to the *Odyssey*, telling of Odysseus' adventures in Thesprotia, was augmented by the addition of a new and unconnected romantic fiction, the tale of Telegonus. A sixth-century poet extended Hesiod's *Theogony* to some five times its original length by appending the *Catalogue of Women*. Another took a 56-line section from the *Catalogue of Women* and made it serve as an introduction to the *Shield of Heracles*.[64] Another again, perhaps to be identified as Cynaethus of Chios, conflated a Pythian and a Delian hymn to Apollo into a chimerical Delian–Pythian hymn.[65] The Athenian Onomacritus collected and arranged oracles of Musaeus, and was convicted of interpolating spurious ones (Hdt. 7. 6).

Once we shake the oralists off our backs and recognize the status of written texts in this period and the use made of them, we begin to gain insights into their interrelationships and chronology, and a nebulous process of development begins to take on sharper outlines. It becomes clearer than before that the creation of the *Iliad* was not just a miracle in itself, but the most momentous event in literary history: the catalytic achievement that precipitated and conditioned the formation of a corpus of written epic in the following decades. This is not to say that the Cyclic epics are post-Iliadic in substance. Much of their material was certainly the subject of earlier song. But we can now take it as established that the stabilization of this material in the fixed poems current in the fifth and fourth centuries did not take place till after the completion of the *Iliad*.

[62] Whether the variant ending of the *Iliad* that runs it into the *Aethiopis* goes back to the Archaic period is doubtful.

[63] M. L. West, 'The Gardens of Alcinous and the Oral Dictated Text Theory', *Acta Antiqua Acad. Scient. Hungaricae* 40 (2000), 479–88 [=below, Chapter 21].

[64] M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985), 125–8, 136.

[65] M. L. West, *CQ* 49 (1999), 368–72 [=below, Chapter 24].



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## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. See now *The Making of the Iliad* (Oxford 2011).
2. For more detail of their conclusions see M. Finkelberg (ed.), *Homer Encyclopedia* (Oxford 2011), s.vv. Analysts, Unitarians; *The Making of the Iliad*, 55–8.
3. See below, Chapter 22.
4. On the relationship of *Amazonis* and *Memnonis* and their attachment at the end of the *Iliad* see now *The Making of the Iliad*, 428–30.

# 21

# The Gardens of Alcinous and the Oral Dictated Text Theory

Zsigmond Ritoók has long been my friend, and even longer a friend of Homer. I hope that this short treatment of an old Homeric problem that is still highly relevant to modern controversies will give him as much pleasure to read as it has given me to write.

In *Odyssey* η 81 ff. we read how Odysseus approached Alcinous' palace. Before crossing the threshold he paused to take stock,

> ὣς τε γὰρ ἠελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἠὲ σελήνης
> δῶμα κάθ' ὑψερεφὲς μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο . . .

and so the description goes on: the walls, the doors, the gold and silver guard-dogs, the chairs all round the hall where the Phaeacian nobles were sitting, eating and drinking;

> χρύσειοι δ' ἄρα κοῦροι ἐϋδμήτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν
> ἕστασαν, αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντες,
> φαίνοντες νύκτας κατὰ δώματα δαιτυμόνεσσιν.
> πεντήκοντα δέ οἱ δμωιαὶ κατὰ δῶμα γυναῖκες
> αἱ μὲν ἀλετρεύουσι μύλης ἔπι μήλοπα καρπόν,
> αἱ δ' ἱστοὺς ὑφόωσι καὶ ἠλάκατα στρωφῶσιν . . .

But what is this? Why has the description suddenly gone into the present tense? And to whom does the pronoun οἱ refer in line 103?[1] We read further. There is more about the skilled women weavers; then the description moves out from the palace to the adjoining orchard and vineyard (where we note in passing at 124 that there are

*Acta Antiqua Hungarica* 40 (2000), 479–88 (volume dedicated to Zsigmond Ritoók).

[1] Some of the later manuscripts give δ' ἔσαν in place of δέ οἱ, but this is obviously a *facilior lectio*.

grapes drying in the sun, although the sun set at ζ 321 and the palace is now lit by torches; the Phaeacians are thinking of going to bed, 138). The present tenses continue throughout.[2] Finally:

|[68] ἐν δὲ δύω κρῆναι· ἡ μέν τ' ἀνὰ κῆπον ἅπαντα
σκίδναται, ἡ δ' ἑτέρωθεν ὑπ' αὐλῆς οὐδὸν ἴησιν
πρὸς δόμον ὑψηλόν, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται.
τοῖ' ἄρ' ἐν Ἀλκινόοιο θεῶν ἔσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα.
ἔνθα στὰς θηεῖτο πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα ἐὼι θηήσατο θυμῶι,
καρπαλίμως ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἐβήσετο δώματος εἴσω.

The present tenses that appear consistently from 103 to 130 are not likely to worry the average student, who is accustomed to finding present forms in narrative contexts in Virgilian epic, or for that matter in tragic messenger speeches and in Herodotus. But the so-called 'historic present' is entirely unknown to Homer and indeed to the rest of Greek epic down to Nonnus and beyond.[3] In any case, it is only used of actions or events, not in the description of static situations in narrative time.

We are facing here a grave critical problem that too many scholars (especially British scholars) have glossed over. Look in the apparatus of the Oxford text, or of van Thiel's 1991 edition: there is no comment. Consult Merry and Riddell:[4] not a word. Try Stanford:[5] here at last is something. 'In 104 note the vivid change to the present tense.' He has at least noticed it; but calling it 'vivid' is no explanation at all.

We turn hopefully to Hainsworth's generally excellent commentary.[6] We find: '**104. ἀλετρεύουσι**: the present tenses of this and the following section are descriptive, cf. Chantraine, *Grammaire*, ii 191. There is, of course, no historic present in Homer.' This is again a woefully inadequate note. Chantraine does indeed classify the presents as 'descriptifs', and appends a reference to *Iliad B* 448 *ἠερέθονται*. But that (apart from being a variant reading) refers to

[2] At 114 the direct tradition gives a pluperfect *πεφύκει*, but Herodian attests the perfect *πεφύκᾶσι*.

[3] Aristarchus, who (for all his great merits) did not have a very fine sense of style, claimed that *διώκετον* at *K* 364 was a present, and referred in justification to *η* 104 *ἀλετρεύουσι* "*ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠλέτρευον*" (Aristonicus in sch *K* 364b, *η* 104).

[4] W. W. Merry and J. Riddell, *Homer's Odyssey*. Vol. I: *Books I–XII* (Oxford 1886).

[5] W. B. Stanford, *The Odyssey of Homer* (London, 2nd edn. 1959), 324.

[6] A. Heubeck, S. West, J. B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*. Vol. I: *Introduction and Books I–VIII* (Oxford 1988), 328.



the tassels on Athena's immortal aegis. The epic poet can always use a descriptive present for things that he thinks of as still existing in his own time, for example Hera's chariot (*E* 724–8), Poseidon's submarine dwelling at Aigai (*N* 21–2), the springs and basins of Scamander (*Ξ* 147–54), the gods' home on Olympus (ζ 43–6), the harbour and cave of the Nymphs at Ithaca (*ν* 96–112). But even if the poet of the *Odyssey* thought that the Phaeacians had succeeded in averting Poseidon's threat to bury them under a mountain (*ν* 171–87) and still existed somewhere over the sea, he certainly did not think of them as immortal. Alcinous' fifty women had long since ground their last flour, woven their last fabrics, and drawn their last breath.

The most recent commentator, A. F. Garvie, tells us that 'as the description develops into the interior scene, the pretence that Odysseus sees all this as he stands before the threshold (83, 133–5) is dropped, and it becomes an idealised picture, only loosely attached to the narrative situation. Hence the present tenses which begin at |[68] 104 . . . For the use of the pres. tense to describe a scene that the poet visualises before his eyes cf. 13. 96–112 (also 6. 305–7 *ἥσται*), and see Bassett, *Poetry* 86–90.'[7] The first part of this note is fair enough, if by 'idealized picture' we understand the scene created in imagination by the poet and then described without regard to how much of it might have been visible from where Odysseus stood. But in claiming that this accounts for the present tenses, Garvie shows the same failure as Hainsworth to appreciate that the epic poet does *not* use presents for what is past. Bassett, to whom he refers us, is guilty of the same confusion.[8]

German scholarship has for the most part taken a sterner approach to the problem. A hundred and fifty years ago Ludwig Friedländer, in a very full and thorough discussion of Homer's use of the present tense, made it crystal clear that the poet could only use it of things that he thought of as still existing.[9] He might have imagined the vineyard still to flourish in the distant wonderland, but Alcinous was long dead, so that line 122,

ἔνθα δέ οἱ πολύκαρπος ἀλωὴ ἐρρίζωται

[7] A. F. Garvie, *Homer, Odyssey, Books VI–VIII* (Cambridge 1994), 178.

[8] S. E. Bassett, *The Poetry of Homer* (Berkeley 1938), 88–90.

[9] L. Friedländer, 'Die gärten des Alkinoos und der gebrauch des präsens bei Homer', *Phil.* 6 (1851), 669–81.

was nonsense. 'So konnte der dichter nur einen zeitgenossen des Alkinoos reden lassen, so konnte Odysseus der Penelope erzählen, aber nimmermehr der rhapsode seinen zuhörern.'[10] Friedländer pointed also to the *οἱ* without antecedent in 103 and to the fact that *ἐν Ἀλκινόοιο* in 132 referred back to the description of the palace interior, ignoring the orchard and vineyard, and would fit perfectly after 102:

100 *χρύσειοι δ' ἄρα κοῦροι ἐϋδμήτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν*
*ἕστασαν, αἰθομένας δαῖδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντες,*
*φαίνοντες νύκτας κατὰ δώματα δαιτυμόνεσσιν.*
132 *τοῖ' ἄρ' ἐν Ἀλκινόοιο θεῶν ἔσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα.*
*ἔνθα στὰς θηεῖτο πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, κτλ.*

Note that the phrase *θεῶν δῶρα* (132) especially suits the gold statues; cf. the gold and silver guard-dogs made for Alcinous by Hephaestus, 91–3. Friedländer's conclusion: '*dass die verse* 103–131 *in die fertige erzählung später eingeschoben sind.*'[11]

This much is really incontrovertible. Anyone who contests it must be possessed by an unreasoning determination not to admit the existence of interpolations in ancient texts, for where is there a clearer case? Friedländer's athetesis of the passage was approved by Fick, Wilamowitz, Ludwich, Blass, and Ameis–Hentze.[12] However, that cannot be the end of the matter. There are further questions to be answered. Why $I^{482}$ should an interpolator have used a tense incompatible with the context which he wished to embellish, or a pronoun with no reference?

Kirchhoff was troubled by this. He declared himself unable to believe 'dass wenn irgend Jemand es sich hätte beikommen lassen, die Schilderung des alten Textes fortzusetzen und zu erweitern, er so vollständig hätte aus der Situation herausfallen können'. The verses seemed to him to belong to an independent account of the same matter. The redactor of our *Odyssey*, he believed, drew upon concurrent versions of the story, and mechanically inserted sections

[10] Ibid. 679.
[11] Ibid. 681.
[12] A. Fick, *Die homerische Odyssee in der ursprünglichen Sprachform wiederhergestellt* (Göttingen 1883), 59, 307; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Berlin 1884), 169 n. 6; A. Ludwich, *Homeri Odyssea* (Leipzig 1889–91); F. Blass, *Die Interpolationen in der Odyssee* (Halle 1904), 96 f.; K. F. Ameis, *Homers Odyssee für den Schulgebrauch erklärt*, 12. Aufl. besorgt von C. Hentze (Leipzig–Berlin 1908), ii. 11.



from one into the other.[13] Kirchhoff fails to explain, however, why *any* version of the story should have contained a description of Alcinous' household in the present tense.

Friedländer himself may seem to have hinted at a solution with his remark 'so konnte Odysseus der Penelope erzählen'. An explicit hypothesis based on this thought was framed by Theodor Bergk, whose great history of Greek literature is a treasure-house of intelligent and original contributions to scholarship. According to him the passage was taken in from a later variant *Odyssey* in which Odysseus, after reaching Ithaca, recounted his experiences among the Phaeacians and his return home. In his mouth the present tenses were justified.[14]

Another approach has been to say that the description did not originate in an *Odyssey* at all but in some account of a wondrous palace existing somewhere in the world. Thus Von der Mühll in his elaborate analysis of the *Odyssey* holds that his poet B 'ein episches Stück über einen Wunderpalast aus anderm Zusammenhang für die Stelle unsorgfältig adaptierte und die Beziehung auf die Phäaken erst hereinbrachte'.[15] Uvo Hölscher perhaps has something similar in mind when he explains that 'die Schilderung evagiert aus der Erzählform in die der Wunderbeschreibung, aus dem Präteritum ins Präsens, so wie der Dichter an anderer Stelle das Wunder des Olymps beschreibt (6. 42 ff., mit wörtlichen Anklängen)'.[16] However, we know of no form of Greek epic likely to have contained descriptions of fabulous palaces that exist in the present day. Surely we should look for an answer that does not stray so far away from the *Odyssey*.

It is Friedländer again who points the way, with a passing suggestion in a footnote: 'Es liesse sich denken dass die ganze stelle ursprünglich in einer rede, etwa der Nausikaa an Odysseus vorgekommen sei; vgl. ζ 293.'[17] This is too tentatively expressed, but it touches the

[13] A. Kirchhoff, *Die homerische Odyssee* (Berlin 1879), 206 f.
[14] T. Bergk, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* i (Berlin 1872), 673 f. Odysseus does in fact relate a certain amount about the Phaeacians to Telemachus and Penelope (16. 227 ff.; 19. 279–82; 23. 338–41). Cf. J. van Leeuwen, *Homeri Odyssea* (Leiden 1917), 179, '103–131. Non eo consilio ut huic loco insererentur excogitatos sed aliunde desumtos esse recte statuisse videtur Bergk.'
[15] P. Von der Mühll, *RE* Supp. vii (1940), 715.
[16] U. Hölscher, *Die Odyssee. Epos zwischen Märchen und Roman* (Munich 1988), 123.
[17] Ibid. 679 n. 17. At ζ 293 Nausicaa tells Odysseus he will find a temenos and vineyard of her father's a short distance from the town.

crucial point. *The present tenses are appropriate only in a speech, and the passage must have been composed as part of a speech.*

Otto Seeck argued that the passage must have been composed for a Phaeacian, and that the most appropriate Phaeacian would be one of whom Odysseus asked [483] directions to the palace (as advised by Nausicaa, ζ 298). Seeck concluded that it came from an alternative version of the encounter with Athena (in the guise of Alcinous' neighbour's daughter) in η 18–81.[18] Willy Theiler[19] actually tried to place it in the extant version, in the speech of Athena's beginning at η 48:

οὗτος δή τοι, ξεῖνε πάτερ, δόμος, ὃν με κελεύεις
πεφραδέμεν. δήεις δὲ διοτρεφέας βασιλῆας
δαίτην δαινυμένους· σὺ δ' ἔσω κίε, μηδέ τι θυμῷι
τάρβει, κτλ.

He proposed as the earlier version:

οὗτος δή τοι, ξεῖνε πάτερ, δόμος, Ἀλκινόοιο· |
πεντήκοντα δέ οἱ δμωιαὶ κατὰ δῶμα γυναῖκες
αἱ μὲν ἀλετρεύουσι . . . (κτλ.)
ἐν δὲ δύω κρῆναι· ἣ μέν τ' ἀνὰ κῆπον ἅπαντα
σκίδναται, ἣ δ' ἑτέρωθεν ὑπ' αὐλῆς οὐδὸν ἴησιν
πρὸς δόμον ὑψηλόν· | σὺ δ' ἔσω κίε, κτλ.

This solution, however, is not satisfactory. Odysseus has asked the girl for Alcinous' house, and she has led him to it. It makes good sense in terms of the poet's needs (even if it is not wholly suitable to Athena's alias) for the goddess now to say 'Here is the house; you will find the nobles dining inside, but go straight in and make for the queen, Arete'. It would make little sense for her to talk about the servant women instead of the nobles, and even less for her to describe the orchard and vineyard, which must have been right next to where they were standing.

A quarter of a century earlier Eduard Schwartz had reached a different and better conclusion in a book which Von der Mühll[20] considered the most important ever written on the *Odyssey*. He argued: 'Aus den Präsentia folgt, daß jene durch ihren Inhalt als

[18] O. Seeck, *Die Quellen der Odyssee* (Berlin 1887), 159.
[19] *Mus. Helv.* 7 (1950), 103 f.; cf. 19 (1962), 10 n. 36; approved by R. Merkelbach, *Untersuchungen zur Odyssee* (2nd edn., Munich 1969), 162 f., who records that Hans Diller had made an almost identical suggestion orally.
[20] *RE* Supp. vii., 700.



originale Poesie erwiesene Stücke . . . in eine Rede gehören, die der Natur der Sache nach nur eine Rede der Nausikaa an Odysseus gewesen sein kann, und stellen sich so zu dem Fragment ζ 262–272, wenn sie auch nicht direkt anschließen und offenbar nicht wenig fehlt.' He holds that an earlier version of Nausicaa's speech contained a full description of her father's palace, of which η 103–11 is a remnant, and of the gardens (η 112 ff., cf. ζ 293 f.).[21]

More recently Roger Dawe has taken a similar direction in what is described on its dustjacket as 'the most important work yet published by one of the world's most respected Greek scholars'.[22] It is indeed a book of some importance, besides [484] being a very large one (879 pages), though it appears so far to have made little impact. In his note on η 103 ff. Dawe goes straight to the point, diagnoses the passage as an interpolation, and asks for what sort of context the lines were originally composed. 'The most obvious answer', he finds, 'is that they belong to the speech of Nausicaa addressed to Odysseus before he enters the city; after 6. 307 has been suggested as the most suitable place for them, where mention is made of Arete's women servants who sit behind her.'[23] I do not know who proposed the location after ζ 307. It is superficially attractive as regards the beginning of the passage:

ὦκα μάλα μεγάροιο διελθέμεν, ὄφρ' ἂν ἵκηαι
μητέρ' ἐμήν· ἣ δ' ἧσται ἐπ' ἐσχάρηι ἐν πυρὸς αὐγῆι
ἠλάκατα στρωφῶσ' ἁλιπόρφυρα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,
κίονι κεκλιμένη· δμωιαὶ δέ οἱ εἵατ' ὄπισθεν.
η 103 πεντήκοντα δέ οἱ δμωιαὶ κατὰ δῶμα γυναῖκες κτλ.

But as Odysseus is now imagined to be well inside the hall, the subsequent account of the gardens outside (η 112 ff.) will be completely out of place. And how are we to get back from 129 ff. (the springs that water the gardens) to ζ 308,

ἔνθα δὲ πατρὸς ἐμοῖο θρόνος ποτικέκλιται αὐτῆι (v.l. αὐγῆι)?

[21] E. Schwartz, *Die Odyssee* (Munich 1924), 17 f., 162 f. Schwartz's analysis is criticized by F. Focke, *Die Odyssee* (Stuttgart–Berlin 1943), 121–6, who seems to think that the present tenses in η 103–30 are sufficiently accounted for by the 'Verselbständigung' and 'überaus lebendiger Charakter' of the description (p. 118).
[22] R. D. Dawe, *The Odyssey: Translation and Analysis* (Lewes 1993).
[23] Ibid. 285 f. He goes on to remark, unwittingly(?) reviving Bergk's idea, that 'there is an alternative, namely that our passage comes from a recital by Odysseus of his experiences after his return. Even if it does, he could be quoting Nausicaa's own words.'

No one, so far as I am aware, has noticed that there is a rather better place for the exiled passage a few lines earlier, where Nausicaa tells Odysseus to ask for directions to Alcinous' house. It is easily identified, she says; even a child could show him the way:

οὐ μέν γάρ τι ἐοικότα τοῖσι τέτυκται
δώματα Φαιήκων, οἷος δόμος Ἀλκινόοιο·
η 103 πεντήκοντα δέ οἱ δμωιαὶ κατὰ δῶμα γυναῖκες . . . (κτλ.)
108 ὅσσον Φαίηκες περὶ πάντων ἴδριες ἀνδρῶν
νῆα θοὴν ἐνὶ πόντωι ἐλαυνέμεν, ὣς δὲ γυναῖκες
110 ἱστὸν τεχνῆσσαι· περὶ γάρ σφισι δῶκεν Ἀθήνη
ἔργά τ' ἐπίστασθαι περικαλλέα καὶ φρένας ἐσθλάς.
ἔκτοσθεν δ' αὐλῆς μέγας ὄρχατος . . . (κτλ.)
129 ἐν δὲ δύω κρῆναι· ἣ μέν τ' ἀνὰ κῆπον ἅπαντα
130 σκίδναται, ἣ δ' ἑτέρωθεν ὑπ' αὐλῆς οὐδὸν ἴησιν
πρὸς δόμον ὑψηλόν <μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο>
ζ 303 ἤρωος. ἀλλ' ὁπόταν σε δόμοι κεκύθωσι καὶ αὐλή,
ὦκα μάλα μεγάροιο διελθέμεν, ὄφρ' ἂν ἴκηαι
305 μητέρ' ἐμήν· ἣ δ' ἧσται ἐπ' ἐσχάρηι ἐν πυρὸς αὐγῆι
ἠλάκατα στρωφῶσ' ἁλιπόρφυρα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,
κίονι κεκλιμένη· δμωιαὶ δέ οἱ εἵατ' ὄπισθεν.

[485] The second half of η 131 as transmitted, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται, is inapposite both in tense and in sense. The account of Alcinous' ideal home is completed by the two springs, one of which irrigates the gardens while the other provides running water in the house; it is not a municipal fountain. When the passage was transplanted to follow η 102, we may suppose that ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται was borrowed from ρ 206 (cf. *Hymn. Dem.* 99) to ease the transition to 132 ff. with an imperfect.

This arrangement yields a logical sequence, and a neat fit at both points of juncture. After hearing that the house is easily identified and unlike those of the other Phaeacians, we expect some description of it. The fifty women workers are introduced as a measure of its size and importance. The statement that the Phaeacian women excel at weaving just as much as the men do at seafaring (η 108–11) picks up what Nausicaa has said about the Phaeacian dedication to sailing earlier in her speech (ζ 270–2). ὑπ' αὐλῆς πρὸς δόμον at η 130–1 leads us back from vineyard to house and is picked up by δόμοι καὶ αὐλή at ζ 303; without the insertion of the passage from η the mention of an αὐλή would be unexpected. The statement at 307 that Arete's women are seated behind her, which has no visible point in the transmitted text, now serves to locate the queen in relation to something already described.



All the criteria for a successful textual transposition are fulfilled: the passage η 103–31 is seriously offensive in its present position; its removal leaves a better connection between 132 and what immediately precedes; its insertion in another place benefits that context too.

The conclusions that emerge from the foregoing discussion are as follows:

1. It may be taken as certain that the passage η 103–31 was not composed to stand in its present position but as part of a speech in which Alcinous' house and land were described to someone unfamiliar with it.

2. It is highly probable that the speech in question was Nausicaa's in ζ 255 ff., and that the verses were originally intended to follow line 302.

It is most unlikely that such a dislocation occurred by chance. In theory one might imagine that at a very early stage of the transmission a wooden tablet or a loose papyrus leaf got into the wrong sequence and that the accident, if it did not cause conspicuous damage to the narrative, remained unnoticed. But the chances are infinitesimal that a 29-line passage could disappear from one context without leaving an obvious hiatus and land at another point where it fitted well enough to pass muster with most readers and critics for two and a half millennia.

No, we are surely compelled to suppose that the transposition was a deliberate act by the poet (or one of the poets) of our *Odyssey*. Perhaps he felt that the extended description made Nausicaa's speech too long,[24] or that it would make a more vivid impression in the context of Odysseus' actual arrival. If it is asked why he did not have the wit to see that the present tenses were out of place in the new context, the answer must be that authors who make major alterations in their manuscripts are [486] quite liable, if they do not take very great care, to produce inconsistencies and contradictions—a danger the

[24] It would have been 87 lines, assuming that ζ 313–15 (= η 75–7; omitted by most manuscripts) is a recent interpolation, or 86 lines, if, as I would suggest, the problematic line 293 ἔνθα δὲ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ τέμενος τεθαλυῖά τ' ἀλωή (del. Koechly) was inserted to supply a mention of the vineyard when the longer description was removed to η.

more present to us now that we can so easily shift portions of text about with our word-processors. There is, of course, another notorious case where an extended Homeric passage is characterized by a grammatical anomaly as a result of an authorial change. The introduction of Phoenix into the Embassy narrative in the *Iliad* left a long series of duals (*I* 182–98) where plurals should have been substituted.[25]

There are many places in the Homeric epics where it is more or less plausible to postulate additions or alterations made in a text already fixed in writing, breaking continuities that can still be discerned. In this paper I have chosen to concentrate on one especially clear case, because it is sufficient to refute the fashionable opinion that the texts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were dictated from beginning to end by oral poets and subject to no subsequent editorial redaction.[26]

The work of Milman Parry and his followers opened up a valuable new perspective in Homeric studies, but occasioned a disastrous regress in critical study of the processes by which the epics were constructed. If they were oral poems, it was concluded, no wonder they contained some narrative inconsistencies; and as the work of the German analysts was entirely based on inconsistencies, it could all henceforward be ignored as having been built on mistaken premises. Perhaps one of the greatest attractions of Parry's work was that it seemed to exempt Homerists from the effort of following all that complex argumentation. It has been claimed repeatedly that Parry's Homeric theory 'made the whole Unitarian–Analyst controversy, at least in its older and best-known form, obsolete'.[27]

Everyone accepts that there was a long oral tradition behind the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and that the epic language was formed in this tradition. It is probable enough that the poets responsible for the poems we have were oral poets in the sense that they were accustomed to perform their works orally and, to some extent, to recompose them in the course of each performance. The texts may

[25] T. Bergk (as n. 14), 595 f.; M. Noé, *Phoinix, Ilias und Homer* (Leipzig 1940), 12–21.

[26] Cf., most recently, R. Janko, *CQ* 48 (1998), 1–13; M. Skafte Jensen, *Symb. Osl.* 74 (1999), 25–33.

[27] A. Parry in the introduction to his father's collected papers, *The Making of Homeric Verse* (Oxford, 1971), p. li. Cf. E. R. Dodds in M. Platnauer (ed.), *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1954), 16 f.; J. M. Foley in I. Morris and B. B. Powell (edd.), *A New Companion to Homer* (Leiden–New York–Cologne 1997), 148.



have been reduced to written form by dictation, though I prefer to imagine it not as line-by-line dictation but rather as a process by which the poet recited a whole episode and the scribe (perhaps another poet), or the author-poet himself, then wrote out from memory what he had just heard (or said).[28] What was written down in that case might not have been a faultlessly accurate reproduction of what had been recited, but it would be very close, and coherent in itself.

But once a written text existed, it was exposed to the possibility of insertions, deletions, transpositions, and other changes of the kinds which the analysts claimed [487] to detect. Such changes might have been made by the original poet or by others. It is no use asserting as an axiom that an 'oral poet' would not do such things. Nor is there any force in the argument that if he had, the roughnesses in our text would not have been allowed to stand.[29] We are not speaking of a poet going over his text line by line looking for imperfections, but of his making sporadic interventions to incorporate new ideas about how the narrative should go.

This was liable to result, not in the elimination of roughnesses, but rather in the introduction of new ones, including some of a sort that could only arise through the disturbance of a settled text, i.e. one already reduced to writing. An oral poet might change the disposition of his material from one performance to another. He might decide to reserve his full account of Alcinous' château for the moment of Odysseus' arrival at the door, when in previous recitations he had put it in Nausicaa's mouth. But then he would have recomposed both contexts in performance so that each ran naturally. He would not have made an abrupt change from past tenses to presents at $\eta$ 103, persisted with them for nearly thirty lines, describing a sunlit vineyard as Odysseus stood on the threshold of a hall lit up for night, and then lurched back into the past tense and continued with the line 'Even such gifts from gods were there in Alcinous' house', which he had originally meant for the gold statues of 91–4 and 100–2. The *Iliad* poet, having previously recited a Delegation to Achilles involving only Ajax and Odysseus, might have

[28] Cf. my observations in *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 598–602, on the writing down of recited poems in Mesopotamia. We may also recall historical cases of musicians who were able to write out another musician's composition, harmonies and all, after a single hearing.

[29] So Janko (as n. 26), 7 f.

decided next time to include Phoenix and a couple of heralds. But having once named these five members of the party (*I* 168–70), he would not, a few lines later, have used a string of duals to relate their departure and their reception by Achilles, as if there were after all only two of them.

In both these cases we are faced with the clear evidence of operations performed on a written text, as it were with scissors and paste. Once it is admitted that such a thing has happened at all, it must be admitted that it may have happened in other places. We can no longer dismiss the analysts as benighted Beckmessers who have failed to understand the nature of oral poetry. Nor can we annihilate them with the old canard that as no two of them agree in their results, none of them can be taken seriously. In fact there was and is a large measure of agreement among them. They, not the naive believers in a once-for-all dictation process beginning at *A* and ending with *Ω*, are the people who can give us some insight into the stages by which these epics grew under their authors' hands.

In the case of the *Iliad* I have no doubt that the process of composition extended over many years, perhaps decades, and that the majority of analysts since Hermann have been right to suppose that there was first a much shorter poem which then underwent a series of expansions. I do not, as many of them did, think it necessary to assume a different poet for each stratum of composition. I envisage one great poet, living in different places at different times, carrying with him a collection of papyrus rolls and adding to them over the years. I do not, however, exclude the possibility of some further additions by other poets, perhaps after his death. The *Doloneia* at least seems to be from another hand.

[488] The *Odyssey* does not give the same impression of having grown by stages from a nucleus, but there are clear signs of changes of plan in the course of composition and of additions, in some cases probably by a different poet. The Phaeacian episodes especially appear to have suffered from revisions. The transplanting of Alcinous' garden from *ζ* to *η* was the least skilful among them and has left the most obvious traces. That so many critics have been willing to overlook them does not speak well for the progress of Homeric criticism since 1851.

# 22

## *Odyssey* and *Argonautica*

One of the most certain results of Homeric scholarship, in many scholars' view, is that some of Odysseus' adventures owe something to a pre-existing narrative about Jason and the Argonauts.[1] Opinions differ as to the extent and nature of the debt, and the matter merits a new discussion. We shall find that it opens up exhilarating views of several topics: the development of Greek geographical knowledge, the early form of the Argo legend, the stages by which the *Odyssey* evolved, and the eclectic borrowing by different poets of motifs from the *Epic of Gilgāmesh*.

The Odyssean adventures that come into question are contained in the sequence that extends from the Laestrygonians (10. 77–132) to Thrinakia (12. 260–419). I shall not discuss them in the order in which they appear in the narrative, but begin where the presence of Argonautic motifs is clearest.

### THE CLASHING ROCKS

The starting-point must be the Clashing Rocks, those twin sky-scraper cliffs that slam together to crush anything that tries to pass

*CQ* 55 (2005), 39–64. Full references are listed at the end of this chapter.

[1] The thesis was first argued by A. Kirchhoff, *Die Composition der Odyssee* (Berlin 1869), 84–6; id. (1879), 287–9. Of subsequent literature the following items may be especially noted: C. Heimreich, *Die Telemachie und der jungere Nostos* (Flensburg 1871), 17–20; Wilamowitz (1884), 165–8; Friedländer (1914); Kranz (1915); Maass (1915); Meuli (1921); Finsler (1924), i. 26, ii. 326 f.; Schwartz (1924), 52 f., 262–71; Wilamowitz (1924), ii. 236–48; Von der Mühll (1940), 721–31; Lesky (1948); Hölscher (1988); Heubeck (1989), 121; Kullmann (1992); Danek (1998), 197–201, 213, 252 f., 262.

between them. This is not something that Odysseus attempts to do. Circe has told him that he has a choice of routes: either between these rocks, which the gods call the Planktai,[2] or between Scylla and Charybdis. The second alternative is evidently the better bet, as not even the doves that supply Zeus with ambrosia can get through the Planktai without one of them being caught, and the only ship that ever got through was the Argo (12. 69–72):

> οἴη δὴ κείνῃ γε παρέπλω ποντοπόρος νηῦς
> Ἀργὼ πᾶσι μέλουσα, παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα·
> καί νύ κε τὴν ἔνθ' ὦκα βάλεν μεγάλας ποτὶ πέτρας,
> ἀλλ' Ἥρη παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων.
>
> The only seagoing ship that has sailed past by that route
> is the Argo that stirs everyone's interest, as she sailed from Aietes:
> even her it would have straightway hurled there against the great rocks,
> but Hera guided her past, since Jason was dear.

The two alternative ways, then, are the Argo's way and Odysseus' way; he is not to replicate Jason's adventure. But the verses prove that the *Odyssey* poet knew the I[40] story of the Argonauts' voyage and had it in mind as some sort of analogue or foil for Odysseus' peregrinations. The reference to Hera's assistance implies a narrative with divine machinery, from which scholars have rightly inferred an epic format.

Other allusions in archaic poetry confirm the currency of the myth by (at latest) the early seventh century. Hesiod in his catalogue of the world's major rivers (*Th.* 338–45) includes the Phasis, which owed its fame entirely to the Argo story.[3] The *Iliad* (7. 467–9, cf. 21. 40 f., 23. 746 f.) knows of Jason's union with Hypsipyle on Lemnos, which was always treated as an episode of the Argonautic expedition.

[2] *Od.* 12. 61. If no mortals' name is given, it is because mortals are not familiar with the place; cf. 10. 305 f., μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί, χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι. Later poets speak of the *Κυάνεαι πέτραι*, *Συμπληγάδες*, *Συνδρομάδες*, or *Συνορμάδες*. Some thought that the Wandering Rocks were different from the Clashing Rocks. Cf. Jessen (1902–9), 2544–7; Robert (1920–6), 825–7; Von der Mühll (1940), 728 f.; Hölscher (1988), 177 f.; G. Crane, *Calypso: Backgrounds and Conventions of the Odyssey* (Frankfurt 1988), 153 f.

[3] The more explicit references towards the end of the *Theogony* (956–62, 992–1002) come in sections of the poem added at a later period. Allusions to the subject matter in Hesiodic fragments (*Catalogue of Women*, frr. 38, 40, 63, 241; *Megalai Ehoiai*, frr. 253–5; *Keykos gamos*, fr. 263; *Aigimios*, fr. 299) date likewise from the sixth century rather than the seventh.



Mimnermus (frr. 11–11a W, quoted below) devotes several lines to Jason's successful recovery of the Fleece from the ends of the earth. Clearly it was celebrated in epic poetry.

However, we cannot identify any *Argonautica* of this period that was available to later readers. The myth was at least touched on (and developed) in the *Corinthiaca* attributed to Eumelus, but this poem cannot be dated earlier than the mid sixth century.[4] There was an ample account in the *Carmen Naupactium* (frr. 3–9 Bernabé = West), but this too reflected a Corinthian or Corinthian-colonial elaboration of the legend, with Jason moving to Corcyra after the death of Pelias. Nobody supposes this to be pre-Odyssean. Finally, a poem in 6,500 lines on 'the building of the Argo and Jason's voyage to Colchis' was ascribed to Epimenides, and it is cited a couple of times by the scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius.[5] The author of this pseudonymous poem agreed with 'Eumelus' in making Helios' son Aietes a native of Corinth (though he named the mother as Ephyra instead of Antiope). So here again we are not looking at a primary source.[6]

It seems, then, that the *Argonautica* known to the poet of the *Odyssey* was current only in oral form, or, if it was ever fixed in writing, it disappeared before the Hellenistic age. We can nevertheless make some useful deductions about it.

It made the Argo pass through the Clashing Rocks as it was *sailing from Aietes*, in other words on its return journey. As in most later versions, then, the Argonauts returned to Iolkos by a different route from the one they had followed on the outward voyage. We can deduce further that the Clashing Rocks were not yet identified with the mouth of the Bosporus at the entrance to the Black Sea, for the Argo must have passed the Bosporus on its outward journey. Jason's expedition was always conceived as going in that direction, into the Pontus.[7]

[4] West (2002), 130 f. This answers Von der Mühll's question (1940: 721), 'konnte diese [argonautische] Vorlage nicht schon das Epos des Eumelos von Korinth sein?'

[5] Diog. Laert. 1. 111, *Ἀργοῦς ναυπηγίαν τε καὶ Ἰάσονος εἰς Κόλχους ἀπόπλουν*; *Vorsokr.* 3 B 12–13 Diels–Kranz = *FGrHist* 457 F 11–12 = frr. 14–15 Fowler.

[6] In general the ascription of poetry to the semi-legendary seer Epimenides seems to have begun in the fifth century: M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983), 45–53.

[7] Cf. Meuli (1921), 86 = (1975), 652; Kullmann (1992), 127, 'denn in welcher Richtung sollte man Aia sonst suchen, wenn von dem Ausgangspunkt Iolkos her Lemnos auf dem Weg liegt?'

Here it is important to be clear that 'into the Pontus' does not mean 'into a sea known to be enclosed', and it does not mean 'along the Anatolian coasts to Colchis'. The myth was formed at a time when the Euxine was still largely unexplored. Here was a vast sea stretching away to the north and east, to unknown [41] regions. It seemed reasonable to suppose that, like the western sea, it connected with Oceanus.[8] So it did in the Argonautic epic known to Mimnermus:

(11) *οὐδέ κοτ' ἂν μέγα κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς Ἰήσων*
*ἐξ Αἴης τελέσας ἀλγινόεσσαν ὁδόν,*
*ὑβριστῆι Πελίηι τελέων χαλεπῆρες ἄεθλον,*
*οὐδ' ἂν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῦ καλὸν ἵκοντο ῥόον.*

Nor ever would Jason himself have brought back the great fleece from Aia, completing that arduous journey as he performed the difficult trial for arrogant Pelias, nor would they have reached Oceanus' fair stream.

(11a) *Αἰήταο πόλιν, τόθι τ' ὠκέος Ἠελίοιο*
*ἀκτῖνες χρυσέωι κείαται ἐν θαλάμωι*
*Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ χείλος, ἵν' ὤιχετο θεῖος Ἰήσων.*

Aietes' city, where swift Helios' rays are stored in a golden chamber by the edge of Oceanus, where godlike Jason went.

The Fleece had to be got from a fabulous kingdom called Aia, on the edge of Oceanus, near the sunrise; its ruler Aietes, 'the man of Aia', was a son of Helios himself. Aia was not yet identified with the real land of Colchis in Georgia, and the river Phasis that featured in the myth was not yet identified with the Colchian river Rioni.[9] The identification with Colchis first appears in 'Eumelus', and there is no

[8] Cf. Strab. 1. 2. 10, *ἁπλῶς δ' οἱ τότε τὸ πέλαγος τὸ Ποντικὸν ὥσπερ ἄλλόν τινα Ὠκεανὸν ὑπελάμβανον, καὶ τοὺς πλέοντας ἐκεῖσε ὁμοίως ἐκτοπίζειν ἐδόκουν ὥσπερ τοὺς ἔξω Στηλῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ προϊόντας*. Gladstone (1858), 280–6, 295–8, argued that the eastern and western seas were imagined to join up north of Thrace and Italy (Phoenician mariners having brought back rumours of the North Sea). Cf. Wilamowitz (1884), 166; A. Lesky, *Homeros* (Stuttgart 1967, from *RE* Supp. xi), 112 f., 'im Weltbild unserer Od. gibt es keinen Pontos und schon gar nicht einen im Norden durch Land begrenzten. Auf dieser Erdscheibe ist es möglich, im Norden der Landmasse zu Schiff von Westen nach Osten und umgekehrt zu gelangen.'

[9] The Colchians were a historical people, Urartian *Qulḫā*: I. M. Diakonoff and S. M. Kashkai, *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*, 9: *Geographical Names According to Urartian Texts* (Wiesbaden 1981), 68 f.



reason to suppose that it preceded Greek settlement in Colchis. This appears to date only from the middle of the sixth century, though the region was no doubt visited sporadically before that.[10] Previously the Phasis appears to have been identified with the Tanais, implying a north rather than a south Pontic setting for the Argo's voyage.[11]

We have seen that in the pre-Odyssean *Argonautica* Jason encountered the Clashing Rocks only on his way home from Aia. In later versions he did so on the way there. Once the limits of the Black Sea had become known and Aia set at Colchis, the Clashing Rocks more or less had to be put at the Bosporus and passed through on the outward voyage. The myth was modified by saying that after the [42] Argo had successfully passed them, they became fixed and stopped colliding.[12] So even in those versions where the Argonauts did not return from Aia by an alternative route, they did not have to face the danger a second time.

There is a good reason why in the early version the Clashing Rocks were encountered on the way back and not on the way out. It is a widespread folktale motif that to reach the other world, or to obtain the elixir of life from the ends of the earth, one must pass through a narrow portal that closes behind one to prevent return. One can get to the elixir, but not bring it back to the world of men.[13] The Clashing Rocks are a version of this portal. So it is correct that they do not

[10] Braund (1994), 89–118; G. R. Tsetskhladze, *Die Griechen in der Kolchis* (Amsterdam, 1998). Cf. Wilamowitz, *Griechische Tragodien* iii (3rd edn., Berlin 1910), 169 f.; Friedländer (1914), 300; Wilamowitz (1924), ii. 237; West (2002), 130.

[11] U. von Wilamowitz, *Aischylos. Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914), 152 f.; J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford 1962), 55–9. No weight should be put on the fact that the romancer Dionysius Scytobrachion made the Argonauts go by way of the Tauric Chersonese (*FGrHist* 32 F 14, Diod. 4. 44. 7, 46. 3), or on other late data such as that Panticapaeum was said to have been founded by a son of Aietes (St. Byz. s.v.; Eust. in Dion. Per. 311), or that *Κριοῦ μέτωπον*, the southern tip of the Crimea, was named after Phrixus' ram (ps.-Plut. *Fluv.* 14. 4). It may be more significant that Phineus is sometimes associated with Salmydessus (Robert (1920–6), 817). See also Braund (1994), 33 f.

[12] Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 210 f.; Ap. Rhod. 2. 604–6. Finsler (1924), i. 25, noted that the stabilization of the rocks showed them to be conceived as being in a definite terrestrial location; cf. Meuli (1921), 89, 104 = (1975), 655, 666 n. 2. But Finsler and others have wrongly taken the stabilization to be presupposed in the *Odyssey* narrative. The present tenses in the lines about the doves (12. 62–5) show that the rocks still crash together after the passage of the Argo.

[13] E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (2nd edn., London 1873), i. 347–50; Friedländer (1914), 302 n. 2; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge 1914–40), iii(2). 976–9; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, F 91.1, 152.2, 156.4.

appear as an obstacle when the hero is on his way to the distant treasure, but only when he seeks to return with it.[14] But for Hera's intervention they would have caught him.

That the Clashing Rocks had such associations independently of the Argo myth is confirmed by the reference to the doves that bring ambrosia to Zeus. This commodity, the essence of immortality, does not grow on Olympus but somewhere beyond Oceanus.[15] Even the gods have trouble obtaining it: the dove convoy gets through, but not without loss. There seems to be here the remnant of an Indo-European myth. In the *Rigveda* there are numerous allusions to the story that the divine Soma was brought to Indra from the furthest heaven by an eagle or falcon. According to the most explicit account Soma's guardian Kṛśānu shot an arrow at the bird and sheared off one of its tail feathers.[16] (This recalls how in Apollonius the Argonauts release a dove to test the state of the Clashing Rocks, and it has its tail feathers cut off as it passes through; the ship itself loses the *ἄκρα κόρυμβα* of its stern.[17]) According to the Avesta (*Yasna* 10. 10–12) the Haoma, which corresponds to the Indian Soma, was first planted on the cosmic mountain Haraitī and then carried by birds to other more accessible mountains. Ossetic legend tells of a tree on which golden life-giving apples grew. They were regularly stolen by a trio of doves that carried them overseas. The tree's guardian shot an arrow at them, and I[43] succeeded in wounding

[14] Jessen (1902–9), 2540, 'Daß die Gefahr gerade dem Heimkehrenden droht, ist charakteristisch. Die Felsen trennen ursprünglich das bekannte Diesseits von dem unbekannten Jenseits am Okeanos, zu dem der Mensch zwar leicht hinüber kommt, woher aber nur wenigen Helden der Vorzeit, und auch diesen nur unter den höchsten Gefahren, die Rückkehr vergönnt war'; Meuli (1921), 88=(1975), 653 f.; Finsler (1924), i. 24; Schwartz (1924), 52, 265, 267.

[15] Euripides, *Hipp.* 748, imagines *κρῆναι ἀμβρόσιαι* in the far west, by Atlas and the Hesperides; *pace* Barrett, he surely means something more than divine waterssprings. Moiro, fr. 1. 3–6 Powell, describes the infant Zeus being nourished in the Cretan cave on ambrosia that doves brought to him from Oceanus and on nectar that an eagle brought him from a rocky source. Pherecydes of Syros placed the source of the gods' ambrosia on the moon: Plut. *De facie lun.* 938b; M. L. West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford 1971), 24, 62 f.

[16] *Rgv.* 4. 27. 3–4, cf. 9. 77. 2; A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* i (2nd edn., Breslau 1927), 289–93. Other Vedic passages: *Rgv.* 1. 80. 2, 93. 6; 3. 43. 7; 4. 18. 13, 26. 4–7; 5. 45. 9; 6. 20. 6; 8. 82. 9, 100. 8; 9. 68. 6, 86. 24; 10. 11. 4, 144. 4. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (3. 6. 2. 9), the Soma 'was enclosed between two golden bowls(?). At every twinkling of the eye they closed shut with sharp edges.' In a similar account at *Mahābhārata* I 29. 2 the Soma is protected by a revolving bladed wheel.

[17] Ap. Rhod. 2. 571–3, 601; cf. Asclepiades of Tragilos, *FGrHist* 12 F 2, 31.



one of them, but it escaped all the same.[18] In Nordic mythology the gods depend for their youthfulness on the golden apples that belong to the goddess Iðunn. The giant Thiazi, in the form of an eagle, carried her off, apples and all, and she had to be recaptured by Loki, flying in the form of a falcon.[19]

## CIRCE

Both Circe and her island bear in the *Odyssey* the epithet *Αἰαίη*. This at once relates them to Aia, the goal of the Argonauts' journey, and the poet puts the connection beyond question when he introduces Circe as 'own sister to baleful Aietes; they were both born of Helios who shines for mortals, and of Perse, daughter of Oceanus' (10. 137–9; cf. Hes. *Th.* [956 f.]). Later on (12. 3–4) we learn that Circe's island is located in the furthest east,

*ὅθι τ' Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης*
*οἰκία καὶ χοροὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἠελίοιο,*

where are early-born Dawn's chambers and dancing-floors, and the risings of the Sun.

This is in keeping with the geography of the early *Argonautica*, but surprising in terms of the geography of the *Odyssey*. Granted, the poet is not plotting Odysseus' itinerary on a map. But he does have some sense of direction. When Menelaus' ships were blown off course at Cape Malea (3. 286 ff.), they were carried south and east: some of them reached Crete, others Egypt, and before he got home Menelaus also visited Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Libya (4. 83–5). This eastern sector of the Mediterranean is within the poet's known world, though he attaches some fabulous details to the real countries.[20] When Odysseus' ships are blown off course at the same

[18] J. Colarusso, *Nart Sagas from the Caucasus* (Princeton 2002), 13–15, cf. 50 f., 183.

[19] Thiodolf, *Haustlǫng* 1–13; Snorri, *Skáldskaparmál* 1. Meuli refers also to Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* no. 97, in which a prince obtains the water of life from a castle but loses a piece of his heel to the falling portcullis.

[20] Egypt lies beyond an immense ocean (3. 318–22); it is a place of abundant riches (3. 301; 4. 125–35), and a source of wonderful drugs and expert healers (4. 220–32). Pharos is visited by Proteus at midday (4. 384 ff.). In Libya the sheep lamb three times a year and there is never any shortage of dairy produce (4. 85–9).

point (9. 80 f.), they do not arrive at any of those regions, or at Sicily, which is also a land within the poet's ken (20. 383; 24. 211, 307, 366, 389). Evidently we are to think of them as sailing in the uncharted regions west of Cyrenaica. The Lotophagoi are possibly based on dim reports of some north African people.[21] But nothing hangs on this. What is more significant is that Aiolos sends Odysseus homeward on a west wind that blows steadily for nine days and brings him within sight of Ithaca (9. 20–9). At a later stage of his adventures he is marooned on Calypso's island: she is the daughter of Atlas (1. 52), who in early literature is located in the far west (Hes. *Th.* 517 f., etc.), and when she finally sends Odysseus on his way he steers an eastward course, keeping the Great Bear on his left (5. 270–7). This brings him on the eighteenth day to within sight of Scheria, still far from home, but presumably in the right general direction.

|[44] To this extent the poet appears faithful to the conception that Odysseus is roaming the great western sea, even if he never mentions mythical features of the extreme west such as the Hesperides or the Pillars of Heracles.[22] So what brings the hero to Circe's Aeaean isle, next to the house of Dawn and the risings of the sun? This is not the only point at which the poet seems to have eastern geography in mind. The Clashing Rocks were not necessarily thought of as in the east, as they had not yet been located at the Bosporus and we do not know how far the Argonauts travelled in the pre-Odyssean version; yet the Argonautic association itself makes us think of the eastern sea. We shall see that the Laestrygonian episode also has a strong Pontic connection. And when Odysseus sails over to Hades he approaches the caliginous land of the Cimmerians, who belong by the Sea of Azov.

Unless we want to suppose that the poet had no concern for geography at all and simply threw material from diverse sources together at random, there are two possible lines of explanation for his use of eastern beside western points of reference. He may have wanted to extend Odysseus' travels as far round the world as possible.

[21] For various theories and botanical information see Page (1973), 8–14. It may be remarked that '-eater' names are typical of Greek ethnography, not of mythology; cf. the Ἱππημολγοί γλακτοφάγοι of *Il.* 13. 5 f., the Ethiopian Ichthyophagoi (Hdt. 3. 19, etc.), Strouthophagoi (Agatharchides 57), and Akridophagoi (Diod. 3. 29. 1), etc.

[22] The Pillars are almost certainly a post-Odyssean addition to Greek mythology. Cf. West (1997), 464.



Or the eastern geography may just be the consequence of his decision to draw on the *Argonautica* as a source of material.

In favour of the first alternative one might cite the analogy of Heracles' wanderings, which Pherecydes in particular extended to cover the whole world, and the later versions of the Argonaut story such as that of Apollonius. But if that had been the *Odyssey* poet's intention, he would surely have been more explicit about how Odysseus got from west to east and back again, and he would have brought him within hail of such celebrated outlanders as the western and eastern Aethiopes (ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, 1. 22–4) and the Hyperboreans. The second explanation therefore seems preferable, and it is the one that scholars have favoured. They have sometimes supposed that the transition from west to east is mediated by Aiolos' floating island, arguing that it might have moved to a quite different position by the time Odysseus landed on it for the second time.[23] But the poet gives no hint that this was in his mind. If he was conscious of creating a geographical muddle, he thought it best to keep quiet about it.

To return to Circe: is she linked to Aia and identified as Aietes' sister because she herself played a role in the Argonaut saga? Or is this a new combination by the *Odyssey* poet, to make another node between Odysseus' itinerary and Jason's? It is hard to see what the point would be in the latter case. The likelihood is that Circe did belong to the Argonautic sphere. Certainly there is not much trace of this in the later tradition. In Apollonius Circe is relocated to Italy, because (in spite of the unequivocal Homeric statement that her island was in the east) all of Odysseus' adventures had come to be placed in the west. The Argonauts visit her, but evidently only because Apollonius wants to fill out their western peregrinations with material from the *Odyssey*.[24] She purifies Jason and Medea from the murder of Apsyrtus and then, after hearing their whole story, sends them on their way, declining either |[45] to help or hinder further (4. 659–752). This encounter cannot be taken as an echo of anything in an early *Argonautica*.

[23] Baer (1873), 51; Wilamowitz (1884), 164; Meuli (1921), 116=(1975), 675; Finsler (1924), i. 25. This interpretation is rejected by Berger (1904), 31; Drerup (1921), 181 f.; D. L. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* (Oxford 1955), 18 n. 3.

[24] Cf. Meuli (1921), 26, 54=(1975), 611, 628. They also pass by Calypso, the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, the Planktai (now distinguished from the Clashing Rocks), and Thrinakia, and they seek asylum with the Phaeacians (Ap. Rhod. 4. 573–1222). At 3. 309–13 it is explained how Circe came to reside so far away from Colchis.

There are, however, two pieces of evidence that point to a role for Circe in pre-Alexandrian Argonautic tradition. The territory of the Greek colony at Phasis contained a Plain of Circe, Κίρκαιον πεδίον.[25] It seems unlikely that the inhabitants named it merely on the strength of the Homeric statement that Circe was Aietes' sister. Rather they did so because she came somehow into the Argonaut legend. This is after all what the Homeric statement itself suggests. And the fifth-century mythographer Pherecydes (fr. 100 Fowler) said that the Golden Fleece was kept on the Αἰαίη νῆσος, which was in the river Phasis. The fragment does not mention Circe, but he cannot have used the expression 'Aeaean isle' without reference to the one famous in the *Odyssey*, and Circe must surely have resided on it.

What part might she have played in the pre-Odyssean *Argonautica*? We should guess that it was one favourable to the Argonauts' purpose. She might have assisted her niece Medea with *materia magica*; but Medea seems from the extant versions to have been fully competent in that department in her own right. What Circe was perhaps better qualified to do was to give Jason advice on the route back to Greece, which was to take him through the Clashing Rocks and other regions of which he knew nothing.[26] The Argonauts certainly needed such advice from someone before they left Aia, and Circe seems the ideal person to have given it. In this case the role that she plays in the *Odyssey*, advising Odysseus where his course will take him next and how he can best surmount the dangers he will face, is adapted from her role in the early *Argonautica*.

## THE SIRENS

When Odysseus sails on after his stay with Circe, the first thing he will come to, she tells him, is the isle of the Sirens (12. 39), and next after that he will face the choice of ways between the Clashing Rocks and Scylla/Charybdis. The Sirens, then, are sandwiched between the two elements in the poem most clearly labelled as Argonautic.[27] They

[25] Timaeus, *FGrHist* 566 F 84; Ap. Rhod. 2. 400, 3. 199–203.

[26] Cf. Meuli (1921), 100–13 = (1975), 663–73; Merkelbach (1969), 202 f. Danek (1998), 213, thinks that it might have been Medea who advised the Argonauts on the route to take, Circe taking over her role in the *Odyssey*.

[27] Cf. Kullmann (1992), 125; Danek (1998), 252 f.



themselves appear at least in later versions of the Argo story. The Argonauts countered their seductive singing by a means not available to Odysseus. They had on board a wonderful singer of their own, usually identified as Orpheus, and when they came within earshot of the Sirens he struck up his lyre and upstaged them. The episode is related by Apollonius (4. 891–919), and although it there forms part of an 'Odyssean' series of adventures (see above), it is more integrated than most into the plan of his epic, particularly if we accept Meuli's perception that it was for this that Orpheus was made an Argonaut in the first place. Meuli saw the myth against the background of the *Helfermärchen*, the type of story in which a band of people embark on a dangerous journey or quest, having among them certain individuals with exceptional abilities, and each of these individuals enables them to overcome a particular danger.[28] Orpheus occupies the first place in Apollonius' catalogue of Argonauts (1. 23–34), and it is explained that Jason enlisted him as ἐπαρωγὸν ἀέθλων on the advice of Chiron. This detail, which the scholiast informs us came from Herodorus, implies that Orpheus' role was to be of some importance.

He had indeed been an Argonaut long before Apollonius. The evidence goes back to at least the middle of the sixth century.[29] None of the earlier sources mentions the Sirens. But it is tempting to combine a fragment of Simonides which seems to describe the calm that accompanied the Sirens' song (cf. *Od.* 12. 168 f.), *PMG* 595

> οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐννοσίφυλλος ἀήτα
> τότ' ὦρτ' ἀνέμων, ἅτις κ' ἀπεκώλυε
> κιδναμέν<α>ν μελιαδέα γᾶρυν
> ἀραρεῖν ἀκοαῖσι βροτῶν,

[28] Meuli (1921), 2–24 = (1975), 594–610; on Orpheus, 23, 92 = 610, 657; cf. J. R. Bacon, *The Voyage of the Argonauts* (London 1925), 85–91; Davies (2002), 8–15.

[29] Sculptured metope from the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes* iv, pl. 4; *LIMC* Argonautai no. 2 = Orpheus no. 6), cf. I. M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1941), 1 f., and Kullmann (1992), 128 n. 108; 'Eumelus', *Corinthiaca* fr. 22* W., cf. West (2002), 122; Ibycus *PMGF* 306? (cf. Linforth, 3); Simon. *PMG* 567; Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 176 f.; Eur. *Hyps.* 260–6, 1619 (=frr. 752g. 8–14, 759a. 98); Herodorus frr. 42–3 Fowler. Pherecydes (fr. 26 F.) said that the Argonauts' singer was Philammon, not Orpheus. The Delphic metope may have shown both of them (Robert (1920–6), 416 n. 6). K. Ziegler, *RE* xviii(1). 1254, takes this to be a compromise between the two versions, and argues that Philammon was the Argonauts' original singer. He allows, however, that Philammon may have been added to Orpheus on this monument because of his importance at Delphi. Cf. A. Kossatz-Deissmann in *LIMC* viii(1), 982.

for not so much as a leaf-shaking breath of wind was there then, that could have stayed that spreading honeysweet music from lodging in mortal ears,

with the same poet's description of Orpheus' singing at sea, *PMG* 567

> τοῦ καὶ ἀπειρέσιοι
> ποτῶντ' ὄρνιθες ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς, ἀνὰ δ' ἰχθύες ὀρθοὶ
> κυανέοι' ἐξ ὕδατος ἅλλοντο καλᾶι σὺν ἀοιδᾶι.

Numberless birds flew about over his head, and the fish leapt straight up from the darkling water at his lovely singing.[30]

Other fragments (*PMG* 544–8, 576) indicate that Simonides wrote of the Argonauts' expedition at some length. It is hard to see where else but on the Argo Orpheus would have charmed the fishes, or in what context but that of the Sirens Simonides would have described his singing for the Argonauts. The epic poet, to be sure, could describe it on other, more quotidian occasions; Apollonius indeed uses the motif of the delighted fish at the first opportunity, as soon as the ship sets out to sea (1. 572–4). But the lyric poet will have been telling of a song at a significant juncture.

A further argument may be adduced for the antiquity of the Argonauts' encounter with the Sirens. According to some authors, Proteus had told the Sirens that if ever they failed to enchant someone with their singing, they would die; when Odysseus passed them by, they threw themselves off their cliff.[31] The earliest evidence is a striking red-figure stamnos in the British Museum, dating from about 470 BCE. It depicts Odysseus' ship, with himself bound to the mast, being rowed forward between two I[47] overhanging cliffs, on each of which perches a bird-bodied Siren. A third Siren has keeled over and is plunging paralysed towards the sea.[32] Now, the motif of the failed singer's death typically occurs in stories where there is a

[30] F. G. Schneidewin, *Simonidis Cei carminum reliquiae* (Braunschweig 1835), 27–9, combined 567+595+508 as one fragment, taking the μελιαδὴς γᾶρυς of 595 to be Orpheus', not the Sirens' (who refer to their own μελίγηρυν ὄπα, *Od.* 12. 187). If 508 does come from the same context, and if two dactyls are missing, 508. 2–5 (χειμέριον – ἐπιχθόνιοι) might stand in responsion to 595.

[31] 'Epimenides' fr. 8 Fowler; Lyc. 712–16; Strab. 6. 1. 1; Apollod. epit. 7. 19; Hyg. *Fab.* 125. 13, 141. 2; Serv. ad *Aen.* 5. 864; Myth. Vat. 1. 186, 2. 101; sch. *Od.* 12. 39; Eust. 1709. 48.

[32] London E 440; Beazley, *ARV* 289 no. 1; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London 1975), pl. 184. 1; *LIMC* Odysseus no. 155.



contest or challenge. The Sphinx dies when someone appears who can answer her riddle. Calchas dies when Mopsos proves himself the superior seer.[33] Homer dies when he cannot solve the fisher-boys' conundrum. There are analogous stories in Indian and Nordic literature.[34] The Sirens' suicide, therefore, would seem more appropriate to an occasion when a better singer appeared than to one when they were simply frustrated by a bound captain and a deaf crew. We may suspect that it originated in the Argonautic tradition. If the *Odyssey* poet knew it in that tradition, he had to suppress it so that the Sirens could still be there for his hero. After that the fame of the *Odyssey* made it impossible to reattach it to the Argonauts.[35]

The same Argonautic tradition may have been responsible for the characterization of the Sirens as creatures with the heads of women and the bodies of birds, something not mentioned in the *Odyssey* narrative, and for the naming of their island as Anthemoessa, if indeed it is meant as a name.[36]

No weight can be put on the fact that Circe does not mention to Odysseus in the case of the Sirens, as she will do in the case of the Clashing Rocks, that the Argonauts got past them safely. She could hardly have done so without explaining about their singer, which would have been awkward and unhelpful to Odysseus. It is enough that she refers to the Argo once in another context.

There may be some reluctance to believe that Orpheus appeared in a seventh-century *Argonautica*, because we have no evidence for him in any connection before the sixth century (the Delphic metope, and then Ibycus). When he does appear, however, it is first as an Argonaut. As we have no earlier sources for the Argonaut story apart from the brief allusions in Hesiod, Mimnermus, and the *Odyssey*, there is no reason why Orpheus should not have played his part in it from the beginning.

[33] 'Hes.' fr. 278; Pherec. fr. 142 F.

[34] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 3. 9. 26; *Mahābhārata* III 133–4; *Vafþrúðnismál* 7, 19.

[35] Cf. Franz Müller, *Die antiken Odyssee-Illustrationen* (Berlin 1913), 39 f.; Robert (1920–6), 824. Only in the late Orphic *Argonautica* (1284–90) do we find the Sirens' suicide in the Argonautic context. It is possible that pseudo-Epimenides' reference to their suicide when Odysseus passed came in the Argonautic poem that went under Epimenides' name. In telling how the Argonauts overcame the Sirens the poet might have looked forward to their subsequent fate.

[36] 'Hes.' fr. 27, νῆσον ἐς Ἀνθεμόεσσαν, ἵνά σφισι δῶκε Κρονίων; Ap. Rhod. 4. 891 f., νῆσον ἐ καλὴν Ἀνθεμόεσσαν. In both places the word can be taken as a descriptive epithet; cf. the Sirens' λειμὼν ἀνθεμόεις in *Od.* 12. 159.

## TELEPYLOS AND THE LAESTRYGONIANS

The Telepylos episode (10. 81–132) is perhaps the most intriguing of all. It immediately precedes Odysseus' arrival at Circe's island. The topography is described in detail, with an abundance of proper names. It is introduced as the town of Lamos, Laestrygonian Telepylos; its current ruler is Antiphates, and it draws its water from the fountain Artakie. It is a place where the days are so long that evening and morning twilight run into each other, 'for the paths of night and day are close[48] together' (86), though this curiosity turns out to have no bearing on the narrative. What does, is the configuration of the harbour (87–90),

> ὅν πέρι πέτρη
> ἠλίβατος τετύχηκε διαμπερὲς ἀμφοτέρωθεν,
> ἀκταὶ δὲ προβλῆτες ἐναντίαι ἀλλήλῃσιν
> ἐν στόματι προύχουσιν, ἀραιὴ δ' εἴσοδός ἐστιν.

> It is surrounded by high cliffs on both sides; projecting headlands jut forward opposite one another at the mouth, and the entrance is long and narrow.

All the ships except Odysseus' own sail in and are able to moor in close order, because the water within the harbour is completely calm, never disturbed even by small waves (93 f.). The canny Odysseus keeps his ship outside, fastening a line to a rock at the entrance. He then climbs one of the rugged headlands to a viewpoint. No farmlands are to be seen, but rising smoke betrays the position of a settlement. Three men are sent to investigate. They follow a road used by wagons to bring timber down from the mountains, and meet the daughter of Antiphates, who has come out on an errand to the fountain.

What follows is more routine. The Laestrygonians turn out to be man-eating giants. They pelt the eleven ships in the harbour with huge rocks and destroy them, seizing the men as snacks (118–24). These are motifs repeated from the Polyphemus episode. The poet is not here concerned with novelty of incident, but with disposing of the fleet, so that from now on he will have only one ship to deal with. The rest have in fact been an encumbrance from the start. They contributed nothing to the Lotus-eater and Aiolos episodes, and they had to be parked out of the way for the Polyphemus story (9. 172 f., 543 f.). They might better have been blown out of sight by the Malea storm—unless the poet was set on having them demolished by giants in an enclosed harbour.



It has long been observed that this event is oddly analogous to what Apollonius' Argonauts experience at Cyzicus in the Propontis.[37] They enter the more northerly of two harbours on the west side of the isthmus, the one known as Καλὸς λιμήν, and they deposit an unwanted anchor-stone at the fountain Artakie. They receive a friendly welcome from the Doliones who live on the isthmus and landward of it. The next morning some of them climb Mount Dindymon on the peninsula of Arctonnesos to get a view of the seaways, while others move the Argo to the more southerly harbour, the Χυτὸς λιμήν. At this juncture the six-armed giants who inhabit the peninsula rush out of the hills and start hurling rocks to block off the harbour and trap the ship. But Heracles is there and starts shooting them down with his arrows, while some of the others, returning from the mountain, join in the battle, and soon the giants are all dead.

Kirchhoff argued that the Odyssean adventure must be secondary to the Argonautic, the latter being a Cyzican foundation myth and Artakia being a real place in Cyzican territory. (The date of Cyzicus' foundation, therefore, would give us a *terminus post quem* for our *Odyssey*.) Meuli added the observation that the giants' hurling of rocks into the harbour exit was the mythical aition of the breakwater, built of massive blocks, that gave the Χυτὸς λιμήν its name. The *Odyssey* I[49] poet, he thought, adapted the story for his own purposes and was forced to make substantial changes in it.[38]

From the scholia to Apollonius we know that he was drawing material from local historians of a century or more before his time, such as Deiochos or Deilochos of Cyzicus (*FGrHist* 471) and Herodorus of Heraclea (*FGrHist* 31; Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography*, 232–57). Herodorus in a work devoted to the Argonauts (F 7) had mentioned the giants of Arctonnesos and their battle with Heracles.[39] Deiochos (F 7) attributed the attempted blocking of the

[37] Ap. Rhod. 1. 936–1011; R. H. Klausen, *Die Abenteuer des Odysseus* (Bonn 1834), 23–6; Kirchhoff (1879), 287 f.; Kranz (1915), 103; Meuli (1921), 89–91 = (1975), 655 f.; Finsler (1924), ii. 326 f.; Lesky (1948), 54 = (1966), 58; Kullmann (1992), 127; Danek (1998), 197–9.

[38] Cf. Merkelbach (1969), 202.

[39] This is problematic, because according to fr. 41 Herodorus denied that Heracles sailed with the Argonauts. For another variant of the myth cf. Agathocles, *FGrHist* 472 F 2.

harbour to Pelasgians who had been expelled from Thessaly and who were therefore hostile to the Argonauts. The Cyzican myth, then, was established in some form by about 400 BCE.

It is true, moreover, that Apollonius' Artakie reflects a real toponym of the area, though only he and his scholiast use this form of the name and say it was a spring.[40] The actual name was Artake, and it denoted a town (the modern Erdek), a wooded hill, and a small offshore island.[41] Apollonius has assimilated it to the Homeric *κρήνη Ἀρτακίη*.

Hölscher mounted a spirited attack against the hypothesis that the Cyzican aetiological legend lay behind the Laestrygonian episode of the *Odyssey*.[42] The Argonautic model, he argued, would have had to contain in combination the rock-throwing giants, the spring Artakia, and the wondrous long days. But the spring has no organic part to play in the story, and the long days, a fabulous element that must echo a rumour from northern Europe, cannot possibly have been associated with Cyzicus: the shores of the Propontis were by no means *terra incognita*. No one ever associates the Laestrygonians with that region.

There are other things in the Odyssean narrative that the Cyzicus hypothesis cannot account for. The physical description of the Laestrygonian harbour, which is not merely decorative but essential to the story, does not in the least fit Cyzicus, which has two open harbours, not one enclosed one. It was observed long ago (though the fact has been sunk in oblivion for the last seventy years) that there is another place in the Pontic area, and only one—a place that Greek mariners must have reached before the end of the seventh century—that fits the Homeric description extraordinarily well. That place is Balaklava in the Crimea.

The accompanying views [here omitted] will give an idea of its situation. The harbour is enclosed by steep rocky hills. The entrance, not easily seen from the seaward side, is narrow and winding, and the town is hidden from view until one emerges into the main part of the inlet. The harbour is so sheltered by the surrounding hills and by the bends of the entrance channel as to be practically wave-free.

[40] Sch. Ap. Rhod. 1. 955–60c, with the information that it was mentioned by Alcaeus (fr. 440 Voigt) and Callimachus (fr. 109 Pf.). Orph. *Arg.* 494 copies Apollonius.

[41] Hdt. 4. 14. 2; 6. 33. 2; ps.-Scylax 94; Strab. 12. 8. 11; 14. 1. 6 (from Anaximenes of Lampsacus, *FGrHist* 72 F 26); St. Byz. s.v.; cf. Soph. fr. 917, Demosth. Bith. fr. 6 Powell.

[42] Hölscher (1988), 172 f.



The discovery is due to the Swiss geologist and botanist Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux. In the sixth volume of his *Voyage autour du Caucase* (Paris 1843), 111 ff., he writes:

Si j'avais une description à donner de la baie de Balaklava, à peine pourrais-je en faire un tableau plus vrai et plus clair que celui que je viens d'emprunter au vieil Homère . . . En quelqu'endroit qu'Ulysse ait abordé, à droite ou à gauche du port de Balaklava, d'affreux rochers [52] bordent la rive; en les escaladant, il ne pouvait voir comme aujourd'hui qu'un sol aride, que des roches jurassiques dont les tristes fragments semés de genevriers noirs ne laissent voir ni la trace de l'homme, ni celle de bœuf, ni celle de son labeur. Des tourbillons de fumée pouvaient seuls lui indiquer la ville des Lestrigons, cachée par les rochers.

Le héraut et les deux compagnons qu'Ulysse envoie . . . devaient déboucher dans la large vallée crayeuse de Balaklava où ils trouvaient la grande route par laquelle on exportait, comme on le fait encore aujourd'hui, les dépouilles des forêts qui recouvrent les montagnes voisines, tandis que Balaklava et ses alentours sont nus. En suivant cette route, ils arrivent à la tête du port, où est encore actuellement la seule source d'eau de Balaklava, la fontaine de la nymphe *Artacie*, ouverte à tous les citoyens.

We must pardon the intrusion of Dubois's *interpretatio Homerica*; he does not mean to say that the spring bore the name of Artakia in his time. And it is not exactly at the head of the port, but in a defile some 2 km. away. The English made grateful use of it in the Crimean War.

Before climbing to his vantage point Odysseus moors his ship at the very entrance to the harbour, fastening cables from a rock (10. 95 f.):

> *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οἷος σχέθον ἔξω νῆα μέλαιναν,*
> *αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ, πέτρης ἐκ πείσματα δήσας.*

Even this detail is realistic. According to the *The Black Sea Pilot* (3rd edn., London 1884), 59,

A vessel about to enter the harbour should steer for the ruined towers on the eastern point, and on a near approach, the entrance, which is about 1¼ cables wide, and bordered by steep rocks, will open out to port. Before entering, a boat is generally sent to make a hawser fast to the rocks at the western point of the entrance.

[52] Dubois notes that the Crimea was in antiquity the home of the savage Tauroi, notorious for their murderous reception of

strangers.[43] Strabo tells us that Balaklava itself, anciently Συμβόλων λιμήν, was the centre of their piratical operations, where they attacked those who took refuge in the harbour.[44] Dubois found it all too easy to picture the Laestrygonians' bombardment of Odysseus' ships:

> Celui qui connait le port de Balaklava, se représentera facilement cette cruelle destruction et jugera s'il y a rien d'amplifié dans le récit d'Homère, rien qui ne s'accorde strictement avec les localités, comme si Homère avait été sur place pour décrire le combat.[45]

Another nineteenth-century traveller with knowledge of the Crimea confirmed Dubois's observations and quoted with approval his declaration that the *Odyssey* could hardly be bettered as a description of Balaklava. The biologist Karl Ernst von Baer, the discoverer of the human ovum, emphasized the singularity of the physical geography of the place: Greek coasts had nothing like it, and Homer's description could not have been the product of his imagination; he must have heard an account of Balaklava and of its barbarous denizens who attacked sailors.[46]

The peculiarity of the long hours of daylight, which makes no sense in relation to Cyzicus, is more intelligible in a north Pontic context. A Milesian in the Crimea, at 45° N., would have found that the midsummer sun was in the sky for an hour longer than at home, and that the twilight was noticeably more prolonged. But this is not the answer. As many scholars have seen, the lines in the *Odyssey* (10. 82–6) must reflect knowledge, or rather rumour, of a much more northerly latitude such as the Baltic region. Such rumour

[43] Hdt. 4. 103, Eur. *IT* 34–41, Diod. 3. 43. 5, Mela 2. 11, etc. The land of the Tauroi appeared as Iphigeneia's final destination already in the *Cypria*, if Proclus' summary is to be trusted.

[44] Strabo 7. 4. 2, εἶθ' ἡ παλαιὰ Χερρόνησος κατεσκαμμένη, καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν λιμὴν στενόστομος, καθ' ὃν μάλιστα οἱ Ταῦροι, Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, τὰ ληιστήρια συνίσταντο, τοῖς καταφεύγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιχειροῦντες· καλεῖται δὲ Συμβόλων λιμήν. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12. 17; Arr. *Peripl.* 19; Anon. *Peripl.* 55 (*GGM* i. 416: λιμὴν ἄκλυστος); Baer (1873), 23, 'die Bucht von Balaklawa ist wie geschaffen für Seeräuber'; Maass (1915), 17 n. 2.

[45] Dubois (1843), 114.

[46] Baer (1873), 19, 23; (1878), 5. Cf. F. Rühl, *Jb.f. cl. Phil.* 109 (1874), 517–26; Berger (1904), 26; E. Oberhummer, *RE* ivA. 1091; A. Herrmann, *RE* vA. 22. Carpenter (1946), 107 f., claimed that the description of the Laestrygonian harbour was based on Bonifacio, and this identification is now a commonplace of guidebooks to Corsica. Bonifacio has some of the right characteristics, but its long harbour is no narrower at the entrance than further in; contrast the ἀραιὴ εἴσοδος of *Od.* 10. 90.



would have come down by way of one of the amber or other trade routes, either to the head of the Adriatic or down one of the great Russian rivers such as the Dnieper.[47] When we find it attached to a topographical description that must be based on Balaklava, it is natural to suppose that two separate tales brought back from the northern Euxine by Ionian sailors have been run together. The poet who first enshrined them in an epic narrative was presumably aware from what quarter of the earth they came, and he is much more likely to have been a poet concerned with the adventures of the Argonauts, whose journey lay in that direction, than one concerned with Odysseus' wanderings in the western sea. The inference[53] is that the Laestrygonians may be added to the elements that the *Odyssey* poet borrowed from the *Argonautica*.

We reach this conclusion without reference to Artakie. The relationship between the Ithacans' adventure at Telepylos and the Argonauts' at Cyzicus remains unclear. If the Laestrygonian episode (or its Argonautic antecedent) originated as an epicized account of an unpleasant experience of Greek seamen in the bay of Balaklava, it cannot also be derived from an aetiological myth relating to a breakwater. The parallelism between the two stories seems the less impressive the longer one contemplates them. Artake is a genuine Arctonnesian toponym. But similar names probably occurred elsewhere. They may have been Thracian, though the evidence is equivocal.[48] There is a river Artek in the Crimea, ten miles from Yalta and about forty from Balaklava. One possibility, then, is that the name appeared in the Argonautic episode based on Balaklava, or another episode located in the northern Euxine, and that the Cyzicans subsequently transferred the story to their own Artake, adapting it to their own purposes. Another possibility is that the

[47] Cf. Gladstone (1858), 324 f., 343 (rumour brought by Phoenicians); Baer (1873), 29; Wilamowitz (1884), 168, 'von diesem Phaenomen hatten die Griechen Kenntnis, seit sie bis Olbia fuhren . . . Und will man durchaus Mittelmanner, so dürften sich die Anwohner des Dniepr, die im sechsten Jahrhundert griechische Werkstücke bis in die Lausitz trugen, . . . eignen'; Drerup (1921), 180; Finsler (1924), i. 26; Page (1973), 44–7. By Herodotus' time (3. 115) there were definite notions of a northern sea from which amber came, as well as of Isles of Tin, *sc.* Britain.

[48] Cf. A. Herrmann, *RE* Supp. vA. 22, 'ein in thrakischen und verwandten Sprachgebieten wiederholt vorkommender Name'; D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Vienna 1957), 28; K. Alpers in the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, i. 1355; Hölscher (1988), 173, 337, who refers *inter alia* to Hesych. Ἀρτάκη· πολίχνιον Ἑλλησπόντου. καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀρμενίων κρήνη, and to the Hittite noun *artaḫḫi* 'water conduit'.

Cyzican Artak(i)e was the only one that ever appeared in the Argonaut legend, that it did so already before the *Odyssey*, and that the *Odyssey* poet, remodelling the Argonautic Balaklava story and wanting a name for a fountain, borrowed the name Artakie from a different episode in the same poem. In any case the name comes from somewhere in the north-east, not from the western Mediterranean.

## CIRCE REVISITED

Escaping from Telepylos with his one ship, Odysseus arrives, apparently the same day, at the Aeaean isle where Circe lives (10. 133–9). Now it is a curious fact that less than four miles along the coast from Balaklava there is a prominent cape, the name of which is Aia. I quote again from *The Black Sea Pilot* (p. 60):

> Cape Aia. The coast from the entrance of Balaklava curves to the southward, its appearance being that of a long wall of gigantic rocks about 1,500 feet in height, with a flat and wooded surface, the perpendicular extremity of which is cape Aia, which bears S.E. ¾ E. 8 miles from Feolent point, and is remarkable for its height, steepness, and reddish appearance.[49]

There is actually a cape on Circe's island: it is chosen as the site for Elpenor's tomb, which is marked with a stele and oar for future men to see (11. 76 *καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι*; 12. 11 *ὅθ' ἀκροτάτη πρόεχ' ἀκτή*). Several scholars have inferred that this was a real landmark on some known shore.[50]

[54] The name Aia occurs elsewhere in the Crimea, especially for mountains. There seems to be no record of it in this region in antiquity, and its origin is obscure. At any rate it is not the product of modern antiquarian fancy, since no one after the sixth century BCE ever located the Argonautic Aia anywhere but at Colchis, or the Odyssean Circe anywhere but in the western Mediterannean. Some have connected it with a Tatar word for 'bear'. Dubois, rejecting this explanation, took it to be from Greek *ἅγιος*; he imagined that it went back to the time when the Tauroi had their sanctuaries on cliff-tops, convenient for throwing the bodies of their sacrificial victims into the sea.[51] This will clearly not do.

One cannot in honesty put much weight on the existence of an Aia so close to Balaklava. It should probably be set aside, with regret, as a merry coincidence, together with the fact that fourteen miles further along the coast there is a Cape Kirkin or Kirkip.

## HADES

From Circe's island, and on her advice, Odysseus makes an excursion to Hades, where he meets a series of dead people and descries others. There is no evidence for a corresponding episode in any version of the Argonaut story, even if it is sometimes held to be in origin some sort of 'Jenseitsreise'.[52] However, some of the associated topography has or may have Pontic and thus Argonautic connections.

To reach Hades Odysseus has to cross the river Oceanus (10. 508, 511; 11. 13, 21, 158, 639; 12. 1; cf. 24. 11). We have it on Mimnermus' authority that the Argonauts reached Oceanus. According to most early versions they reached it by sailing up the Phasis or Tanais, and then followed it round in a long arc until, by way of the Nile, or the straits of Gibraltar, or an overland route, they were able to re-enter the Mediterranean.[53]

Odysseus' ship, after sailing all day, arrives at the *πείρατα Ὠκεανοῖο*.

> *ἔνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός τε πόλις τε,*
> *ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς*
> *Ἠέλιος φαέθων ἐπιδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν,*
> *οὔθ' ὁπότ' ἂν στείχῃσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα*

[49] The same source advises that there is good anchorage in Laspynskaa Boukta, a bay to the east of the cape. There is a fuller description of Cape Aia in Dubois (1843), 105 f.

[50] Wilamowitz (1884), 145, 167, 'wenn die Geschichte aetiologisch ist, eine Parallele zu Palinuros und Misenos, oder auch dem heros von Temese, so hat sich der Dichter das Cap von Aiaia als noch zugänglich gedacht, und ist dasselbe an der Südküste des Pontos wirklich zu suchen'; Maass (1915), 21; Meuli (1921), 91 n. 1 = (1975), 656 n. 2; Merkelbach (1969), 204, 'auf dem äußersten Kap von Aiaia liegt ein Hügel mit einer Grabsäule. Diese Lokalität muß irgendwo im Pontos gezeigt worden sein'.

[51] Dubois (1843), 20 f., 108.

[52] Meuli (1921), 15 f. = (1975), 604; Kullmann (1992), 128; M. Davies, *CQ* 38 (1988), 282 with n. 29; id. (2002), 15 f.

[53] Mimn. 11. 4, 11a. 3; 'Hes.' fr. 241; Hecataeus fr. 18 Fowler; Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 26, 251; Antimachus fr. 76 Matthews; Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F 85; Scymnus fr. 5 Gisinger (*RE* iiiA. 666).

οὔθ' ὅτ' ἂν ἆψ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προτράπηται,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νὺξ ὀλοὴ τέταται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.
νῆα μὲν ἔνθ' ἐλθόντες ἐκέλσαμεν.

There is the people and community of the Cimmerians, veiled in mist and cloud: never does the shining Sun look upon them with his rays, neither when he goes up to the starry heaven nor when he turns back from heaven to earth, but baleful night extends over those wretched folk. There we arrived and beached the ship. (11. 14–20)

The Cimmerians were a real people, as the Ionians learned all too well in the mid seventh century when they came rampaging through Asia Minor. 'Now the fierce Cimmerian horde is advancing', exclaims Callinus at Ephesus (fr. 5). But on what shore of Ocean did these unwelcome visitants have their home? Antiquity's answer is unanimous: they lived to the north of the Black Sea, east of the Sea of [55] Azov and around to what was commonly known as the Cimmerian Bosporus, that is, the straits of Kerch.[54] Strabo concluded:

Moreover, he [Homer] knows the Cimmerian Bosporus, as he knows the Cimmerians. He does not, presumably, just know their name and not the Cimmerians themselves, seeing that in his time, or shortly before, they overran the entire territory from the Bosporus as far as Ionia. Anyway he even hints at the clime of their country, which is dark and, as he says, 'veiled in mist and cloud' (etc.).[55]

The benighted Cimmerians of the *Odyssey*, who live just across the Oceanus from Circe, must again be taken from an Argonautic tradition that incorporated the latest reports and rumours from the northern Euxine.[56] Gladstone suggested that the strong current that

[54] Hdt. 4. 12. 1, 28. 1, 45. 2, 100. 1; [Aesch.] *PV* 729 f.; Posidonius fr. 44a Theiler = 272 Edelstein–Kidd; Strab. 11. 2. 5; Dion. Per. 167 f., etc.

[55] Strab. 1. 1. 10, cf. 1. 2. 9; 3. 2. 12. For the late dating of Homer here presupposed cf. *Mus. Helv.* 52 (1995), 204 n. 4 [=above, Chapter 17]. For the climatic interpretation of the Cimmerians' perpetual darkness cf. Gladstone (1858), 294; Baer (1878), 8; Maass (1915), 24, 'über der heutigen Halbinsel Taman ... lagert bei Windstille, wie Reisende versichern, eine eigentümlich trübe Luft, "ein Heerrauch, der einem dicken Nebel gleicht". Er stammt von den häufigen Schlamm- und Bergquellen jener Gegend.' Others take it as the obverse of the Laestrygonians' perpetual daylight: Gladstone (1858), 343; Berger (1904), 15; Minns (1913), 436; Drerup (1921), 180; Finsler (1924), i. 26; Heubeck (1989), 79.

[56] Cf. Baer (1873), 15; (1878), 8 f.; Wilamowitz (1884), 165, 'die Kimmerier ... sind ein skythisches Volk, dessen reale Wohnsitze genau da liegen, wo der Zusammenhang der Dichtung sie ansetzt. Ob der Dichter die Kimmerier von ihren Raubzügen her kennt, oder woher sonst, ist dafür ganz gleichgiltig, da er sie eben in ihren heimischen Sitzen anführt'; Maass (1915), 23.



flows out from the Sea of Azov, giving the straits 'the character of a vast marine river', was taken to be the Oceanus itself; he notes that Odysseus sails upstream to reach Hades' shore, downstream in returning to Circe (11. 21, 639).[57]

In her instructions to Odysseus for the Hades expedition (10. 504–40) Circe does not mention the Cimmerians. She tells him to land at the place

ἔνθ' ἀκτή τε λάχεια καὶ ἄλσεα Περσεφονείης
μακραί τ' αἴγειροι καὶ ἰτέαι ὠλεσίκαρποι,

where are the low shore and the groves of Persephone, tall poplars and wasting willows.

After beaching his ship he should proceed towards the house of Hades, and wilder scenery will meet his eyes (513–15):

ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέροντα Πυριφλεγέθων τε ῥέουσιν
Κωκυτός θ', ὃς δὴ Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ,
πέτρη τε ξύνεσίς τε δύω ποταμῶν ἐριδούπων.

There, flowing into Acheron, are Pyriphlegethon and Cocytus, which is a branch of the Water of Styx, and a rock, and the meeting of the two noisy rivers.

Baer claimed to have found the inspiration for these scenes precisely at the Cimmerian Bosporus. On both sides of the strait there are hellish vistas of mud volcanoes with eruptions of naphtha, while at Achuyevo on the east shore of the Sea of Azov a very shallow landing-beach gives access to broad meadows and a forest of tall, dark poplars.[58]

[56] If these equations are to be taken seriously, the inference, in line with the previous argument, would be that the Argonauts of the pre-Odyssean poem, while they did not stop to parley with ghosts, nevertheless got a view of these other-worldly landscapes as they sailed by on Oceanus' stream. With that model before him, we could understand how the *Odyssey* poet came to use this setting for what was in the first instance a consultation of a famous dead seer,

[57] Gladstone (1858), 288, 294 f.; similarly Baer (1878), 10.

[58] Baer (1873), 33–7, with a graphic description of the mud volcanoes' activities; (1878), 9–11. Cf. Minns (1913), 436, 'A clear case [of an Odyssean adventure bearing every mark of a Pontic setting] is that of the Cimmerians. Their place was on the Cimmerian Bosporus, a land weird enough with its mud volcanoes and marshes to supply the groundwork for a picture of the Lower World.'

such as would more naturally be performed at a central Greek *nekyomanteion*.[59]

## THE PARTING OF THE WAYS. THE SUN'S CATTLE. THE PHAEACIANS

Odysseus returns to the Aeaean isle, buries Elpenor, takes further instruction from Circe, and sails away. After passing the Sirens successfully he reaches the place where he has the choice of ways, through the Clashing Rocks or between Scylla and Charybdis. The Clashing Rocks mark the way that Jason went; Scylla and Charybdis, then, are the way he did not go, the way Odysseus goes. Here he diverges decisively from the Argonauts' track,[60] and none of the ensuing adventures has an evident Argonautic or Pontic connection. Apollonius' Argonauts, of course, do pass by Scylla, Charybdis, Thrinakia, and Calypso's isle, but avoid engagement with any of them. They are all firmly located in the west and come from the *Odyssey*, not from older Argonautic tradition.

We must pause over Thrinakia, as some have thought that the solar cattle and Helios' wrath should belong in the story of the journey to the sunrise and the encounter with the Sun's children.[61] The principal argument is, as Meuli puts it, that 'der Zorn des Helios steht als eine auffällige Motivverdoppelung neben dem die Erzählung sonst beherrschenden Zorne des Poseidon'. Poseidon in 9. 536 heard his son Polyphemus' prayer that Odysseus should reach home, if at all, *ὀψὲ κακῶς*, on someone else's ship, having lost all his comrades. It is Poseidon who destroys the boat that he built on Calypso's isle and makes him swim for his life (5. 282 ff.). Why is a different god brought in to wreck the ship and drown the crew? The motif of Helios' wrath would have had a natural place in the Argonaut saga,

[59] Cf. E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro. Aeneis Buch VI* (3rd edn., Berlin 1926), 200 n. 2; E. Bethe, *Homer. Dichtung und Sage* ii[60] (Berlin 1929), 132; A. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen über die Sagen vom Tode des Odysseus* (Munich 1917), 212 f.; Merkelbach (1969), 219–30; Heubeck (1989), 75 f.

[60] Kullmann (1992), 125.

[61] Meuli (1921), 94–7 = (1975), 659–61; Von der Mühll (1940), 730 f.; Merkelbach (1969), 206; Danek (1998), 252 f., 262; questioned by Wilamowitz (1924), ii. 236 n. 3. Undecided: Kullmann (1992), 128.



where his son Aietes was robbed, his granddaughter Medea abducted, and his grandson Apsyrtus murdered.

On the other hand, given these sufficient reasons for Helios to persecute the Argonauts, an episode in which they violated his cattle would be superfluous. And if it had occurred, the outcome could not have been as it is in the *Odyssey*, since it is certain that the Argo was not wrecked in a storm. Indeed, while Jason and his men saw wonders and faced dangers on their homeward journey, there is no evidence in the tradition that they suffered any serious mishap, and they reached Iolkos safe and sound. In view of these considerations Von der Mühll and Merkelbach conclude that the *Odyssey* poet took only the motif of Helios' wrath from the *Argonautica*, while the [57] cattle came from some other source. Herds sacred to the Sun, after all, were to be found in various places: Tainaron, Apollonia, Gortyn.[62]

The Cattle of the Sun in the *Odyssey*, however, are something more than ordinary beasts enjoying protected status.

> *ἑπτὰ βοῶν ἀγέλαι, τόσα δ' οἰῶν πώεα καλά,*
> *πεντήκοντα δ' ἕκαστα· γόνος δ' οὐ γίνεται αὐτῶν,*
> *οὐδέ ποτε φθινύθουσι· θεαὶ δ' ἐπὶ ποιμένες εἰσίν.*

Seven herds of cows there are, and the same number of flocks of sheep, with fifty in each. They have no young, and they never perish; they have goddesses to herd them. (12. 129–31)

It looks as though the poet has here incorporated an old cosmological riddle of a familiar Indo-European type.[63] As Aristotle (fr. 175) understood, the 350 cows and 350 sheep evidently stand (or had stood in some pre-Odyssean version) for the days and nights of

[62] O. Jessen, *RE* viii. 71. Note the suggestion of Wilamowitz (1884), 168, that Thrinakia 'Trident-land' (*θρῖναξ*) originally referred to the three prongs of the southern Peloponnese, where Tainaron is. Others have connected it with Chalcidice, where Heracles killed the giant Alcyoneus who had stolen Helios' cattle from Erythea (sch. Pind. *Isth.* 6. 47a, Apollod. 1. 6. 1): Kranz (1915), 101; Von der Mühll (1940), 730. See also Meuli (1921), 96 f. = (1975), 660.

[63] Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 14. 40–1, 101; *Rigveda* 1. 164. 11, 48; *Atharvaveda* 10. 8. 4 f.; *Mahābhārata* I 3. 60 ff., 150; III 133. 21; A. Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen, Sprichworte, Rätsel und Lieder* (Weimar 1857), 201 f.; K. Ohlert, *Rätsel und Gesellschaftsspiele der alten Griechen* (Berlin 1886), 122–8; W. Schultz, *Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise* ii (Leipzig 1912), 28 f.; id., *RE* iA. 76, 82, 90. The *Rigveda* (1. 92. 2, 124. 11) speaks of Ushas (Dawn) yoking oxen (figurative ones, not as in Hes. *Op.* 581), and Zarathushtra in his Gāthās uses the phrase 'bulls of days', apparently meaning new dawns (*Yasna* 46. 3, cf. 4; 50. 10). [*Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007), 370–2.]

the lunar year; no wonder it would be calamitous if anyone harmed any of them.

These animals one would not expect to find grazing in Crete or the Peloponnese. If they were to be seen anywhere on earth, it would presumably be by Oceanus, where Helios himself has his estates. It is possible, therefore, that the Argonauts beheld them in those regions—beheld them, but sailed on, having been warned by Circe, perhaps, to steer well clear of them. If so, the *Odyssey* poet had a good starting-point for what he needed to accomplish before his hero reached Calypso, namely the elimination of the crew. The motif that Odysseus fell asleep, allowing the others to get up to mischief (12. 338), is repeated from the Aiolos story (10. 31).

It remains to speak of the Phaeacians, who play an important role in Apollonius' Argonautic narrative (4. 768 f., 982–1222). This was not his own invention, for Timaeus at least (*FGrHist* 566 F 87) had placed Jason's and Medea's first sexual union in Corcyra, and Corcyra had long been identified with the Homeric Scheria. The Argonauts' appearance here is the result of Corinthian myth-making as seen in the fragments of 'Eumelus' and the *Carmen Naupactium*.[64] There is no reason to think that the Phaeacians of the *Odyssey* had made any appearance in an earlier *Argonautica*.[65] The obscure reference in *Od.* 7. 323–6 may suggest that they came from some poem about Rhadamanthys.

## THE PRE-ODYSSEAN *ARGONAUTICA*

The following episodes and elements in the *Odyssey* have been found to have Argonautic or Pontic connections: the Laestrygonians; Circe; the entry into [58] Oceanus; the Cimmerians, and perhaps other features of the approach to Hades; the Sirens; the Clashing Rocks; perhaps the Cattle of the Sun. As the Argonauts' voyage was directed towards the east, and Odysseus' wanderings were in principle in the west, we assume that where the latter's adventures seem to have a Pontic setting, this indicates Argonautic provenance.

The Pontic reference points are clustered in a particular sector in the north: the Crimea; the straits of Kerch; perhaps the interior of the

[64] Above, p. 40. Cf. Wilamowitz (1924), ii. 240 f.; Merkelbach (1969), 206.
[65] Against H. Mühlestein, *Antike und Abendland* 25 (1979), 166–73.



Sea of Azov. The pre-Odyssean Argonautic poem must date from a time when that sector was the frontier zone of Greek (essentially Milesian) exploration: tentatively prospected, but not yet colonized. The mythical Aia will have been located at the eastern extremity of this zone, the Phasis being probably identified with the Tanais.

The earliest Greek finds at the main sites in these regions, according to the most recent surveys, are dated as follows.[66]

(Dnieper estuary)
Berezan: *c.*640 (Tsetskhladze); or 610–600 (Solovyov, Boardman).
Olbia: *c.*600 (Vinogradov); or *c.*560 (Tsetskhladze, Solovyov (2001)); after 550 (Solovyov (1999)).

(Crimea)
Chersonesos: late sixth century (Boardman).

(Kerch straits)
Panticapaeum: late seventh century (Boardman).
Nymphaeum, Phanagoreia: mid sixth century (Boardman).

We cannot make any nice calculation on this basis, but it would be reasonable to think of the mid part of the seventh century as the time when this area was being sporadically traversed and when rumours of what it contained were coming back to Greece. A date around 700 would be implausibly early.

It has usually been assumed that the poem was produced by a Milesian or in the Milesian sphere.[67] Among other epics known to the poet of the *Odyssey* were a *Memnonis*, which was a pre-form of the Cyclic *Aethiopis*, and something resembling the Cyclic *Iliou Persis*.[68] These Cyclic poems were attributed to a Milesian, Arctinus. Interest in the Black Sea is reflected in the myth of Achilles' post-humous translation to the White Island, which appeared in the *Aethiopis*. If Arctinus was a real person, he might also have composed

[66] Y. G. Vinogradov, *Olbia. Eine altgriechische Stadt im nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerraum* (*Mnemosyne* Supplement 149, Leiden 1995); G. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area* (*Historia Einzelschr.* 121, Stuttgart 1998); id., *Die Griechen in der Kolchis* (Amsterdam 1998); J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (4th edn., London 1999); S. L. Solovyov, *Ancient Berezan* (*Colloquia Pontica* 4, Leiden–Boston–Cologne 1999); id. in G. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *North Pontic Archaeology. Recent Discoveries and Studies* (*Colloquia Pontica* 6, Leiden, etc. 2001).
[67] Cf. Wilamowitz (1884), 167; (1924), ii. 237; Friedländer (1914), 300; Kranz (1915), 111; Merkelbach (1969), 201.
[68] See West (2003), 12 f.

the *Argonautica*; or it might have been the work of another poet from the same milieu.

What can we say about its content? Jason reached the Phasis, Aia, and Aietes' realm, where the Sun's rays are stored in a golden chamber by the shore of Oceanus (Mimn. 11a). He succeeded in obtaining the Golden Fleece, no doubt with the help of Medea.

|[59] He took a different route home, probably following directions given him by Circe. Mimnermus lays emphasis on his reaching Oceanus: he is likely to have done so by sailing up the Phasis–Tanais, as in most early versions. On the way the Argonauts perhaps saw the Cattle of the Sun peacefully grazing, and further on they passed the dark land of the Cimmerians and the dramatic scenery of the approaches to Hades. They passed the Sirens—they must have been forewarned of the danger—and the enchanting crooners were outsung and deposed. Presently they had to pass through the Clashing Rocks; probably they witnessed the flight of doves bringing ambrosia for Zeus from its trans-Oceanic wells. Presumably Circe had told them what to expect, and advised them of a strategy that would give them their best chance of getting through. With Hera's help they made it.

This brought them back into the Oikoumene. Whereabouts? In the later versions they returned to the Mediterranean by way of Africa or Gibraltar, after sailing halfway round the circumference of the earth. But those versions dated from times when it was known that the Black Sea was enclosed; there might perhaps be a way out through the Tanais, but once this exit had been taken there would be no other way of getting back in. When the pre-Odyssean *Argonautica* was composed, on the other hand, it was not yet established that the eastern sea was land-locked. We cannot exclude the possibility that the passage through the Clashing Rocks brought the Argo back into the same sea, which they could then leave as they had entered it, by way of the Bosporus and Dardanelles.

## EARLIER *ODYSSEYS*

Here is the register of Odysseus' adventures after he is blown off course at Cape Malea and before he arrives back in Ithaca:



1. The Lotus-eaters.
2. Polyphemus.
3. Aiolos and the bag of winds.
4. The Laestrygonians.*
5. Circe.*
6. Hades.* (Then back to Circe.)
7. The Sirens.*
8. (Clashing Rocks* avoided.) Scylla. (Charybdis avoided.)
9. The Cattle of the Sun.*
10. Charybdis.
11. Calypso.
12. The Phaeacians.

The asterisked items are the ones we have found to be adapted or in some way inspired by the voyage of the Argonauts. It will be seen that they make an almost continuous series, as if they had been imported *en bloc*. Was there an earlier form of the story that lacked them? It would not be surprising if Odysseus' adventures grew by stages rather than all being invented at once. His encounter with Polyphemus, after all, is illustrated on vases from around 675 BCE,[69] whereas the *Odyssey* as we have it must be dated towards the end of the century, if not still later.[70]

|[60] When Odysseus' men release the pent-up winds from the big oxhide bag, the result is a storm, a κακὴ ἀνέμοιο θύελλα (10. 48, 54), that drives the ships helplessly off the course they have set. When at the end of the Argonautic sequence they slaughter some of Helios' cows, the result is again a storm (12. 403–17; ἀνέμοιο θύελλα, 409). The first of these two storms, though disheartening, is more of a setback than a disaster, as it simply blows the ships back to Aiolos' island, where they had been before, and cancels the advantage that his help had given them. The second storm is a real catastrophe: the last ship is destroyed and the men perish, except for Odysseus. Now, take out the Argonautic adventures, and the two storms become one. The windy tumult released from Aiolos' bag smashes the ships[71] and drowns everybody; Odysseus alone clings to wreckage and is

[69] A. Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists* (Cambridge 1998), 89–100; *LIMC* Odysseus nos. 88, 94; Odysseus/Uthuze no. 56.

[70] Carpenter (1946), 90–102, 111; S. West (1988), 33 f.; M. L. West (2003), 13.

[71] Or perhaps the single ship, if in an earlier version the rest had disappeared in the Malea storm.

eventually washed up on Calypso's shore. Poseidon's anger at the blinding of Polyphemus is vented in a final storm after Odysseus leaves Calypso. His wrath is no longer in competition with Helios'.

In the Nekyia, it was observed, the necromantic consultation of Teiresias has been transplanted to a new and inappropiate setting. It would naturally have been undertaken at one of the sites in central Greece that were dedicated to such purposes. The seer's advice falls into two parts. The first part (11. 100–17), designed for its present position in the middle of Odysseus' wanderings, is a warning against harming the Cattle of the Sun; this is strictly superfluous, as it will later be repeated by Circe. The second part (118–37) concerns the journey that Odysseus must undertake much later, after he has got home and killed the suitors. We may suspect that in an earlier *Odyssey* the hero obtained this guidance at a time nearer to when he would need it. Some scholars think that it originally stood not in the *Odyssey* at all, but in the *Thesprotis* that was later absorbed in the Cyclic *Telegony*.[72] But it could have been accommodated in a narrative in which Odysseus was not conveyed straight from Scheria to Ithaca. There are hints in the later part of the *Odyssey* that he reached home by way of Thesprotia, and indeed undertook divination at Dodona (14. 321–30; 17. 525–7; 19. 270–307). These are ingredients in the series of Odysseus' false tales, but they suggest the context in which the consultation of Teiresias may originally have had its place.[73] The river-names Acheron and Cocytus (10. 513 f.) are at home in Thesprotia, as Pausanias observed (1. 17. 5); the third name, Pyriphlegethon, is the one that the naphtha discharges of Kerch might have suggested.

As for Scylla and Charybdis, these are independent mariners' tales. If they had a place in the earlier series of Odysseus' adventures, we cannot say where they fitted in. Their arrangement on either side of a narrow strait is an artificiality, evidently answering the need for an alternative to the Clashing Rocks in their present context.[74] Charybdis—not a whirlpool, as sometimes described, but a place where the sea rises and falls by a spectacular amount three times a day—is no doubt based, as Posidonius supposed (fr. 1 Th. = 216 E.–K.), on rumours of Atlantic tides.

[72] Schwartz (1924), 141–50; Wilamowitz, *Die Heimkehr des Odysseus* (Berlin 1927), 79 f.; Von der Mühll (1940), 724; cf. Merkelbach (1969), 229.
[73] Woodhouse (1930), 144–51.
[74] Kranz (1915), 105; Meuli (1921), 89 = (1975), 654; Von der Mühll (1940), 729.



One can speculate about other early versions of Odysseus' travels. There may be something to be said for the theory[75] that they were first located in the eastern Mediterranean, with seven years spent in Egypt instead of with Calypso, and that this was all transferred to Menelaus as an answer to the problem raised by Telemachus at 3. 249: where was Menelaus all the time that Aegisthus and Clytaemestra were lording it at Mycene? Certainly Menelaus' extraordinary adventure with Proteus, who gives him advice on how to get home and what he will find there, looks more suitable for Odysseus.

Menelaus is assisted by Proteus' daughter, Eidothea, whose heart he stirs (4. 364–6). Perhaps in an early version it was Proteus' daughter, not Atlas', who detained Odysseus and then helped him on his way. Calypso, who is clearly to some extent a doublet of Circe, has often been seen as a figure invented by the poet of the *Odyssey*; she has no part to play in any other context. The lines in which she is introduced (1. 52 f.),

> Ἄτλαντος θυγάτηρ ὀλοόφρονος, ὅς τε θαλάσσης
> πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν,

seem to combine elements of Eidothea's particulars (4. 365 + 385 f., Πρωτέος ἰφθίμου θυγάτηρ . . . ὅς τε θαλάσσης | πάσης βένθεα οἶδε) and Circe's (10. 137, αὐτοκασιγνήτη ὀλοόφρονος Αἰήταο). It is clear why Aietes deserves the adjective ὀλοόφρων, not quite so clear why Atlas does,[76] and while the ἅλιος γέρων Proteus of course knows all the deeps of the sea, it has always been something of a puzzle why the upholder of the sky's pillars (1. 53 f.) should be equally familiar with them. There is no trace of this marine competence in other Classical references to Atlas. It is customary to compare the giant Ubelluri in the Hittite *Song of Ullikummi*.[77] The hypothesis that the Atlas of the *Odyssey* is a substitute for Proteus offers a more satisfactory explanation.

One might then envisage three major phases in the evolution of Odysseus' exotic travels:

[75] Woodhouse (1930), 126–36; cf. S. West, *LCM* 6(7) (July 1981), 169–75, and *CQ* 53 (2003), 303 f.; S. Reece, *AJP* 115 (1994), 157–73; P. Grossardt, *Die Trugreden in der Odyssee und ihre Rezeption in der antiken Literatur* (Bern 1998), 37–43. These writers point out that *Od.* 1. 3, πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω, is better suited to a tour of the Levant than to the content of the poem we have.
[76] See my commentary on *Hes. Th.* 509.
[77] See West (1997), 149, 295 f.

1. The Malea storm blows him into the eastern Mediterranean. He spends time in Egypt and the Levant. He is marooned on an island with the daughter of Proteus; he engages with Proteus himself and obtains advice about his homeward journey.

2. All of that is transferred to Menelaus. The Malea storm blows Odysseus into the western Mediterranean. After several adventures (Lotophagoi, Polyphemus, Aiolos), he is marooned on an island with the daughter of Atlas (a figure symbolic of the west). Perhaps he engages with Atlas and obtains advice from him.[78] He reaches Thesprotia and consults the dead Teiresias, who gives him essential information for the next stage.

3. A new series of adventures, inspired by the *Argonautica*, is inserted between Aiolos and Calypso. Calypso takes on some aspects of Circe. The consultation of Teiresias is transferred to a site on the far shore of Oceanus, at the mid point of the wanderings and the furthest point from home.[62]

## *ODYSSEY, ARGONAUTICA,* AND *GILGĀMESH*

The picture is complicated by the existence of significant parallels between Odysseus' experiences in the course of his homecoming and those of Gilgāmesh as related in the epic that we name after him.[79] The most striking are a series of parallels between the Circe and Calypso episodes and Gilgāmesh's encounter with the divine alewife Shiduri. There are also some similarities between Odysseus' stay with the Phaeacians and Gilgāmesh's with Ūta-Napishti and his wife. While one may quibble over details, it seems unquestionable that the *Odyssey* narrative shows the influence of the Babylonian poem. The question now arises, to what extent this influence may have been mediated by the *Argonautica*.[80]

[78] Cf. M. Nagler, *Archaeological News* 6 (1977), 79; West (1997), 418.

[79] Noted by various scholars from 1902 onward; fullest treatment in West (1997), 402–17, to which the reader is referred for more detailed documentation of what follows. For the Babylonian poem see now A. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (London 1999) (translation); id., *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic* (Oxford 2003) (bilingual edition with commentary). My quotations are from his 1999 translation.

[80] Cf. W. Kullmann, *Realität, Imagination und Theorie* (Stuttgart 2002), 148 n. 6, 'Perhaps the relation of the Argonaut legend to oriental sources was more direct than that of the *Odyssey*'.



I will take first the Circe–Calypso–Shiduri parallels, dividing the narrative into segments and commenting on each in turn.

1. Gilgāmesh reaches Shiduri after entering the portal by which the rising sun emerges and passing through a long dark tunnel. It brings him out into a shining garden, and there he is seen by Shiduri, 'a tavern-keeper who lived by the sea-shore . . . Potstands she had, and [vats all of gold,] she was swathed in hoods and [veiled with] veils.'

Odysseus reaches Circe's island from Telepylos 'Distant Portal', where the paths of day and night are close together. Her island is itself located at the sunrise. She gives her visitors wine with various additives.

We have seen that both Telepylos and Circe come from the *Argonautica*. The name of Aia, the sunrise land where the Golden Fleece was kept, coincides with the name of the Babylonian Sun-god's wife Aya, a goddess of dawn. If Circe, like Shiduri, was 'veiled' in the Argonautic poem, this might have inspired the *Odyssey* poet to give his parallel creation, the daughter of Atlas, the name Calypso.[81]

2. Shiduri asks Gilgāmesh why his cheeks are so sunken and why he appears so dejected. He answers, how could it not be so? His great friend Enkīdu, with whom he went through every danger, has died; it was too much to bear. Will the same not happen to him?

Circe, after taking Odysseus to her bed and providing him with every other comfort, asks why he is so downcast and will not eat or drink. He replies, how could any reasonable man bring himself to do so before he had got his comrades released (*viz.* from the spell under which she had put them)?

We cannot infer that the Argonautic Circe had taken Jason to bed, or turned his companions into pigs. But she might well have welcomed them with drinks of some kind, and Jason might well have been downcast on account of some misfortune suffered by his men, or because he could see no means of escape from Aietes.

3. Gilgāmesh wants to know how to cross the sea to reach Ūta-Napishti, the man who survived the Flood and was granted eternal life by the gods. Shiduri tells him that no one has ever made that crossing; only the Sun-god does so. It means crossing the Waters of Death.

[81] Hesiod gives this name to one of his Oceanids (*Th.* 359), but she can hardly be relevant.

[63] Odysseus pleads with Circe to send him home. She tells him he must first go to the house of Hades. He protests, 'but who will show me the way on that journey? No one has ever reached Hades by ship.' Jason might have shown a similar reaction if Circe told him he must sail out to Oceanus, especially if she told him he must pass by the purlieus of Hades and the river Pyriphlegethon.

4. Shiduri tells Gilgāmesh to go into the adjoining forest. There he will find Ur-shanabi, Ūta-Napishti's boatman, who will perhaps take him over the water. Gilgāmesh rushes there and impetuously destroys Ur-shanabi's 'Stone Ones', the rowers who alone can propel his boat, impervious as they are to the Waters of Death. In order to make the journey it is now necessary for him to chop down a large number of trees and make them into punt-poles, each of which will be used once and discarded after contact with the lethal water.

The Homeric parallel appears when Odysseus is with Calypso, not Circe. When the time comes to send him on his way, she tells him to go into the forest and cut down enough trees for the building of a boat on which he can sail.

There is no difficulty in supposing that the poet of the *Odyssey* transferred to Calypso a scene that in his model had been associated with Circe. On the other hand, it is hard to envisage what function it might have had in the *Argonautica*. How could Jason's sailing have depended on a quantity of trees being felled? Clearly he did not need a new vessel. Did the Argo, like Ur-shanabi's vessel, have to cross a stretch of water so noxious that it could only be negotiated with single-use punt-poles? Did rollers have to be made to transport it over a neck of land? These are theoretical possibilities, but no more. If there was nothing of the kind in the *Argonautica*, we shall have to suppose that the *Odyssey* poet was in a position to draw independently on a version of the Gilgāmesh epic.

Now for the Gilgāmesh parallels in the Phaeacian narrative.

The Babylonian poet lays emphasis on Gilgāmesh's wild and worn-down appearance when he arrives at Shiduri's establishment. 'He was clad in a pelt, and fearful [to look on].' He looks so disreputable that at first she bars her door. After the developments summarized above, he reaches Ūta-Napishti's shore. He asks to hear Ūta-Napishti's story, and Ūta-Napishti, in an extended first-person narrative (197 verses), relates the events of the Flood and his own salvation. After this Ūta-Napishti's wife proposes sending Gilgāmesh



home. 'The way he came he shall go back in well-being.' The boatman Ur-shanabi is instructed to take him, but at the same time forbidden ever to return. Before they leave, Gilgāmesh is cleaned up and provided with fresh royal clothing; he throws his pelts in the sea. Ur-shanabi then accompanies him home to Uruk.

When Odysseus reaches Scheria, he throws back into the sea the κρήδεμνον of Ino-Leucothea that has kept him afloat (5. 459). When he approaches Nausicaa, his wild appearance frightens her maids and they run away. She lets him clean himself up and provides him with clean clothes. At Alcinous' house he is asked about his experiences and relates them in a lengthy first-person narrative. Alcinous and his wife both give him gifts, and rowers are instructed to take him home. They bring him to Ithaca in a wondrous ship that is programmed with its destination and travels invisibly, faster than any hawk (8. 556–63, 13. 86f.), but they never again set foot on Scheria (13.125–87).

The parallels are apparent, and here there seems no possibility of an Argonautic intermediary. We have seen that there is no ground for positing a Phaeacian presence in the *Argonautica*, and none of the above subject-matter would seem to have any place in the Argonaut story.

[64] The conclusion must be that the poets of both the *Argonautica* and the *Odyssey* knew and were independently influenced by a version—surely a Greek version—of the Gilgāmesh epic. To this extent the *Odyssey* stands in similar relationships to the *Argonautica* and to the *Iliad*. In the *Iliad* too the Gilgāmesh influence is manifest. The *Odyssey* poet knows and draws upon the *Iliad*, while using Gilgāmesh motifs that the *Iliad* did not supply.

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# 23

# The Fragmentary Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus*

Modern editors of the Homeric Hymns print in first place[1] two fragments of what is agreed to have been a substantial hymn to Dionysus. The first is a passage of nine lines which must come from near the beginning of the poem, as it is concerned with where the god was born. It is preserved by Diodorus 3. 66. 3, who quotes it with the reference ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τοῖς Ὕμνοις. He also quotes the last two lines in two other places, once (1. 15. 7) again as ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τοῖς Ὕμνοις, the second time (4. 2. 4) as Ὅμηρος ἐν τοῖς Ὕμνοις. These two lines are also quoted in the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius (2. 1209–15c). The other fragment, consisting of the last twelve lines of the poem, survives on f. 31r of the Leiden manuscript M, preceding the *Hymn to Demeter*, which is preserved only in that manuscript. Before that point a quinion and a folio have fallen out; the preceding part of the manuscript (ff. 1–30) contains *Iliad* Θ 435 to *N* 134. If it is assumed that the *Iliad* text continued in the missing quinion to the end of *N* and that the Dionysus hymn began at the top of the next folio, its length would have been about 411 lines.[2]

*ZPE* 134 (2001), 1–11; pp. 10–11 are omitted except for the Addendum (p. 11), which is now attached to n. 11.

[1] The last to deviate from this placing was the Budé editor J. Humbert (1937), who, where there is more than one hymn to the same deity, grouped them together; he put the three hymns to Dionysus after the two to Aphrodite. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editors put the fragments in various positions: for Matthiae they constitute Hymn 26, for Hermann Hymn 5, for Wolf Hymn 27, for Franke, Baumeister, and Abel Hymn 34, and for Gemoll Hymn 33. Ilgen had placed them outside the series as Fragmenta Hymnorum 1–11.

[2] Cf. F. Bücheler, *Hymnus Cereris Homericus* (Leipzig 1869), 2. The erroneous calculation of R. Thiele, *Phil.* 34 (1876), 202–4, is based on the mistaken premise that

Can we assume that both fragments are from the same hymn? Baumeister queried it,[3] but generally the conjunction has been accepted ever since Ruhnken proposed it. One link between the two fragments is that Dionysus is addressed in both by the title *Εἰραφιώτα*. But there is a more general argument. Before C. F. Matthaei's discovery of M in 1777, scholars had a corpus of thirty-one Homeric Hymns. Quotations from three of them were to be found in ancient authors. Authors also quote from two hymns not contained among those thirty-one: a hymn to Dionysus (Diod. locc. citt.) and a hymn to Demeter (Philod. *π. εὐσεβείας* p. 87 Schober; Paus. 1. 38. 2–3; 4. 30. 4; sch. Nic. *Al.* 130). With the discovery of M, there appeared the *Hymn to Demeter*, which turned out to contain the verses quoted from it,[4] together with the end of a long *Hymn to Dionysus*. How can we doubt that this was the hymn from which the remaining quotations came? Otherwise we should have to suppose that the collection current in antiquity (at least since the first century BCE) as 'the Hymns of Homer' contained, besides the poems that we have complete, *two* major hymns to Dionysus that by an accident of transmission failed to reach us.

## THE GENEVA PAPYRUS

That the hymn quoted by Diodorus was not some esoteric apocryphon, but a text enjoying wider currency in the late Hellenistic period, was confirmed a few years ago when André Hurst

the manuscript accommodated about 208 verses on each folio. The actual figure is 104 in the Iliadic portion, 100 in the Hymns. Bücheler further made the acute conjecture that the *Iliad* text is the continuation of that in a Moscow manuscript listed by Heyne and La Roche (*Die homerische Textkritik im Altertum* (Leipzig 1866), 470, no. 76) as containing *A–Θ* 434.

[3] A. Baumeister, *Hymni Homerici* (Leipzig 1860), 370, 'num ex eodem carmine depromta sint vehementer dubito'.

[4] Pausanias' statement (1. 38. 3) that Homer, like Pamphos, named the daughters of Keleos as Diogeneia, Pammerope, and Saisara is not borne out by the text of the poem. But Pausanias' other citations show that his *Hymn to Demeter* was the same one that we have. The ancient citations of the Homeric Hymns are conveniently set out by Allen–Sikes–Halliday in the introduction to their commentary. The passage from Philodemus which they take as a possible reference to *Hymn. Dem.* 269 (Allen–S. xlvi = Allen.–H. lxix) is in fact a citation of *Hymn. Ap.* 91: *π. εὐσεβ.* p. 93 Schober, cf. I. Boserup, *ZPE* 8 (1971), 109–11; A. Henrichs, *GRBS* 13 (1972), 72.



identified a I[2] papyrus fragment in Geneva as covering the same verses.[5] It is a schoolboy's copy, dated to the second or first century BCE, recovered from cartonnage. It was acquired by the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire of Geneva in December 1989. It has a few letters (]παπαθ[) from the middle of the line preceding the Diodorus fragment, and portions of fourteen more lines following it. Here are the last two lines of the Diodorus fragment with the continuation provided by the papyrus:

ἔστι δέ τις Νύση ὕπατον ὄρος, ἀνθέων ὕλῃ,
τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτοιο ῥοάων·
ἔνθ' οὔ τις σὺν νηῒ] περ[αι] μερόπων ἀνθρώπων·
οὐ γάρ οἱ ἔστι λι]μήν, νηῶν ὄχος ἀμφιελισσέων,
ἀλλά οἱ ἠλίβα]τος πέτρη περιδέδρομε πάντῃ
ὑψηλή, τά τε κα]λὰ φύει μενοεικέα πολλά
]. κατέχει βαθυτ[. . . .]πλο[
]. τετανυ. . . .[
]. . . τεκα[
ἀ]πὸ φλοίσ[β
]κτον ἀπόβλ[
]. . την πε. [
]πόλων ν. . [
]ι παλάμῃ δα[
]ων ἔρατοι νομο[ί
]. ὑπὸ δρυ. δι[

Lines 11–14 can be supplemented more or less entire, thanks to the surprising fact that they were borrowed practically unchanged by the author of the Orphic *Argonautica* (1199–1202). In 13 the papyrus gives *περιδεδραμε*, which must be corrected to *περιδέδρομε*, while the *Argonautica* has *περὶ πάντα πέφυκεν*. In the next line the later poet has *μενοεικέα δῶρα*.

We learn from the papyrus that the poet's description of Mt Nysa, Dionysus' birthplace, continued for several lines. It was a region cut off from human traffic by high cliffs and a lack of any harbour, and it was a *locus amoenus*.

In the Orphic *Argonautica* the borrowed lines are applied to the Oceanic island of Demeter from which Pluto carried off Persephone

[5] A. Hurst, 'Un nouveau papyrus du premier Hymne homérique: le papyrus de Genève 432', in A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23–29 August, 1992* (Copenhagen 1994), 317–21 with plates 27–8.

as she picked flowers in the broad grove. That story is told, of course, at the beginning of the hymn which follows the Dionysus hymn in the Homeric corpus. It may have been the contiguity of the two hymns that led the late poet of the *Argonautica* to think of the topographical description that stood in the one when he referred to the myth narrated in the other. In any case his knowledge of the passage provides further confirmation that the hymn quoted by Diodorus was a standard text, still being read in the fourth or fifth century CE.

## THE MYTH: DIONYSUS AND HEPHAESTUS

At the start of the hymn Dionysus is born in a remote region, far from the trodden paths of men and far from the sight of Hera. By the end he is established as a god, presumably on Olympus, destined to enjoy a thriving cult in Greek lands. The main part of the hymn must have contained a narrative that explained how he progressed from the initial to the final situation.

[3] We know of a myth, very popular from around 600 BCE, that told how Dionysus came to be received in Olympus and accepted by Hera. When she gave birth to Hephaestus she was disgusted at the crippled child she had borne and threw him down from heaven into the sea. There he stayed for years with the Nereids, developing his engineering skills. Then he sent his mother a fine throne, in which he had incorporated a secret mechanism. When she sat down in it, she found herself trapped. None of the other gods was able to free her. It was clear that Hephaestus had to be induced to come back and undo what he had done. Ares undertook to go and fetch him by force. He went off, but failed to achieve his object, because Hephaestus defended himself with fire, which Ares could not face. Then Dionysus went equipped with wine, made Hephaestus drunk, and brought him back to Olympus in jolly mood, riding on a donkey or mule. He set Hera free, and she rewarded Dionysus by persuading the other Olympians to admit him to their number.

For a connected account we have to turn to late sources.[6] But Alcaeus told the story, as a series of fragments shows, and so did

[6] Paus. 1. 20. 3; ps.-Libanius, *Narr.* 30. 1 (viii. 38 f. Foerster); cf. Aristid. *Or.* 41. 6 (ii. 331 Keil); Hyg. *Fab.* 166; Serv. auct. *Ecl.* 4. 62.



Pindar and Epicharmus. Achaeus treated it or at any rate touched on it in a satyr play. Plato alludes to Ἥρας δεσμοὺς ὑπὸ υἱέος as a well-known poetic myth.[7] It was a favourite subject with artists; the François Vase, a work of Kleitias dating from about 570, has a particularly good representation of it.[8] A. Rapp in the Roscher article 'Hephaistos' concluded that the myth 'ist zwar nachhomerisch, gehört aber der ältesten Lyrik und Kunst an'.[9] Carl Robert wrote likewise, 'diese Fabel muß den griechischen Dichtern und Künstlern sehr geläufig gewesen sein'.[10] The following year, taking his cue from Robert, Wilamowitz discussed the evidence for the myth and postulated as the primal source a seventh-century 'Homeric' hymn to Hephaestus. Alcaeus, he argued, paraphrased this Ionian hymn in his Lesbian lyric, just as he did with a precursor of our Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, while the painter of the François Vase took it as his inspiration for one of his scenes, just as for others he took other specific hexameter poems such as Hesiod's *Theogony*.[11]

As to the origin of the hymn, Wilamowitz brilliantly connected its story of Hera's bondage with the ritual of the Samian Tonaia, in which (as an aetiological myth told by Menodotus implies) the goddess's βρέτας was taken down to the shore and bound up in

[7] Alc. fr. 349a–e Voigt (cf. D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955), 258–61; G. Libermann, *Alcée. Fragments* (Paris 1999), ii. 152 f.); Pind. fr. 283; Epicharmus, Κωμασταὶ ἢ Ἄφαιστος (*PCG* i. 51); Achaeus *TrGF* 20 F 16b–17; Pl. *Rep.* 378d.

[8] *LIMC* iv(1). 628 f.; T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (Baltimore–London 1993), 75 f. For the François Vase see e.g. P. E. Arias–M. Hirmer–B. B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (London 1962), plates 41 and 45 and p. 291.

[9] *Ausführliches Lexikon der griech. u. röm. Mythologie* i (1886–90), 2054. It is not so clear that the myth is 'nachhomerisch': Hephaestus' ejection from heaven by Hera and his sojourn with the Nereids is referred to at Σ 395–405 (and at *Hymn. Ap.* 316–21), and Demodocus' tale of the bed made by Hephaestus to entrap Ares and Aphrodite (θ 267 ff.) may be secondary to the story of Hera's chair (Wilamowitz [as in n. 11], 224 ff./12–14; R. Janko on Ξ 256–61).

[10] Preller–Robert, *Griech. Mythologie* i (Berlin 1894), 177.

[11] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Hephaistos', *NGG* 1895. 217–45 at pp. 221–3 = *Kl. Schr.* v(2). 9–12.—Addendum: Wilamowitz's hypothesis was in essence anticipated by T. Bergk, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* i (Berlin 1872), 761 n. 48: 'In solchen Gedichten [that is, in hymns of the Homeric type] mag auch der Mythus von der Fesselung der Hera durch Hephastus, der sich wegen seiner Verbannung aus dem Olymp zu rächen sucht, von dem vergeblichen Versuche des Ares, die Göttin zu befreien, und von der Rückkehr des kunstreichen Meisters, die Dionysus bewirkt, indem er ihn trunken macht, behandelt worden sein. Daß dies ein beliebtes Thema der älteren Poesie war, erkennt man aus den Beziehungen auf diesen Mythus bei Sappho, Alcäus, Pindar und Epicharm, sowie aus den bildlichen Darstellungen auf bemalten Vasen.'

withies. 'In Samos selbst braucht der Hymnus deshalb noch nicht gedichtet zu sein, mag das auch am nächsten liegen, wohl aber im samischen Kulturkreise.'[12] He then draws attention to the story told in sch. (T) Ξ 296a that Hera, on giving birth to Hephaestus, apprenticed him to Kedalion in Naxos to train as a smith. Dionysus was important on that island; according to a scholiast on Theocritus (7. 149/150a), he and Hephaestus contested the possession of it. Vase painters often associate the two gods without reference to Hephaestus' return to Olympus. The modified conclusion: 'wenn unser Hymnus die Verbindung von Hephaistos und Dionysos voraus[14]setzt, so ist er ein Erzeugnis desselben naxischen (von dem samischen schwerlich gesonderten) Kulturkreises wie die Vasenbilder.'[13]

Bruno Snell made a convincing alteration to Wilamowitz's hypothesis: the hymn was not a hymn to Hephaestus but to Dionysus.[14] It was Dionysus, after all, who came out of the story with the most credit, and it was his admission to Olympus that formed its conclusion. He was, besides, a likelier god than Hephaestus to be honoured with a major hymn.

Reinhold Merkelbach went a step further. He identified as belonging to the postulated Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus* a hexameter fragment on a third-century papyrus which had long been recognized as containing the story of Hera's throne, and which had languished almost as long in one of the least frequented sections of Powell's *Collectanea Alexandrina*.[15]

[12] Wilamowitz, loc. cit., 234 f./23–5; Menodotus 541 F 1 ap. Ath. 672a–d. On the Tonaia cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906), 46–9; L. Ziehen, *RE* viA 1702–4; in the wider context of 'gefesselte Götter', R. Merkelbach in K. Meuli's *Gesammelte Schriften* (Basel 1975), 1059–63; id., *Antaios* 6 (1971), 549–55 = *Hestia und Erigone* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1996), 17–22.

[13] Wilamowitz, loc. cit., 237/27.

[14] B. Snell ap. M. Treu, *Alkaios* (1. Aufl., Munich 1952), 138 f. (2. Aufl., Munich 1963, 149 f.); id. in *Festschr. E. Kapp* (Hamburg 1958), 15–17 = *Gesammelte Schriften* (Göttingen 1966), 102–4; H. Eisenberger, *Der Mythos in der äolischen Lyrik* (Diss. Frankfurt 1956), 31 f.

[15] P. Oxy. 670, ed. Grenfell and Hunt; the content recognized by R. Ganszyniec, *ARW* 21 (1922), 498 f.; J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925), 80 f., 245; cf. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, 259 n. 1; Merkelbach, *ZPE* 12 (1973), 212–15 = *Philologica* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1997), 35–7. Powell in his Addenda (p. 245), noting Ganszyniec's contribution, remarked that Wilamowitz had divined the existence of an early hymn on the subject; but he accepted Ganszyniec's dating of the papyrus poem to the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period.



Merkelbach does not make clear whether he identifies this Dionysus hymn with the one from which we have fragments in Diodorus and the Leiden manuscript. Filippo Càssola in his edition of the Homeric Hymns regards it as improbable, because the myth of Hera's throne does not yield a 'three' to account for the aetiology of the trieteric festival given in Zeus' final speech at the end of the hymn:

> ὡς δὲ †τὰ μὲν τριάσοι πάντως† τριετηρίσιν αἰεί
> ἄνθρωποι ῥέξουσι τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας.

Càssola assumes that the story must have been of Dionysus' three births, the first from Semele, the second from Zeus' thigh, and the third when he was reconstituted after being torn apart by the Titans.[16] This myth, however, achieved no detectable circulation before the end of the fifth century, and then only in esoteric circles.[17] That it was related in a major Homeric Hymn is hardly a real possibility. The fact is that we have no idea what the 'three' referred to. A poet who wished to explain the institution of the trieteric festival could surely have contrived to find a 'three' of some sort in almost any myth.

Hurst in his edition of the Geneva papyrus finds that Merkelbach's hypothesis 'demeure parfaitement plausible', and Richard Janko in his note on Ξ 256–61 cites it without adverse comment. I find it persuasive. In principle a hexameter poem in a papyrus of Roman date could be early or Hellenistic or post-Hellenistic. But a Hellenistic or later poet would hardly have retold an old myth about the gods in such a straightforward style as we appear to have in P. Oxy. 670. There is nothing in the vocabulary or manner that points to a late composition. But if it is early, it must be from a 'classic' work, which in the present case cannot be any other than the Homeric Hymn postulated by Wilamowitz and others.

Its identity with the Dionysus hymn of which we have other remains from Diodorus and the Leiden manuscript is implied by the argument previously used for the unity of those two fragments, namely: it is implausible to suppose that there was more than one long hymn to Dionysus current in the ancient corpus but lost to us. The myth of Hera's throne supplies just what is required between the

[16] F. Càssola, *Inni omerici* (Milan 1975), 15.

[17] M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983), Chapters 4–5.

two other fragments: an account of how Dionysus, from his birth in a lonely corner of the world, hidden from Hera, came to be accepted by her and received with all honour among the Olympians. Finally, it may be observed that in Alcaeus' retelling of the story Dionysus was addressed as Ἐρραφίωτα (fr. 349a), which [5] matches the Εἰραφιῶτα that appears both in the Diodorus fragment and in the closing lines preserved in the Leiden manuscript.

It is time to examine the papyrus text more closely. Here is the transcription by Grenfell and Hunt, which is unfortunately all that there is to work on, as the original is lost and no photograph exists.[18]

```
        ]λεις τι δ αν αλλο π̣ .[
        ]ν δε και αυτος α̣π̣[
      ]. [. .] αυτοματος λιπεν [
        ]ως [. .]καζουσιν αει γε[
5       ]λε Ταρταρησιν αλυκτ[οπεδησαι?
        ]ε φιλη λουσειεν επιζω[
    παν]τοθεν [αμ]φιβεβηκε τ[
    ως α]ρ εφη[. . . .]νης μεμ̣ν̣[
        ]ν̣ αστυ̣[φελι]κτον εωσ̣[
                    ϙ
10      ]ν̣αδελ̣[. . . .] τεκες ϋ̣ι̣[
    τεχ]ν̣ηεις [και] χωλος εων̣ .[
        ]ς προ[σθε π]οδων αγαθ[
        ]μενω[. . .]τεεισκοτε̣ .[

        ]υμη[. . . .]ων σε τεος .[
15      ]ο κα̣ι̣ [. . .]εουσα φιλο[
        ]σι χωομε̣[ν̣ . .]. και μ̣ .[
        ]ν̣ αρ εισωμεσθα σιδηρ[
                    ε
        ] γαρ παραιασι τεοις .[
        ] ημετεροι π̣ . .υ̣τοφ[
20      ]ν εγ'χος . .εσχε τα̣[
        ]ην ϊδε .[. .] και παλ[
        ] και Διονυσος ε .[
        ]εμοι μη δηριν εγει[ρ
        ]ν ϋφ ημετεροις π̣ε[
                    ε
        ]ασθαι γλυκερων επ̣[
        ]εως παϊς ουτος εμο̣[
```

6 τίς μ]ε Merkelbach, τίς κ]ε Page *ap.* Merkelbach "υ of λουσ is corrected apparently by the second hand from ι" Grenfell–Hunt; "an λύσειεν? (υ =οι), e.g. οὐδὲ φίλη λύσειεν, ἐπιζώστρα δ' ἀλεγεινή" Powell: ἐπιζώ[στρης ἀλεγεινῆς Merkelbach

7 τ[έρεν δέμας· ἀλλά με ῥῦσαι Page

8 ὣς ἄ]ρ' ἐφη[μοσύ]νης μεμν[ημένος Ganszyniec

10 αὐτὸ]ν ἀδελ[φειὸν] τέκες υἱ[έα Ganszyniec. Presumably ϋι[εα with the suprascript ο signifying υιον. Then e.g. ὃς περὶ πάντων | [τεχ]νήεις [καὶ] χωλὸς ἐὼν [ἀθεμίστια ῥέζει Merkelbach

13 κοτέε[ις Ganszyniec

15 [κοτ]έουσα Ganszyniec

17 σιδήρ[εον ἦτορ Ganszyniec, σιδήρ[εα δεσμὰ λυθέντα e.g. Merkelbach

[18] We do at least know that these editors are in general reliable readers of papyri. Merkelbach is too free in altering letters that they report. I cite only a selection of his and of Ganszyniec's supplements.



19 πινυτόφ[ρονες Powell

20 ἄλκιμο]ν ἔγχος ἀνέσχε Ganszyniec

21 δειν]ὴν ἰδέε[ιν] Ganszyniec πάλ[λετο Merkelbach

25 πειρ]ᾶσθε Merkelbach ἐπ[έων Ganszyniec

At least parts of the text are direct speech. That is evident from the question in 1, the first- and second-person verbs or pronouns or pronominal adjectives in 10, 14, 17–19, 23–5, and the οὗτος in 26. Grenfell–Hunt's obvious-looking restoration in 8, ὣς ἄ]ρ' ἔφη, would mean a change of speaker at that point; but Ganszyniec's ἐφη[μοσύ]νης μεμν[ημένος is a valid alternative that avoids, or rather solves, the problem of supplementing [. . . .]νης. I believe that it is all one speech, and that Zeus is addressing the immobilized Hera.

In 1 most likely ὡς, ὧν, οἷς, ὅσσ' ἐθέ]λεις· Then perhaps τί δ' ἄν ἄλλο πρά[θοις ἔτι κύντερον αὖτις, 'What worse thing could yet happen to you after this?' In the next line I suspect that Zeus is admitting some negligence of his own that has contributed to Hera's plight: ἀασάμη]ν δὲ καὶ αὐτός.

[6] 3. The sense is possibly that it was a mistake to throw Hephaestus out of heaven, as he would have gone of his own accord, καὶ δέ κεν] αὐτόματος λίπεν [οὐρανόν.

4. [εἰ]κάζουσιν? This is the only common word in the epic vocabulary that will fit. But I cannot guess the sense. Then perhaps ἀειγε[νέται of the gods, for the usual αἰειγενέται (always in fact αἰειγενετάων or -γενέτησιν at line-end).

5. ]λε suggests ἔμβα]λε. ἀλυκτοπέδαι occurs otherwise in early poetry only at Hes. *Th.* 522.

6. The τίς of Merkelbach and Page seems very likely. But as επιζω| can only be understood as a case of ἐπιζώστρη, it cannot be the subject of λύσειε. φίλη can therefore be construed only as a vocative. If the speaker were Hera, she would be addressing another goddess. But it is hard to see what the role of this goddess would be, or why the vocative should be inserted at this point in the speech. Rather Hera is the addressee, and we should restore τίς σ]ε. ἐπιζώστρη will be the subject of 7 ἀμφιβέβηκε.

8, I think, refers to Hephaestus, who refuses to do anything and stays aloof 'heeding neither command nor entreaty', οὔτ' ἄ]ρ' ἐφη[μοσύ]νης μεμ̣ν̣[ημένος οὔτε λιτάων. ἀστυφέλικτον in the next line suits this very well if taken as referring to Hephaestus'

intransigence, e.g. *βουλὴ]ν ἀστυ[φέλι]κτον ἑῶι σ[υμφράσσατο θυμῶι*. For the phrasing cf. *A* 547, *o* 202, *Hymn. Dem.* 313.

10. *αδελ[* can hardly be anything but some form of *ἀδελφειός* or *ἀδελφειή*. I do not understand Ganszyniec's supplement *αὐτὸ]ν ἀδελ[φειὸν]*. The only way of accommodating *ἀδελ[φειὸν]*, so far as I see, would be in some expression such as *Κηρσὶ]ν ἀδελ[φειὸν]* *τέκες νί[έα*, 'you have borne a son who will be a brother to the Keres', i.e. a baneful creature. But this is far-fetched. A genitive *ἀδελφειοῦ* is hardly more promising. One might think of *ἴσο]ν ἀδελ[φειῶι*, if there were some brother of Hera, or of Hephaestus himself, with whom his behaviour might be compared, but there is no obvious one. Most likely, perhaps, is another vocative, *ἀδελ[φειή*, preceded by an adjective agreeing with *νί[έα*: 'you have borne a cruel son, sister'. Zeus might address Hera as 'sister', I suppose, because in the context of her unaided production of Hephaestus a reference to their marital relationship would be less appropriate.

17. 'Let us find out . . .' indicates that there is now a proposal for action. Merkelbach's *σιδήρ[εα δεσμά* would imply a trial of the strength of the bonds that are holding Hera fast. But it must by now have been established that they were unbreakable. Rather it is to be a trial of Hephaestus' iron resolve; e.g. *θυμὸ]ν ἄρ' εἰσώμεσθα σιδήρ[εον εἴ τι μαλάξει*. For this phrasing cf. Adesp. iamb. 35. 17 (probably Archilochus) *μ]αλάξεις θυμὸν οὐδὲ κ[*; Pl. *Rep.* 411a *εἴ τι θυμοειδὲς εἶχεν, ὥσπερ σίδηρον ἐμάλαξεν*.

18–22. We know that the attempt will be made not by Zeus in person but successively by Ares and Dionysus. *παρέασι* will refer to them as available helpers for Hera in her suffering. So: *δοιοὶ] γὰρ παρέασι τεοῖς [καμάτοισιν ἀρωγοί | υἱέες] ἡμέτεροι πινυτόφ[ρονες· ἔστι μὲν Ἄρης, . . .* (22) *ἔστι δὲ] καὶ Διόνυσος*. *ἡμέτεροι*: not 'of ours', which would not suit Dionysus, but 'of mine', a frequent Homeric usage. *πινυτόφρων* is not strikingly appropriate to Ares, but Zeus is encouraging Hera by intimating that there are two able young gods at hand, either of whom will have the nous to deal with Hephaestus and resolve the situation. We must suppose that Dionysus' existence is no longer a secret from Hera.

20. If *ἔστι μὲν Ἄρης* is right, then probably a relative pronoun rather than asyndeton, e.g. *ὃς θοὸ]ν ἔγχος ἀνέσχε τα[*. There is a formula for Ares that would neatly fill out the line: *τα[λαύρινος πολεμιστής*. But of course the sentence may have taken a different turn.



21. I do not know what to make of this line. One possibility for the word before *ἰδέειν* may be *ἄντην*, cf. *T* 141. *οὐδέ τις ἔτλη | ἄντην εἰσιδέειν, ἀλλ' ἔτρεσαν*; [Hes.] fr. 25. 9 f. *οὔτέ τις ἐν πολέμ[ωι . . . | ἔτλη ἐσάντα ἰδὼ]ν μεῖναι κρατερ]ὸν Μελέαγ[ρον*.

23–4. Apparently a warning that Hephaestus will be unwise to pursue a quarrel with Zeus himself: *αὐτὰρ] ἐμοὶ μὴ ὄῆριν ἐγει[ρέτω*. This was no doubt backed up by the threat of physical violence. *ὑφ' ἡμετέροις* in the next line suggests *κεραυνοῖς* at the end of this one. In Kleitias' representation of the return of Hephaestus on the François Vase, Zeus is shown sitting on his throne holding sceptre and thunderbolt.

[ For the small gap after *ἐγειρέτω* the particles *ἦ τε* best suit the sense. Cf. *Γ* 56, *E* 201; Denniston 532. I suggest *ἦ τε κεραυνοῖς | εἶσι]ν ὑφ' ἡμετέροις πε[πληγμένος οὐ κατὰ κόσμον*, after *Θ* 12 *πληγεὶς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἐλεύσεται Οὔλυμπόνδε*.

25. *]ασθαι* with *ε* written above *αι*, so presumably *-ασθε* is correct. But who are the ones addressed? Ares and Dionysus? If Merkelbach's *πειρ]ᾶσθε γλυκερῶν ἐπ[έων* is on the right lines, the sense might have been, 'Try to persuade him with gentle words, but if he does not respond, then use force'. Only this is not very appropriate to Ares' and Dionysus' actual methods.

The further development of the narrative is suggested in outline by the later texts and artistic representations. Ares' approach to Hephaestus was repulsed by the deployment of fire in some form. Pseudo-Libanius' phrase is *πυρσοῖς αὐτὸν δειματώσαντος Ἡφαίστου*. The description in *Φ* 342 ff. of how he curbed the flooding Scamander indicates the possibility of a more vivid poetic treatment. When Ares returned empty-handed to Olympus, Athena perhaps mocked him; so she appears to be doing on the François Vase.[19]

There is another significant detail in Kleitias' painting. As Dionysus and the mule bearing Hephaestus approach Olympus, attended by a company of Silenoi and nymphs, the first to meet them is not Hera or Zeus but Aphrodite, who makes gestures of dismay. Robert inferred that in the version followed by the artist she had perhaps been promised to Hephaestus as payment for releasing his mother. Wilamowitz developed the idea: Aphrodite, he supposed, had been promised to Ares if he succeeded in his mission, but in the

[19] Robert (as n. 10), 177 n. 3; Wilamowitz (as n. 11), 220/9.

event it was Hephaestus who got her. This would be the background to the situation in Demodocus' tale, where she is married to Hephaestus but has Ares as her lover. (We have noted above that the bed-trap of Demodocus' story links it strongly with the myth of Hera's throne.) Wilamowitz even argued that Alcaeus 349d, ὸ δ' Ἄρευς φαῖσί κεν Ἄφαιστον ἄγην βίαι, implied the conditional nature of Ares' undertaking; but this is reading too much into the modal particle.[20]

Timothy Gantz allows that Wilamowitz's theory 'would certainly explain a very unusual marriage', but points out that it 'creates ... an awkward imbalance of logic', because if Aphrodite had been promised to Ares as the reward for bringing Hephaestus back, she ought then to have been given to Dionysus, who succeeded in the task. 'We might better suppose that Zeus authorized Dionysos to promise Aphrodite's hand if Hephaistos came back; thus, at the mere sight of Hephaistos returning, the goddess knows she is lost.'[21] A similar compromise solution might be that Hera promised Aphrodite to whoever could induce Hephaestus to release her,[22] and that Dionysus, having obtained her as his reward, then bestowed her on his new friend Hephaestus.

In Hyginus' version of the myth (*Fab.* 166), which diverges in several details from other accounts, Vulcan, after being brought to join the gods,

> optionem a Ioue accepit, <ut> si quid ab iis petiisset impetraret. tunc ergo Neptunus, quod Mineruae erat infestus, instigauit Vulcanum Mineruam petere in coniugium.

This leads on to the story of how the goddess resisted the god's attempt to have intercourse with her, with the result that his semen fell on the ground and Erichthonius was born from it. This did not belong in the original tale of Hera's throne and Hephaestus' return to Olympus. But it is possible that the motif of his demand to marry a goddess after Zeus had promised to grant him any wish is adapted from the old story.

[20] References as in the preceding note; cf. M. Treu (as n. 14, 2. Aufl.), 149. Wilamowitz's argument from the modal particle is refuted by Eisenberger (as n. 14), 29.

[21] T. Gantz (as n. 8), 76, 837 n. 22. Eisenberger (as n. 14), 29 f., rejects the idea that Hephaestus won Aphrodite in this way; he points out that according to θ 318–20 he gave Zeus ἕεδνα for her.

[22] Cf. Ξ 267 f., where Hera promises Χαρίτων μίαν ὁπλοτεράων to Hypnos if he will help her.



## I[8] OTHER FRAGMENTS?

A further strong candidate for inclusion in the hymn is a line quoted by Crates ἐν δευτέρωι Ἀττικῆς διαλέκτου ap. Ath. 653b, ἐν τοῖς Ὕμνοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις φάσκων ἀντὶ τοῦ βότρυος τὴν σταφυλὴν κεῖσθαι διὰ τούτων·

αὐτῆισι σταφυλῆισι μελαίνηισιν κομόωντες.

A corpus of ἀρχαῖοι ὕμνοι (in hexameters) can hardly be other than the Homeric Hymns. If this Crates is Crates of Mallos, as usually supposed,[23] and he avoided the conventional title, it is not difficult to explain why. He understood that the hymns were προοίμια which rhapsodes prefixed to epics or parts of epics that they were to recite. In his Διορθωτικά he referred to a copy of the *Iliad* that began with a hymn to the Muses and Apollo.[24] He athetized the hymns with which Hesiod begins his *Theogony* and *Works and Days* on the grounds that they were inorganic pieces that might be attached to any poem.[25] No doubt he refused to accept that 'the Hymns of Homer' were by Homer, and preferred to cite them as 'the Old Hymns'.

As the *Hymn to Dionysus* is apparently the one item in the corpus that we have lost, it is satisfactory that this fragment quoted by Crates has a distinctly Dionysiac aspect. The noun with which κομόωντες agreed was probably ὄρχοι or ὄρχατοι. As for a context, two can be suggested. The line might have stood in the lengthy description of Nysa, where Dionysus was born. Alternatively it might have described the response of nature as he made his way with Hephaestus in a bibulous κῶμος from land to land—a miracle like the one that happens on the pirate ship in *Hymn* 7. 38 ff., αὐτίκα δ' ἀκρότατον παρὰ ἱστίον ἐξετανύσθη | ἄμπελος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, κατεκρημνῶντο δὲ πολλοί | βότρυες (cf. Allen–Halliday ad loc.).

Allen further suggested that the hemistich βαρύβρομα θωύσσοντες, attributed to Homer in *Suda* θ 448, might be from the hymn. There seems no good ground for the conjecture.

[23] C. Wachsmuth, *De Cratete Mallota* (Leipzig 1860), 33 f., 63 f., and others; differently F. Jacoby, *RE* xi. 1633 (Krates no. 12).

[24] Prolegomena to the D scholia in cod. Rom. Bibl. Naz. gr. 6, ed. F. Montanari, *Studi di filologia omerica antica* i (Pisa 1979), 56.

[25] Vita Chisiana Dionysii Periegetae, ed. R. Kassel, *Kl. Schr.* 406, line 56.

## THE CLOSE OF THE HYMN

The twelve-line fragment preserved in M from the end of the hymn[26] begins with the last three lines of a speech by Zeus in which he ordained Dionysus' future honours. Many ἀγάλματα will be set up to him in shrines. Allen–Sikes take ἀγάλματα as a general term for votive offerings, saying that 'the word might include the early temple images or ξόανα; but, unless the hymn belongs to an age at least as late as the sixth century B.C., ἀγάλματα cannot refer to votive statues, the most archaic of which are not older than the beginning of the century'. But the cult image of Hera at Samos is now considered to go back to the eighth century,[27] and we have seen that there is reason to relate the myth of our hymn precisely to the Samian Hera cult. The verb ἀναστήσουσιν surely implies statues; other kinds of offering would require ἀναθήσουσιν or ἀνακρεμόωσιν. Càssola rightly translates 'statue votive'.

He goes wrong, I think, in taking οἱ to refer to Semele (following Hermann). This is based on the premise that the next line contains σοί = Dionysus. But that is dubious, whether the supposed pronoun is connected with the preceding words (giving obscure sense) or with the following (giving highly suspect l[9] punctuation at the end of the second foot). On any account πάντως is difficult. I prefer to obelize the words τὰ μὲν τριάσοι [so M] πάντως.

In what follows Zeus' speech it is evident that an ancient or Byzantine editor has conflated two different versions of the ending. Lines 4–6 (ἦ, καὶ – Ὄλυμπον) are alternative to 7 (ὣς εἰπὼν –),[28] and lines 8–10 (ἵληθ' – ἀοιδῆς) are alternative to 11–12 (καὶ σὺ μὲν – Θυώνην). This is not the only such case in the *Hymns*.[29] The most notable instance is *Ap.* 136–8/139, where the longer version was

[26] Numbered as lines 10–21 in the editions, but this numbering must be given up now that we have so many more lines from the earlier parts of the hymn. I distinguish the individual fragments as A, B, C, D, and number from 1 within each.

[27] W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass. 1985), 89.

[28] Allen–Sikes dispute this on the ground that 'the similarity largely depends upon the alteration of ἐκέλευσε (16) into ἐπένευσε', and although they accept ἐπένευσε in their text, Allen later (in Allen–Halliday and the OCT) reverted to ἐκέλευσε, defending it with the inadequate parallel of the expression μάστιγι κέλευεν (Ψ 642, Ω 326). ἐπένευσε is in fact necessary (cf. *Hymn. Dem.* 169, 466), and in any case the tautology with 4–6 exists with either reading.

[29] Cf. *Ap.* 136–8/139; *Aphr.* 97/98, 136/136a; *Hymn* 9. 7–8/9; 18. 10–11/12; G. Hermann, *Homeri Hymni et Epigrammata* (Leipzig 1806), xx–xxvii; Allen–Sikes, xliii = Allen–Halliday, lvii f.



preserved only as a marginal variant in the hyparchetype *x* with the note ἐν ἑτέρῳ καὶ οὗτοι οἱ στίχοι κεῖνται. In some manuscripts of the group there are antisigmas prefixed to these lines (136–8), perhaps from an ancient critical edition (if there ever was one), as the ἀντίσιγμα περιεστιγμένον is said to have been used ὅταν ταυτολογῇ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν δεύτερον λέγῃ.[30] The symbols may, however, have been first deployed here by a Byzantine scribe who knew this or a related account of ancient critical signs.

Lines 4–6 are identical with *A* 528–30, and Matthiae and many other editors took them to be interpolated from there. Càssola, however, prefers to eject 7, opining that 'il fatto che i vv. 13–5 si ritrovino in *Il.* 1 528–30, non significa che siano qui interpolati, o comunque che rappresentino una variante deteriore: il cenno di Zeus doveva essere un tema abituale del repertorio epico, e qualunque rapsodo poteva usarlo.' I think it is more realistic to regard the lines as a direct borrowing from the famous Iliadic passage than as a formula in general use. But there is no reason why our poet should not himself have made the borrowing, and I agree with Càssola that this version deserves preference over the other, more humdrum one.[31]

Of the two valedictions, 8–10 and 11–12, Matthiae condemned the first, with the approval of Hermann.[31] I see no objection to its authenticity, despite the contracted ἄιδομεν and the breach of Wernicke's Law in 9. It has some similarity to the valediction in *Hymn* 7 (also to Dionysus). Lines 11–12, on the other hand, make a problematic conclusion to our hymn. Here Semele is hailed beside Dionysus, as if she were almost of equal importance. But she belongs in the Theban Dionysus myth and cult. At the beginning of our hymn the Theban claim to his birth was explicitly rejected, and in the version presented instead Semele appeared to play no part.

It may be that 12 is a secondary addition to 11, made by someone anxious to include Semele; the second hemistich, ἣν περ καλέουσι Θυώνην, is an inept line-filler, for either the name Thyone is being introduced at the last moment without explanation, or its significance has been explained earlier and this is a lame reprise. If we take

[30] Prolegomena in Z, ed. Montanari (as n. 24), 54, cf. 55; Diog. Laert. 3. 66 (in editions of Plato); Isid. *Etym.* 1. 21. 12. Cf. Càssola, 456 f.

[31] Hermann (as n. 29), cxiii: 'Vtros autem Homero, utros interpolatori tribuendos censeamus, non potest obscurum esse, quum in tribus prioribus minime Homerica oratio sit.'

this view of 12, we might allow 11 as a valid one-line alternative to 8–10; cf. *Hymns* 14. 6, 16. 5, 21. 5. But we might rather have expected 11 to be followed by αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς, cf. 3. 545 f., 4. 579 f., 19. 48 f., 27. 21 f., 28. 17 f. Another possibility, therefore, is that the interpolator of 12 substituted it for that formulaic verse.

If the choice were between 8–10 and 11+αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κτλ., it would still be the first alternative that we should prefer, as it is more individual, whereas the other represents a default to one of the most commonplace closing formulae in the corpus.

## I[10] EDITION OF THE FRAGMENTS

[Omitted: see my Loeb *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003), 26–31.]

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

1. I now think that the Dionysus hymn may have been the model and the *Iliad* passage the imitation, as there is a good deal else in the *Iliad* that seems to reflect the hymn. See *The Making of the Iliad* (Oxford 2011), 292 f., and my essay on the hymn in A. Faulkner (ed.), *Companion to the Homeric Hymns* (forthcoming).

# 24

# Cynaethus' Hymn to Apollo

It is generally accepted that the Homeric Hymn to Apollo was not conceived as a single poem but is a combination of two: a Delian hymn, D, performed at Delos and concerned with the god's birth there, and a Pythian hymn, P, concerned with his arrival and establishment at Delphi. What above all compels us to make a dichotomy is not the change of scene in itself, but the way D ends. The poet returns from the past to the present, and takes leave of his audience; farewell, he says, and remember me ever after. He is quite clearly finishing. Whereupon there is an abrupt and unsatisfactory transition to P.

The poet of D is a Chian (172), and his outlook is Aegean. His Apollo ranges ἄλλοτε μέν τ' ἐπὶ Κύνθου . . . ἄλλοτε δ' ἀν νήσους τε καὶ ἀνέρας (141–2). The catalogue of places in 30–44, which ends as a record of Leto's wanderings but begins as a survey of Apollo's worshippers, covers the Aegean and its shores, with particular emphasis on the eastern side; it does not look further west than Athens. The poet of P, by contrast, is chiefly interested in the mainland. The stories about Apollo which he considers telling in 207 ff. are all located on the mainland. In the story he chooses, Apollo sets out not from Delos but from Olympus, and the search for a temple-site takes him no further east than Euboea (216 ff.). When he gets to Onchestus, the poet cannot refrain from describing a curious ceremony to be seen there, although it has nothing to do with Apollo (230–8). Later he has to give an account of the coming of the Cretan priesthood to Delphi. He has nothing to tell us about their home island except that they are from 'Minoan Cnossus' where many trees grow (393, 475), but their progress round the Peloponnese is

*CQ* 25 (1975), 161–70. There the footnotes were numbered anew on each page.

described in some detail (409–29). In a word: the poets of D and P inhabit two separate worlds which barely overlap. The difference in their geographical outlook is so marked and so complete that on this ground alone we can feel sure they are different people.

Many readers have felt a stylistic difference between the two parts. To some extent this can be put on an objective basis. An industrious study by P. K. Huibregtse[1] brought to light (amid much that was inconclusive) significant differences in the average length of sentences, and in the frequency of the particles τε and ἄρα, and the fact that while the sea in P is five times πόντος and never ἅλς, in D it is five times ἅλς and only twice πόντος. A more recent article by Alena Froliková[2] brings out differences in the use of Apollo formulae and in the frequency of repetitions. It may also be remarked, for what it is worth, that the ratio of observances to neglects of initial digamma is 1·6:1 in D and 3·6:1 in P.[3]

Yet the poems are not independent of each other; for there is a conspicuous parallelism between their opening sections.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1–13 ~ 186–206 | Description of Apollo joining the other gods. Leto rejoices to see him. |
| 19=207 | *πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω, πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα;* followed by: |
| 20–4 ~ 208–13 | indication of the range of possibilities. |
| 25 ~ 214 | *ἢ ὥς σε (ὡς τὸ) πρῶτον . . .* |
| 30 ff. ~ 216 ff. | Itinerary of a search for an acceptable place. |

The sequence is not so natural or logical that we can explain it as a traditional pattern for hymns to Apollo. Nor is it likely that two separate poets should see fit to imitate a common source to this extent. There are several other strikingly parallel passages too.[4] Many

[1] *De Homerische Apollohymnus* (Diss. Leiden 1940).

[2] *ΓΕΡΑΣ. Studies Presented to George Thomson* (Prague 1963), 99–109.

[3] I base the figures on the material collected in the edition of Allen and Sikes (London 1904), lxv f., not counting ἑ οἱ as initial, and not counting neglects which are doubtful because of movable nu, etc. In the *Hymn to Demeter* the corresponding ratios (up to/after line 180) are 1·4:1, 0·8:1; in the *Hymn to Hermes* 1·0:1, 1·8:1. The fluctuations are quite large because of the shortness of the texts being compared. The differences are not so great, however, as between D and P. Allen and Sikes gave separate figures for D and P, and noted the difference; but in his later edition with the more docile Halliday, Allen suppressed the fact in furtherance of his unitarian opinions.

[4] 57 ~ 249 = 289 = 366; 75 f. ~ 220 f., 244 f.; 80 f. ~ 247 f., 258 f., 287 f.



scholars since Ilgen have agreed that one poet is imitating the other, and this seems to be the truth.

Almost all of those who have taken this view agree further in regarding P as the imitation of D; and, since Wilamowitz, they have regarded it as having been designed as a continuation of D.[5] Their reason is that it has no beginning of its own, as it should have if it had been composed as an independent poem. It begins, without preamble,

182 *εἶσι δὲ φορμίζων Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος υἱός*
*φόρμιγγι γλαφυρῇι πρὸς Πυθὼ πετρήεσσαν.*

But if it is obvious that this is not the opening of a poem, it ought to be equally obvious that it was not conceived as a continuation from anything in D. Apollo appears to be going up from Crisa, as in 514 ff.:

*βάν ῥ' ἴμεν· ἦρχε δ' ἄρά σφιν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων,*
*φόρμιγγ' ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχων, ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων,*
*καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς· οἱ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἕποντο*
*Κρῆτες πρὸς Πυθώ.*

But Crisa has not been mentioned in what precedes, nor has any scene been set upon which εἶσι δὲ φορμίζων can be projected. It is a continuation not from D but from something which has disappeared.

Furthermore, it is, though not the very beginning of a poem, *from* the beginning of a poem. That is where a description of the god's typical activity belongs,[6] and the question in 207 (*πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω;*) confirms it. So P was not written as an extension of D. It is an independent poem that has lost its opening.[7]

We must ask anew: which is the imitation, D or P? When I compare the parallel passages, it appears to me that the answer is the

[5] Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916), 441, and *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922), 74 nn. 2–3; f. Jacoby, *SPAW* 1933, 715 ff. = *Kl. phil. Schr.* (Berlin 1961), i. 179 ff.; H. T. Wade-Gery in *Greek Poetry and Life* (Essays presented to Gilbert Murray, Oxford 1936), 56 = his *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford 1958), 17; J. Humbert, *Homère, Hymnes* (Budé, 1937), 67–72; B. A. van Groningen, *La Composition littéraire archaïque grecque* (Amsterdam 1958), 318–23; A. Lesky, *RE* Suppl. xi. 827. 18 (= 141. 18 of the Separat, *Homeros*). Jacoby and van Groningen believe that P was meant to follow on 138 or 139, replacing the personal ending of D. One earlier scholar took D as the imitation of P: A. Fick, *Bezzenbergers Beiträge zur Kunde der indog. Sprachen* 16 (1890), 21; id., *Die Entstehung der Odyssee* (Göttingen 1910), 159 ff.

[6] Cf. F. Altheim, *Hermes* 59 (1924), 442.

[7] As Hermann said, p. xxvii of his edition: 'is hymnus initio caret.' Cf. L. Deubner, *SPAW* 1938, 256 f.

opposite of that hitherto accepted. After its abrupt beginning, P proceeds smoothly to 206. From Pytho the divine citharist passes on to Olympus, and at once the house of Zeus is filled with music. The Muses sing, the younger goddesses and gods dance, Leto and Zeus look on with pleasure. It is a wholly harmonious conception. Not so the corresponding scene in D, 2–13. Here Apollo wields his bow instead of his lyre. The gods are afraid, they jump up from their chairs: only Leto stays calm beside Zeus, takes his dangerous plaything away, finds him a seat, and Zeus gives him a cup of nectar, while Leto rejoices that her son is a mighty archer. Superficially this is more dramatic and original than P. But what is best in it is borrowed from the Olympian scene in *Iliad* 1: the gods jumping up from their seats as the mighty one enters, the transition to a relaxed mood, the ministration of nectar. For the rest it is a peculiar business. What is Apollo thinking of, coming into the company of the gods with his bow at the ready, as if he were Odysseus and they the suitors? It is represented not just as something he did once but as something he does regularly; and the gods jump every time, as if they had never seen the charade before. The details are not clearly thought out either. Leto remains seated, yet she is able to disarm him and lead him to his place. She unstrings the bow he is stretching, but also takes it off his shoulders.

5 *Λητὼ δ' οἵη μίμνε παραὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνωι,*
*ἦ ῥα βιόν τ' ἐχάλασσε καὶ ἐκλήϊσε φαρέτρην,*
*καί οἱ ἀπ' ἰφθίμων ὤμων χείρεσσιν ἑλοῦσα*
*τόξον ἀνεκρέμασε πρὸς κίονα πατρὸς ἑοῖο*
*πασσάλου ἐκ χρυσέου· τὸν δ' εἰς θρόνου εἷσεν ἄγουσα.*

It is easier to understand what the poet is about if we suppose him to be adapting a narrative of Apollo's first coming to Olympus. He may sometimes have related this as the sequel to the god's birth, for that is a sequence that we know as typical from elsewhere.[8] But now he makes it into a habitual entry. Why? Because, I suggest, he is under the influence of P's opening, and wishes to outdo it.[51]

This hypothesis may also explain why, on concluding the passage with Leto's happy contemplation of her son, he adds:

14 *χαῖρε μάκαιρ' ὦ Λητοί, ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,*
*Ἀπόλλωνά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,*

[8] *Hymn* 6. 14–18, 19. 42–7; Hes. *Th.* 68 ff., 201–2.



as if we were not to hear of her again. In the two shorter hymns just cited, the god's birth and reception among the immortals is immediately followed by the closing salutation: 6. 19 *χαῖρ' ἑλικοβλέφαρε γλυκυμείλιχε*, 19. 48 *καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε ἄναξ*. This is the pattern that our poet has been accustomed to follow, and now it prompts him to make farewell noises here. If it were really the end of a hymn, he would not have added:

16 *τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίηι, τὸν δὲ κραναῆι ἐνὶ Δήλωι*
*κεκλιμένη πρὸς μακρὸν ὄρος καὶ Κύνθιον ὄχθον,*
*ἀγχοτάτω φοίνικος, ὑπ' Ἰνωποῖο ῥεέθροις,*

for the story would already have been told. Here it serves as a kind of 'trailer' for what is to come.

Let us move on and compare the next passages in D and P, the passages that begin in each case with the poet's question

19=207 *πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω, πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα;*

In P the question comes abruptly, unheralded. But the lost beginning of the poem must have taken the form 'I will sing of Apollo, who . . .', so that the question originally had the same resumptive function as in D. It is followed in 208 ff. by a real statement of alternatives: *ἠέ σ' ἐνὶ μνηστῆισιν ἀείσω* (with several different possibilities mentioned under this heading); . . . *ἢ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον χρηστήριον ἀνθρώποισιν | ζητεύων κατὰ γαῖαν ἔβης, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον*; In D, on the other hand, there are no alternatives, simply:

25 *ἦ ὥς σε πρῶτον Λητὼ τέκε;*

This perfunctory treatment of the scheme surely belongs to the imitation, not to the model.

There is little to say of the geographical catalogues except that the one in D is awkwardly introduced. The two different purposes that it serves are not properly distinguished and put into relation with one another.[9] Perhaps of more significance for the question of priority *vis-à-vis* P is the speech that Leto makes to Delos in 51–60, in which she points out the island's natural poverty:

[9] Hermann suggested that a line had fallen out after 29, with the sense 'Latona, Apollinem paritura, adiit . . .'. But she was looking for a place, not a people, and 30 ff. is a list of peoples: *ὅσσους Κρήτη τ' ἐντὸς ἔχει κτλ*. The *ὅσσους* cannot be separated from the *πᾶσι* of 29.

αἳ δέ κ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκαέργου νηὸν ἔχησθα,
ἄνθρωποί τοι πάντες ἀγινήσουσ' ἑκατόμβας
ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρόμενοι, κνίση δέ τοι ἄσπετος αἰεί
δημοῦ ἀναΐξει, βοσκήσεις θ' οἵ κέ σ' ἔχωσιν
χειρὸς ἄπ' ἀλλοτρίης, ἐπεὶ οὔ τοι πίαρ ὕπ' οὐδας.

This corresponds to a passage in P, 526–37, where the Cretan priests, installed at Pytho, ask how they are to live from this infertile place, and Apollo promises them a continual supply of animals brought in offering by worshippers. The purpose of the lines is to show that the priests' right to a share of the sacrificial meat, and the surrounding peoples' duty to provide it, are guaranteed by divine ordinance. In D this is all but lost to view. The prospect that the Delians will be able to live off their visitors becomes merely an inducement to the island to accept Apollo. This was not the most obvious argument to put in Leto's mouth. It would have been enough just to hold out fame and honour as the rewards; these are what in fact excite Delos (65). Again, D seems to borrow ideas from P.

Lastly, in 80 ff. Delos asks Leto to swear:

ἐνθάδε μιν πρῶτον τεύξειν περικαλλέα νηόν
ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώπων χρηστήριον, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
. . . . . .
πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολυώνυμος ἔσται.

There is evidently a lacuna (Hermann), but it is not after 80, as is clear from the parallels in P:

ἐνθάδ' ἐπεὶ φρονέεις τεῦξαι περικαλλέα νηόν
ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποις χρηστήριον,

and 247 f., 287 f. So the talk is of an oracle on Delos. There was one, at least in Hellenistic times,[10] but it was never important. In particular, it was not important to the poet of D, for he does not elsewhere allude to this aspect of the holy island, though he does acknowledge the god's prophetic role (132). What leads him to refer to it in 81, if not the fact that it is embedded in the phrase about 'founding a fair temple' which he knows from P?

I conclude from the above comparisons that D was composed with knowledge of P, and therefore later than P, and I see no evidence

[10] See the note of Allen and Halliday. Wilamowitz's assertion, 'Nur in alter Zeit konnte von einem delischen Orakel geredet werden' (*Die Ilias und Homer*, 446 n. 2), is at variance with the evidence.



that would indicate the opposite. P dates apparently from about 600 BCE.[11] In that case, D should be assignable to the sixth century.

From internal evidence, then, we have arrived at the following picture: a sixth-century itinerant[12] poet from Chios composes a hymn to Apollo which appears in our collection thrust in before the older Pythian hymn so as to obliterate its opening. But soft you . . . this is remarkably like what we are told by the learned scholiast on the first line of Pindar's second Nemean:

Ὁμηρίδας ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου γένους, οἳ καὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἦιδον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ῥαψωιδοὶ οὐκέτι τὸ γένος εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀνάγοντες. ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὗς φασι πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Κύναιθος τὸ γένος Χῖος. ὃς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Ὁμήρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γεγραφὼς ὕμνον ἀνατέθεικεν αὐτῶι. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κύναιθος πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐρραψώιδησε τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ξθ' Ὀλυμπιάδα (504/1), ὡς Ἱππόστρατός φησιν. (*FGrH* 568 F 5)

One of the Homeric Hymns, according to this testimony, is intrusive, the work of a Chian poet, Cynaethus (BDT) or Cinaethus (PU), who crossed the seas and recited Homer at Syracuse at the end of the sixth century; and that hymn is the *Hymn to Apollo*. By 'the *Hymn to Apollo*' the scholiast must mean the whole chimera D+P.[13] But we can discern, as later antiquity apparently could not, that the hymn is two hymns, one of which is by a Chian and the other is not. If there is anything in what the scholiast says, it must refer to D.

There is no reason to doubt Cynaethus' existence. No one had any motive for inventing such a person. And it would be pointless to suppose that he did exist but did not do the things he is said to have

[11] Lines 270–1, where Crisa is said to be untroubled by the noise of horses and chariots, are usually assumed to antedate the introduction of chariot-racing at the Pythian Games in 586. The contrast is primarily between temple-sites on and off a main road, but it would certainly be odd to represent the noise of chariots as being offensive to Apollo at a time when they competed at his games. Lines 540–3, with their threat that the Cretan priesthood will pass into the control of others if they do not conduct themselves properly, are naturally connected with the First Sacred War, but read to me less like a post-eventum prophecy than a warning in time of imminent danger. Crisa, which was destroyed in the war, is represented as a flourishing inhabited place (446). No inference as to date can be drawn from 294–9, for the temple is not said to be going to stand for ever, but to be famous for ever.

[12] 174 f. ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμέτερον κλέος οἷόσμεν ὅσσον ἐπ' αἶαν | ἀνθρώπων στρεφόμεσθα πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας.

[13] As do Paus. 10. 37. 5, Ath. 22b, St. Byz. s.v. Τενμησσός.

done. Some scholars have thought 504/1 impossibly late for the first recitation of Homer at Syracuse. But if the date is of value for anything, it is for the first *recorded* recitation, which is unlikely to have been the first altogether. The only circumstances in which any recitation would have been recorded with its date would have been a victory in a rhapsodic competition.[12] We have the choice of two alternatives. Either this first recitation in 504/1 is a fabrication of later literary chronography, like many of the dates for literary events on the Parian Marble; or it represents the first entry in a list of victorious rhapsodes. For the former it is an implausible date. For the latter it is wholly plausible: an epoch when Syracuse was just emerging into the light of history, and soon to enter on its great period of literary activity. There seems a good chance, then, that Cynaethus' recitation in 504/1 is historical and that it was known from an inscription.

There is no need for this to be the date of the Delian hymn, even if it was composed by the same man. He might have composed it half a century earlier. The source of the information that he was its author must in any case be a different one. As he is contrasted with the genuine Homeridae, and his work with the genuine work of Homer which the true Homeridae preserved, it would appear that the source was these Homeridae themselves. We know that besides reciting Homer the Homeridae were concerned to spread his fame and told stories about his life.[14] Other rhapsodes looked up to them as authorities.[15] Some of the material in the extant Lives of Homer must have been inherited from them. They were well placed to observe the doings of the renegade Cynaethus, and to bring it about that at least some of the truth about him was remembered.

Of course it did not come to the attention of everyone. When Athenaeus (22b) quotes from the Hymn as *Ὅμηρος ἢ τῶν Ὁμηριδῶν τις ἐν τῶι εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνωι*, he may well have the Cynaethus tradition in view, just as in 35c he says *ὁ τῶν Κυπρίων ποιητής, ὅστις ἂν εἴη*, although he knows names of poets to whom the epic was ascribed.[16] For others, however, the Hymn is simply by Homer. This is taken for granted even by such an early and (in some

[14] Pl. *Rep.* 599e, Isoc. 10. 65. [15] Pl. *Ion* 530d.

[16] 334b, 682e. I am not forgetting that 22b and 35c are only preserved in the epitome, so that it is conceivable that names have been eliminated; only it is not in the epitomator's manner to pass over the names of authorities.



matters) critical author as Thucydides.[17] He is quoting from D, the very part of the hymn that I have argued is Cynaethus' work and dates from the middle or second half of the sixth century.[18] To some scholars it has seemed impossible that Thucydides should mistake a poem only a century old for the work of Homer. But if other people said it was by Homer, there was nothing to make him suspect otherwise; and there is no magic number of generations that must pass before a misattribution becomes current. Stesichorus is said to have known the *Shield of Heracles*, a poem composed in his own lifetime, as Hesiod's.[19] In the late fifth century the Cyclic poems are generally ascribed to Homer, even if Herodotus voices some doubts about one or two of them (on grounds of content, not style). It is at a later period that the claims of Stasinus, Arctinus, and the others—poets no less real than Cynaethus—find their way to the light.[20]

In the Lives of Homer certain of these poets are mentioned, but only as men who enjoy the reputation of having composed poems which were in fact Homer's work. Creophylus was given the *Capture of Oechalia* by Homer in return for hospitality, and it thereafter went under his name. Stasinus was given the *Cypria* as a dowry. Thestorides wrote down the *Little Iliad* and *Phocais* at Homer's dictation and then recited them as his own. To this extent the Lives follow the tradition not of the severe 'genuine' Homeridae who sought to dissociate alien poems from Homer, but of the less scrupulous ones whom they accused of augmenting his *œuvre*. The pseudo-Herodotean Life credits him with the Hymns without qualification.[21] The *Certamen*, which is here following a Life, refers specifically to the *Hymn to Apollo* beginning *μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος*

[17] 3. 104; perhaps also by Aristophanes, if *Birds* 575 is a reference to *Hymn. Ap.* 114.

[18] There is nothing to show whether Thucydides knows it as an independent poem or joined with P. Cf. Allen–Halliday, 186 f., where however the argument that 'as Gemoll observes, if he had been acquainted with more than one hymn to Apollo he would hardly have written *τοῦ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος*' is useless, because he did not write that. The definite article is not in the text.

[19] Cf. *CQ* 21 (1971), 305 f.

[20] On their historicity see R. Merkelbach, *Untersuchungen zur Odyssee* (2nd edn., Munich 1969), 139–41.

[21] Ch. 9. Contrast Vita Anon. iii (Scorialensis ii) 3, *οὐδὲν δ' αὐτοῦ θετέον ἔξω τῆς Ἰλιάδος καὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσείας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ὕμνους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένων ποιημάτων ἡγητέον ἀλλότρια, καὶ τῆς φύσεως (φράσεως* Wil.) *καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἕνεκα*. Ps.-Plutarch and Proclus also restrict his work to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

ἑκάτοιο. It says he composed it at Delos, and the Delians wrote it on a board and dedicated it in the temple of Artemis. The object must have existed at one time, but whether it was ancient must remain in doubt.[22]

As in Thucydides, we cannot tell whether this 'Hymn to Apollo' comprises P as well as D. No light comes from here on the question how and when the two hymns came to be combined. It had happened by the second century CE,[23] so it is hardly just an accidental conflation resulting from omission, such as might in the Middle Ages spread from one copy to affect a whole tradition, but rather a deliberate piece of editing by scissors and paste. Another sign of this is the odd passage at the transition:

177 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα
ὑμνέων ἀργυρότοξον, ὃν ἠΰκομός τέκε Λητώ.
ὦ ἄνα, καὶ Λυκίην καὶ Μηονίην ἐρατεινήν
180 καὶ Μίλητον ἔχεις, ἔναλον πόλιν ἱμερόεσσαν,
αὐτὸς δ' αὖ Δήλοιο περικλύστου μέγ' ἀνάσσεις.

177–8 make an apparent end to D;[24] 179–81 make a lame, pointless appendage to that ending. Jacoby regards them as the beginning of the 'continuation', P, designed to replace the whole passage 139–78.[25] But they cannot be assigned to P: the emphasis is still on Delos, against an eastern backdrop,[26] and there is a complete break between 181 and 182 εἶσι δὲ φορμίζων Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος υἱός. The suggestion that the lines were meant to follow the description of Apollo's birth, however, was a fruitful one. Humbert saw in them a replacement for 143–5 (it would have been better to say 143–6), and van Groningen a replacement for 140–6.[27] These are promising ideas, but they can be improved on. Here is the passage:

140 αὐτὸς δ' ἀργυρότοξε ἄναξ ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον
ἄλλοτε μέν τ' ἐπὶ Κύνθου ἐβήσαο παιπαλόεντος,
ἄλλοτε δ' ἀν νήσους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἠλάσκαζες.

[22] *Cert.* 18. See E. Bethe, *Berichte d. sächs. Gesellsch.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 83 (2) (1931), 3–7.

[23] Pausanias, Athenaeus: above, n. 13.

[24] Cf. Jacoby, *Kl. phil. Schr.* i, 183 n. 100, who compares Eur. *HF* 674 οὐ παύσομαι τὰς Χάριτας Μούσαις συγκαταμειγνύς; van Groningen (as n. 5), 313–16.

[25] Op. cit., 201 f.

[26] Deubner (as n. 7), 257 f.

[27] Humbert (as n. 5), 72; van Groningen (as n. 5), 311 f. Deubner (as n. 7), 263, follows Jacoby.



πολλοί τοι νηοί τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα,
πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τε φίλαι καὶ πρώονες ἄκροι
145 ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ποταμοί θ' ἅλαδε προρέοντες·
ἀλλὰ σὺ Δήλωι Φοῖβε μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ,
ἔνθά τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἴάονες κτλ.

Wegener deleted 144–5, which are repeated from 22–3 (only with τε φίλαι instead of τοι ἄδον) and which rather spoil the connection between 143 and 146.[28] Now suppose the passage read:

143 πολλοί τοι νηοί τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα
179 ὦ ἄνα· καὶ Λυκίην καὶ Μηονίην ἐρατεινήν
180 καὶ Μίλητον ἔχεις, ἔναλον πόλιν ἱμερόεσσαν·
146 ἀλλὰ σὺ Δήλωι Φοῖβε μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ.

The vocative attaches itself to τοι, and the place-names make the best of antitheses with Δήλωι. It is a perfect fit. But obviously, if 179–80 really belong here, more has happened than a chance displacement. Someone has deliberately replaced them with two lines borrowed from earlier in the poem. They have then found a place at the end of D, and been rounded off by the addition of a new line (181) similar to 146. This diagnosis has an important consequence. It implies the existence of a 'redactor' for whom D and P are still separate, and who is concerned to preserve pieces of hymn by roughly conflating them. Such a man may well have been responsible for the joining of D and P.[29]

But why should anybody have wanted to eject 179–80 from an original location after 143? The answer is not hard to find: because of a change in the Greek national consciousness in response to historical events. Here are Lycia and Lydia being treated as one cultural community with Greece. This is something we are accustomed to in Homer or Sappho, and, consistently with the evidence for Cynaethus' date, we can admit it very happily under the benign reign of Croesus. But after the Persians came? Then it was hardly appropriate to include those lands in Apollo's realm, and understandable that the text should be altered.

[28] Cf. Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, 450 n. 1.

[29] A remarkable feature of the hymn collection as a whole is the presence in it of obvious doublets: 1. 13–15/16, 17–19/20–1; 3. 96/98–101 (see below), 136–8/139; 5. 62/63, 97/98–9, 136/136a; 18. 10–11/12. But the alternatives are simply juxtaposed; the procedure is different from what has been done with D and P, and not to be attributed to the same agent.

If this is right, it gives us a *terminus ante quem* for D: 547 or thereabouts. The upper limit can be set around 570, if Cynaethus is still to be alive in 504/1. The whole picture, sketchy as it is—an Ionian poet who starts his career shortly before the Persian conquest, wanders abroad, and turns up in Sicily by about 500—reminds us pleasantly of Xenophanes.

## CATALEPTON

92 ff. Leto was in travail for nine days and nights,

θεαὶ δ' ἔσαν ἔνδοθι πᾶσαι
ὅσσαι ἄρισται ἔσαν, Διώνη τε Ῥείη τε
Ἰχναίη τε Θέμις καὶ ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη
{ἄλλαί τ' ἀθάναται, νόσφιν λευκωλένου Ἥρης.}
μούνη δ' οὐκ ἐπέπυστο μογοστόκος Εἰλείθυια·
ἧστο γὰρ ἐν μεγάροισι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο·
{ἧστο γὰρ ἄκρωι Ὀλύμπωι ὑπὸ χρυσέοισι νέφεσσιν
Ἥρης φραδμοσύνηις λευκωλένου, ἥ μιν ἔρυκεν
ζηλοσύνηι, ὅτ' ἄρ' υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε
Λητὼ τέξεσθαι καλλιπλόκαμος τότ' ἔμελλεν.}
αἳ δ' Ἶριν προύπεμψαν ἐϋκτιμένηις ἀπὸ νήσου
ἀξέμεν Εἰλείθυιαν, ὑποσχόμεναι μέγαν ὅρμον,
χρυσείοισι λίθοισιν ἐερμένον, ἐννεάπηχυν.
{νόσφιν δ' ἤνωγον καλέειν λευκωλένου Ἥρης,
μή μιν ἔπειτ' ἐπέεσσιν ἀποστρέψειεν ἰοῦσαν.}
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἶρις,
βῆ ῥα θέειν, ταχέως δὲ διήνυσε πᾶν τὸ μεσηγύ.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ἵκανε θεῶν ἕδος αἰπὺν Ὄλυμπον,
αὐτίκ' ἄρ' Εἰλείθυιαν ἀπὸ μεγάροιο θύραζε
ἐκπροκαλεσσαμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα.

96 is absent from some manuscripts, including M. As Wade-Gery points out, this cannot be explained as a simple case of homoearchon-omission, for then 97 ought to be omitted too. The line is an alternative to 98,[30] or perhaps rather to 98–101, for the golden clouds go together with Hera's interference (cf. *Il.* 13. 521–5). Wilamowitz thinks that 96 was composed as a replacement 'when the obstruction of the senses by the golden clouds no longer seemed worthy of a goddess'. But this is an unlikely motive for rewriting, and it overlooks the fact that it is 96, not 98–101, that is presupposed in 110 f. Iris fetches Eileithyia from a house, not from under a golden cloud on the mountain (there can be no question of an *indoor* cloud), and there is no hint of obstruction by Hera.[31]

There are, then, in 97–96 and 98–101 two accounts of Eileithyia's absence which differ essentially in that in one Hera is involved and in the other she is not; and of these two, it is the version without Hera that is assumed in what follows. This is also the version that is more in accord with the rest of D. In 5–13 Leto sits beside Zeus as his consort, and Hera is simply ignored. Again in the story of Leto's search for a place in which to give birth, the whole theme of Hera's opposition, which is so important in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, is absent. There just was not room in this poem for Hera besides Leto.[32]

We may safely conclude that 98–101 is the secondary version, and that the other lines nearby that refer to Hera, 95 and 105–6, must go with it. If we look carefully we will see that the passage benefits from their removal. 95 does not accord happily either with 93 or with 97; and 105–6 spoil the nice point which ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε has if it follows straight after 103–4.

ἄλλοτε μέν τ' ἐπὶ Κύνθου ἐβήσαο παιπαλόεντος,
ἄλλοτε δ' ἀν νήσους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἠλάσκαζες . . .
ἀλλὰ σὺ Δήλωι Φοῖβε μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ.

In Thucydides 3. 104. 4, where lines 146–50 appear in quotation, the manuscripts give 146 in the form ἀλλ' ὅτε Δήλωι Φοῖβε μάλιστά γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης. The variant at the end is a natural product of quotation from memory, but we cannot follow Gemoll in explaining the ἀλλ' ὅτε or ἄλλοτε in the same way, because it does not make sense and Thucydides could not have thought it did. It seems probable that he began his quotation at 141 and that a scribe's eye jumped from ἄλλοτε there to ἀλλὰ σύ in 146.

πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω, πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα;
ἠέ σ' ἐνὶ μνηστῆισιν ἀείδω καὶ φιλότητι;

After the aorist ὑμνήσω in 207 it seems highly likely that ἀείσω was written in 208. The two forms can be hard to tell apart in minuscule;

[30] Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, 447 n. 3; Jacoby, *Kl. phil. Schr.*, 170 f.

[31] Jacoby notices 110 f. in this connection, but draws the odd conclusion that 96 was invented to suit 110, while the original version contradicted it.

see for example the way ἀΐσω (?) is written in the sixth line of Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* in the facsimile in R. Merkelbach and H. van Thiel, *Griechisches Leseheft* (Göttingen 1965), 17 line 5.

353 αὐτίκα τόνδε λαβοῦσα βοώπις πότνια Ἥρη
δῶκεν ἔπειτα φέρουσα κακῶι κακόν.

τόνδε is to be emended to τόν γε (and likewise in Hymn 26. 7 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τόνδε θεαὶ πολύυμνον ἔθρεψαν); again a very easy and common minuscule confusion. ὅδε is not used in epic narrative except in the prospective ἥδε δέ οἱ . . . ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή and the like. In *Il.* 24. 17 τὸν δέ τ' is of course the right reading, not τόνδε δ'. There remains only Hes. *Op.* 80 ὀνόμηνε δὲ τήνδε γυναῖκα | Πανδώρην, which is perhaps best understood as a reflection of what Hermes was imagined to say, ὀνομαίνω τήνδε γυναῖκα Πανδώρην.

399 αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι συνήντετο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
ἐν πόντωι δ' ἐπόρουσε δέμας δελφῖνι ἐοικώς
νηῒ θοῆι, καὶ κεῖτο πέλωρ μέγα τε δεινόν τε.

R. Merkelbach, *Kritische Beiträge zu antiken Autoren* (Meisenheim 1974), 1–2, proposes νηῒ θοῆι δ' ὑπέκειτο, inferring from 416 εἰ μενέει νηὸς γλαφυρῆς δαπέδοισι πέλωρον that the divine dolphin is stationed underneath the ship. This is wrong, for when they reach Crisa Apollo leaps *out of* the ship, ἐκ νηός (440). δαπέδοισι in 416 therefore means (as one would expect) 'on the floor'. It is true that 401 is deplorably unclear. It would be better if the poet had written ἐκ πόντου in 400 (T. L. Agar, *CR* 30 (1916), 5); but the transmitted text is protected by 493–4:[4]

ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντωι
εἰδόμενος δελφῖνι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς ὄρουσα.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

A few years after this paper appeared Walter Burkert and Richard Janko made an observation of great importance for the origin of the composite hymn and the role of Cynaethus; see below, Chapter 28, and my Loeb edition of the *Homeric Hymns*, 9–12.

1. On this scene cf. *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 355.



2. Cf. A. Kirchhoff, *SPAW* 1893, 904.
3. Fritz Graf, writing to me on 21 March 1976, observed that the prominence of Leto goes together with the eastern origin of D. For the intrusion of the jealous Hera cf. the interpolated episode in P, 305–56, which interrupts the story of Apollo and is of no relevance to him. Was this Cynaethus' doing?
4. I have found a letter from N. J. Richardson, dated 20 June 1973, from which it appears that I owed this observation to him.

# 25

# Magnes of Smyrna:
## A Greek Poet at the Court of Gyges

I write of a figure practically forgotten by historians of literature;[1] he has no entry in either *RE* or the *New Pauly*, and his name will be new to most readers of these pages. Yet he was a celebrity in his time, remembered locally for many generations; an epic singer who may well have known the poet of the *Iliad*, and who bridged the neighbour cultures of Ionia and Lydia. He came from Smyrna, and his name was Magnes.

Our knowledge of him depends on a single source, a passage of Nikolaos of Damascus preserved in the Historical Excerpts commissioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De virtutibus et vitiis* i. 343. 6–20, reproduced in *Suda* μ 21; *FGrHist* 90 F 62):

(ὅτι) Μάγνης ἦν ἀνὴρ Σμυρναῖος, καλὸς τὴν ἰδέαν εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος, ποιήσει τε καὶ μουσικῇ δόκιμος· ἤσκητο δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διαπρεπεῖ κόσμωι, ἁλουργῆ ἀμπεχόμενος καὶ κόμην τρέφων χρυσῶι στρόφωι κεκορυμβωμένην· περιήιει τε τὰς πόλεις ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν ποίησιν. τούτου δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι ἤρων, Γύγης δὲ καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἐφλέγετο, καὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε παιδικά. γυναῖκάς γε μὴν πάσας ἐξέμηνεν, ἔνθα ἐγένετο ὁ Μάγνης, μάλιστα δὲ τὰς Μαγνήτων, καὶ συνῆν αὐταῖς. οἱ δὲ τούτων συγγενεῖς ἀχθόμενοι ἐπὶ τῆι αἰσχύνηι, πρόφασιν ποιησάμενοι ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἥισεν ὁ Μάγνης Λυδῶν ἀριστείαν ἐν ἱπποµαχίαι πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας, αὐτῶν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐμνήσθη, ἐπάιξαντες περικατέρρηξάν τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς κόμας ἐξέκειραν καὶ πᾶσαν

Original paper.

[1] In the most detailed history of Greek literature from the twentieth century, that of Schmid and Stählin, he finds a bare mention in the addenda to vol. i. He did rather better in Bergk's great *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin 1872–87): i. 480 and 777 n. 93.



λώβην προσέθεσαν. ἐφ' οἷς ἤλγησε μάλιστα Γύγης, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν εἰς τὴν Μαγνήτων γῆν ἐνέβαλεν, τέλος δὲ καὶ χειροῦται τὴν πόλιν· ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Σάρδεις πανηγύρεις ἐποιήσατο μεγαλοπρεπεῖς.

There was one Magnes, a Smyrnaean, as good-looking as they come, well regarded for his poetry and music; he used to be decked out in fine apparel too, wearing purple and with his long hair fastened in a bun with a gold cord, and he would go round the towns performing his poetry. Many people were in love with him, but Gyges was especially smitten, and had him as his fancy-boy; as for the women, he drove them all wild wherever he went, especially those of the Magnesians, and he had relations with them. Their relatives were angry at the shame of it, and on the pretext that in his epic verse Magnes sang of a Lydian victory in cavalry warfare against the Amazons but made no mention of the Magnesians, they ran at him and ripped his robe to shreds, cut off his hair, and generally did him over. Gyges was greatly pained at this, and made many incursions into the Magnesians' territory, finally taking the town; then he returned to Sardis and held magnificent festivals.

Nikolaos of Damascus was a man of consequence, tutor to the children of Antony and Cleopatra, close associate of Herod the Great, and a voluminous author whose output included, besides a Life of Augustus and other things, a universal history in no less than 144 books. The story of Magnes came in book 7, which was concerned with seventh- and sixth-century history of Greece and the Near East, ending with the fall of Sardis. But what credit can we give the tale of the dashing young poet whose success with women led to the capture of Magnesia?

Richard Hunter and Ian Rutherford have recently taken note of the story, only to dismiss it as 'presumably largely fictional'.[2] Certainly it bears the marks of romantic shaping. But it can hardly have been spun out of nothing, and in many ways it suits the historical conditions of the time in which it is set.[3] What are the chances that Nikolaos, writing over six centuries after the reign of Gyges, had access to a report of a historical episode not otherwise recorded?

We can eliminate four of those centuries at a stroke, as it is established that for Lydian matters Nikolaos drew directly from the

[2] Richard Hunter and Ian Rutherford (edd.), *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge 2009), 2.

[3] Cf. Bergk (as n. 1), i. 480 n. 2, 'mag in dem Berichte des Nicolaus von Damascus auch Manches ausgeschmückt sein, so ist ein historischer Kern doch nicht zu verkennen'.

*Lydiaka* of Xanthos of Sardis.[4] It may be assumed that the whole substance of the Magnes story, if not the precise wording, comes from Xanthos. Xanthos wrote towards the end of the fifth century.[5] He had a Greek name, wrote copiously in Greek for Greek readers, and was fully imbued with Greek culture; on the other hand he lived in Sardis, his father's name was Kandaules, and he had an extensive knowledge of Lydia and Lydian matters. We may guess that while his father was a Lydian, his mother was a Greek, and that he spoke both languages fluently.[6] The loss of his four books of Lydian history is much to be regretted. They contained much that is not in Herodotos. His sources will have been of the same character as Herodotos', oral not written, but he was better placed to gather in all the available traditions and legends. He related many stories about the earlier kings of Lydia, several of them spicy, as in the case of Adramytes who was the first to use female instead of male eunuchs (F 4), or the gluttonous Kambles who unwittingly ate his wife in his sleep and committed suicide after discovering what he had done (F 18). The story of Gyges and Magnes is less extravagant, but quite in keeping with the style of Xanthos' work. It evidently stood in the context of a longer narrative of Gyges' reign: Magnes is introduced as a new character, Gyges appears as an established one.

With Gyges we are in what we may hesitantly call the historical period. This does not mean we can believe everything that is reported, but it means there may in principle be some truth in the mixture. Let us assess the Magnes story for credibility.

[4] See F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* II C 233, 240, 241, 253; R. Laqueur, *RE* xvii. 375, 387 f.; H. Herter, *RE* ixA. 1357.

[5] Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 F 180) thought he wrote before Herodotos and was used by him, but in fact Herodotos appears not to have known his work. Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*De Thucydide* 5) seems to be more accurate in grouping Xanthos with Hellanikos and others in the age of Thucydides. Strabo reports that he wrote of a severe drought that occurred 'in the reign of Artaxerxes' (Strab. 1. 3. 4 = *FGrHist* 765 F 12); if Xanthos used that expression, the implication is that Artaxerxes was no longer alive and that the passage was written after 424. For full information on Xanthos and his work see Hans Herter's article in *RE* ixA. 1353–74.

[6] Such mixed marriages will not have been particularly rare. We recall that one of Sappho's friends who had left her circle 'now shines out among the Lydian women' (fr. 96. 6). Gyges himself may have taken a Greek wife, cf. the reference to his γαμβρός Melas in Nicolaus 90 F 63. Xanthos informed his readers that the native name of Sardis was Ξυάρις (765 F 23), which is recognizable as a rendering of the form attested in Lydian inscriptions, in modern transcription *Śfar-*. See Roberto Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1964), 201 f.



The episode is bound up with what should be a historical event: Gyges' capture of Magnesia, by which we must certainly understand Magnesia ad Sipylum, located near the Hermos on the direct route between Sardis and Smyrna. It is not an event otherwise recorded; Herodotos' very cursory note of Gyges' attacks on Greek cities (1. 14. 4) mentions only Miletos, Smyrna, and Kolophon. But if he attacked Smyrna he must have come to Magnesia first, and can hardly have left it alone.

No doubt he had other motives than pique over an assault on a favourite. So what about the rest of the story? There is no reason to question the existence of a poet Magnes. The name, an ethnic, is not a common one, but attested for several other historical persons. Applied to a Smyrnaean, it may suggest a family connection with the neighbouring city of Magnesia ad Sipylum. Jacoby in his note on Nikolaos F 62 thought it 'merkwürdig' that Magnes should appear as the name of a man who was beaten up at Magnesia, but really there is nothing odd about a Smyrnaean being called Magnes or about a Smyrnaean poet going to perform at Magnesia (especially if he had cousins there).

That he was a composer of epic songs is strongly suggested by what is said about his ἔπη on a mythical battle between Lydians and Amazons. An epic poet from Smyrna in the second quarter of the seventh century is perfectly in order. Smyrna was one of the earliest and strongest claimants to be the birthplace of Homer.[7] The poet of the *Iliad*, whose activity can be dated to the period 680–640, was familiar with that region; he knows the local legend of Niobe, whose petrified form was to be seen on Mt Sipylos, and he knows the upper Hermos valley, from which he mentions a cluster of topographical details.[8] He would have been approximately contemporary with Magnes, and it would be anything but surprising if their paths had crossed.

That Magnes should go from town to town performing his poetry, accompanying himself on the lyre, is exactly what we should expect of an epic singer of that time. A well-known passage in the *Odyssey* indicates that it was normal practice, and it is how later authors

[7] Pind. fr. 264, cf. 204; my *Homeric Hymns, Lives of Homer, Homeric Apocrypha* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003), 309 f.

[8] *Il.* 24. 602–17; 20. 381–92. He must have known Smyrna and Magnesia, probably Sardis too, though he does not mention any of them. On his dating and localization see *The Making of the Iliad* (Oxford 2011), Chapter 2.

pictured Homer as living.[9] The wearing of fine costume is not documented for rhapsodes at such an early date, but it was typical of them in the Classical period, as it was of citharodes.[10] The long hair is normal for seventh-century Ionia; dandies might fasten it up with a clasp of precious metal, like Euphorbos in *Il.* 17. 52, whose locks χρυσῶι τε καὶ ἀργύρωι ἐσφήκωντο, or the Samians of an earlier generation described by Asios fr. 13 W., whose hair floated in the wind χρυσέοις ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς. The bun attributed to Magnes (κόμην χρυσῶι στρόφωι κεκορυμβωμένην) was a style obsolete in Xanthos' time.[11]

As to just how good-looking Magnes was, how many women he bedded, and how intimate was his relationship with Gyges, these are questions on which we can put no trust in the oral tradition. It is likely to have played up these details and knitted them together in the interests of a good story. But if we accept the premise that Greek was widely understood at Sardis, it is entirely plausible that Magnes should have found a favourable reception there, especially if he produced a poem celebrating a mythical triumph of the Lydians. If such a poem existed, it must indeed have been designed for a Lydian audience.

A poem about fighting with Amazons is in fact perfect for the period. Amazons appear in the *Iliad* as past invaders of different Asiatic kingdoms: Priam had helped the Phrygians to resist them beside the Sangarios (3. 184–9); Bellerophon fought them in Lycia (6. 186). By the end of the seventh century another poet had brought an Amazon or a group of Amazons to Troy to help defend it (*Aethiopis*), and presently another was to bring them to Attica to be repulsed by Theseus. There were many legends of individual Amazons as founders of cities, including Magnes' own Smyrna. We do not know, of course, whether the Lydians had any native tradition about a race of warrior women that Magnes might have built on; if they had, would he have known about it? More likely he invented a new tale about them as a variation on existing Greek traditions. It was a novel move, so far as we can tell, to compose an epic narrative about fighting between non-Greek peoples, but it could be done

[9] *Od.* 17. 382–6; Plato, *Rep.* 600d, *Certamen* 5, etc.

[10] Rhapsodes: Plato, *Ion* 530b, 535d. Citharodes: my *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992), 54 f.

[11] See A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* i (Oxford 1945), 101–4.



using standard techniques. For chariot warfare, which the Lydians still apparently practised under Alyattes,[12] Homeric epic was well resourced. But it would not have been beyond the powers of a trained ἀοιδός to describe fighting from horseback, which is what the Lydians were noted for later (Hdt. 1. 27. 3, 79. 3); it may already be implied by Mimnermos' Λυδῶν ἱππομάχων . . . φάλαγγας (fr. 14. 3 W.), which refers to fighting in Gyges' time, and the battle related by Magnes is called a ἱππομαχία. Amazons in art sometimes drive chariots, but are more often represented as fighting from horseback. Penthesileia seems to have done so in the *Aethiopis*, on the evidence of the Tabula Capitolina, as she does in Quintus of Smyrna (1. 166–70, 600–29).

Émile Mireaux assumed a political subtext to the poem. He took the Amazons to stand for the Cimmerians whose real-life incursions, beginning at least by 665, threatened Gyges' kingdom and were to be responsible for his death fifteen or twenty years later: Magnes' poem 'n'avait d'autre but que de célébrer la victoire des cavaliers lydiens sur les hordes des Cimmériens dont les femmes prenaient part aux combats. Les auditeurs s'y trompaient si peu que les Magnésiens du Sipyle, mécontents que leur rôle en cette occasion ait été passé sous silence, assaillirent un jour le poète, (etc.).'[13] It is questionable whether we should go so far as to assume reference to an actual victory over the Cimmerians. But if the Cimmerians were in fact impinging on Gyges' country, a poem celebrating Lydians' past supremacy over alien invaders would certainly have been good for national morale and likely to bring the poet recognition.

It seems probable, in any case, that the poem once existed, much more probable than that it is the inspired figment of some romancer developing the Magnes story. Was it still available to Xanthos? Quite possibly; it may never have achieved wide circulation in Greece, and presumably it never reached Alexandria, but in Lydia, if anywhere, it might have been preserved for a couple of centuries among Greek-speakers, orally or in writing. Xanthos was more likely to write in definite terms of a poem that was extant than of one that was merely reputed to have existed centuries before. His account of how the Magnesians found fault with it for glorifying the Lydians instead of themselves may recall Herodotos' story that Kleisthenes of

[12] Sappho fr. 16. 19 τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα. Cf. also Aesch. *Pers.* 45–8.

[13] É. Mireaux, *Les Poèmes homériques et l'histoire grecque* i (Paris 1948), 14.

Sikyon banned the rhapsodes because Homeric poetry was full of 'Argives' and 'Argos' (5. 67. 1). The reference there is to poetry that Herodotos' readers knew, and it may have been the same with Xanthos' reference to Magnes' poem.

If it survived for any time at all, one person who might well have heard it was the Smyrnaean Mimnermos.[14] Was it from Magnes that he got the epic-style expression quoted above, *Λυδῶν ἱππομάχων . . . φάλαγγας*, with its un-Homeric epithet? It might also be worth mentioning that he is reported to have alluded to the proverbial saying *ἄριστα χωλὸς οἰφεῖ*, 'a lame man rogers best', which a queen of the Amazons was supposed to have uttered to justify their practice of maiming their male babies and their rejection of a Scythian offer of marriages.[15] It is unclear whether Mimnermos said anything about Amazons, let alone whether Magnes' poem contained anything relevant. But we know that Xanthos somewhere referred to the Amazons' maiming their male children (765 F 22). He spoke of their gouging out the babies' eyes, whereas the paroemiographical sources speak of ripping off an arm or leg, so the coincidence is not a close one.

After taking Magnesia Gyges lays on grand panegyreis at Sardis. Why did Xanthos add this information? I surmise that what he had in mind was not a one-off victory celebration, which would hardly merit a place as an interesting feature of the story, but a more enduring institution, something that existed in Xanthos' own time and that was understood to have been established by Gyges. Sardis had of course undergone many changes and shocks over 250 years, not least when it fell to the Persians. But it remained a Lydian city throughout, and a popular festival, once it has taken root, tends to survive through centuries, regardless of changes of religion or regime. It is quite credible that there was some festival that dated back to the time of the Mermnadai; it might have been attributed to Gyges as the founder of the dynasty, or because he actually did create it. For Xanthos it was associated for some reason with the capture of Magnesia, while the capture of Magnesia was associated with the Greek poet Magnes. It is possible that the festival included poetic entertainments or contests at which Magnes' poem on the defeat of

[14] Smyrnaean rather than Colophonian, see my *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin–New York 1974), 72.

[15] Zenob. Ath. 3. 17 = Mimn. fr. 21a, cf. Diogenian. 2. 2; Paus. Att. α 149; Phot. α 2809; sch. Theoc. 4. 62/3b.



the Amazons, or some comparable *récit* in Lydian, was sometimes to be heard. That would provide a natural context for the story of Gyges and Magnes to be retailed (and refined).

Be that as it may: Greeks had active cultural relations with Lydia in Gyges' time, as they had had with Midas' Phrygia. The legend of a Heraclid dynasty at Sardis going back centuries earlier (Hdt. 1. 7. 2) may be discounted, but Greek pottery from the coastal cities had been reaching Sardis throughout the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, and in the first half of the seventh century it was coming from further afield, including Corinth and Sparta.[16] There may have been Greeks resident at Sardis from an earlier date than this; it was easily reached up the Hermos valley from Smyrna and Magnesia. Gyges himself had a lively awareness of the Greek world. He donated gold and silver treasure to Delphi in notable quantity (Hdt. 1. 14. 1–3), and I have noted above (n. 6) that he may have taken a Greek wife. A Greek travelling poet who got as far as Magnesia might naturally have sought further repute and reward in the famously wealthy Lydian capital, where there must have been a sufficient number of Greek-speakers able to understand and appreciate his verses.

The Magnes affair may possibly be relevant also to another matter. In my study of Near Eastern elements in early Greek poetry I emphasized that I was not looking for any single explanation of their presence, a point of contact at one specific moment and place to account for them all: there must have been numerous channels of influence over many centuries. In the *Iliad*, however, I was struck by certain things that seemed to connect rather specifically with Assyrian court literature and propaganda of the first quarter of the seventh century, and I was led to speculate about 'some unusually direct line of communication', some sort of 'hot line' linking the poet with the court at Nineveh.[17] We can now see where such a line might have run. We know that sometime between 668 and 665 Gyges, threatened with a Cimmerian assault, sent an envoy to Assurbanipal to request aid. There was an initial linguistic difficulty, as Lydian had never before been heard at Nineveh and no one could understand it. But diplomatic relations were established and appear

[16] G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983), 82, cf. 89, 98. On Greek–Lydian relations generally see M. Mellink in *CAH*[3] iii (2) 643–55.

[17] *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 587, 627 f.

to have continued for some years. Assyrian envoys and perhaps troops came to Sardis.[18] If an Ionian poet could also go to Sardis (and of course Magnes need not have been the only one), we have a possible line of communication such as I hypothesized. The *Iliad* poet, as noted earlier, lived at the same period as Magnes and for part of his life, at least, moved in the same regions.

[18] M. Mellink (as n. 16), 644 f.

# 26

# 'Eumelos': A Corinthian Epic Cycle?*

Among the reputed authors of early epic poems, few of whom can be pinned down as creatures of flesh and blood, Eumelos of Corinth stands out as one of the solider figures. We are offered more definite biographical information about him than about most of that crepuscular fraternity. According to Pausanias (2. 1. 1) he was the son of Amphilytos and a member of the famous Bacchiad family that ruled Corinth up to the time of Kypselos. He was credited with the authorship of a Prosodion, a processional song, that the Messenians performed for Apollo on Delos, and in Pausanias' opinion this was his only genuine work. It is supposed to have been composed in the time of the Messenian king Phintas, in the generation before the first Messenian War.[1] That should mean sometime in the mid eighth century. It is in harmony with this that Eumelos is said to have overlapped with Archias, his fellow-Bacchiad who founded Syracuse around 734. Eusebius' *Chronicle* offers similar datings.[2]

Besides the Prosodion, a number of more substantial poems—epics—were at least sometimes attributed to Eumelos: the *Titanomachy*; *Korinthiaka*; a *Europia*; a *Νόστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων*; a *Bougonia*. The last two are mentioned in only one source each. The title

*JHS* 122 (2002), 109–33. Full references are listed at the end of this chapter.

* I wish to thank Jan Bremmer and two anonymous referees for constructive comments on the original draft of this article; Jan Bremmer also for letting me see an unpublished paper of his on the Titans; and Dirk Obbink for a preview of the second volume of his great edition of Philodemus, *De pietate*.

[1] Paus. 4. 4. 1, 4. 33. 2, with the quotation *τῶι γὰρ Ἰθωμάται καταθύμιος ἔπλετο Μοῖσα | ἁ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα* (*PMG* 696).

[2] Clem. *Strom.* 1. 131. 8; Euseb. *Chron.*, Ol. 5. 1 (760/759) and 9. 1 (744/743); cf. Cyril, *Contra Iulian.* 1. 12 (*Patrol. Gr.* lxxvi. 520D). See C. M. Bowra, *CQ* 12 (1963), 146–7 = *On Greek Margins* (Oxford 1970), 47–9; A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and the Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, Pa. 1979), 198–203.

*Bougonia*[3] suggests a didactic poem about cattle-breeding (cf. Varro, *De re rustica* 2. 5. 5), but there is no other trace of such a work. The *Νόστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων* is presumably identical with the Cyclic *Nostoi*, an epic otherwise ascribed to Agias of Troizen: its attribution to Eumelos may be an isolated error.[4]

The three remaining titles, *Titanomachy*, *Korinthiaka*, and *Europia*, are more regularly associated with Eumelos, though many authors prefer to cite them without an author's name. It will be argued in what follows that they are bound together not only by this community of attribution, but also by certain links of subject matter. I am inclined to regard them as forming a sort of Corinthian epic cycle that was transmitted under the name 'Eumelos'. It will be shown that none of them can be as early as the eighth century. The *Titanomachy* and *Europia* were composed in the late seventh century at the earliest, and the *Korinthiaka* not before the mid sixth.

The Prosodion, with its rather emphatic assertion of Messenian liberty, perhaps dates from the years before or during the second rather than the first Messenian War.[5] If Eumelos was really its author, one has to ask firstly what a Corinthian noble was doing composing choral songs in Messene, and secondly how the circumstance could have been remembered. To the first question, I[110] the exiling of the Bacchiads when Cypselus came to power around 657 BCE would be a pretty answer; to be sure, some historians of early Greece, where facts are few and far between, have been too prone to this sort of facile combination. As to the second question, it is imaginable that the song was preserved orally as an anthem of independence down to the fourth century, and that the most basic facts about its author were remembered with it until some historian wrote them down.

Pausanias' statement that the Prosodion alone was considered to be Eumelos' genuine work has little evidential value. It is of a piece with his other idiosyncratic pronouncements on literary history, such as that the Boeotians living round Helicon had a tradition that Hesiod composed nothing except the *Works and Days* (9. 31. 4). Nevertheless, if we accept that Eumelos was remembered by the

[3] Euseb. (Hieron.) *Chron.*, Ol. 5. 1: *Eumelus poeta, qui Bugoniam et Europiam . . . composuit . . . agnoscitur.* Salmasius' conjecture *Theogoniam* has its attractions, though the assumed corruption is unlikely.

[4] Sch. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 31a. Since a Corinthian poet is in question, Gyraldus' *Εὔμηλον* is a certain correction of the manuscripts' *εὔμολπον*.

[5] Admitted as a possibility by Dunbabin 67 n. 71.



Messenians as the author of their Prosodion, it will be a considerable possibility that his name was attached to a body of Corinthian epic verse just because it was the only name available. The citharode Arion (who anyway came from Lesbos, not Corinth) was obviously unsuitable.

The evidence relating to the three epics must now be reviewed in detail.

## THE *TITANOMACHY*

The *Titanomachy*[6] is mostly cited by its title alone, or with the formula *ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν γράψας* or *ποιήσας*, 'the author of the *Titanomachy*'. The scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (1. 1165c) says 'Eumelos in the *Titanomachy*', and Athenaeus (277d) writes 'the author of the *Titanomachy*, whether he is Eumelos the Corinthian or Arktinos or whatever he likes to be called'. In three places fragments that must come from this poem are cited simply as 'Eumelos' or 'Eumelos the Corinthian'.[7]

It was divided into at least two books (fr. 4 B=8 D, 14 W). To judge from its title, the war in which the younger gods defeated the Titans must have bulked large in it. But the fragments show that it had a wider scope. It appears to have begun with some account of the earlier generations of gods, for we are told that Aither was identified in it as the father of Ouranos and in some sense as the beginning of everything (frr. 1–2 B=1 D, 1 W). The poem therefore belonged to the genre theogony.

Both the details of the divine genealogies and the account of the gods' war diverged somewhat from Hesiod's *Theogony*. Zeus' birth was located in Lydia instead of Crete:

[6] Fragments collected by G. Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1877), 5–8; T. W. Allen, *Homeri Opera* v (Oxford 1912), 110–11; W. Aly, *Hesiods Theogonie* (Heidelberg 1913), 65–7; H. G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (London 1914), 480–3; K. Ziegler in Roscher v. 1524; A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci* i (Leipzig 1987, ²1995), 11–16; M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen 1988), 16–20. Principal discussions: Welcker ii. 409–20; J. Dietze, 'Zur kyklischen Theogonie', *Rh. Mus.* 69 (1914), 522–37; K. Ziegler in Roscher v. 1523–31; Severyns 165–77; Vian 171–2; Kranz (1967); O. Gigon in Dörig–Gigon vi–xxiv (esp. xiv–xxi); Huxley 22–8; Davies (1989), 13–18.

[7] Hyg. *Fab.* 183; Ath. epit. 22c (*ἢ Ἀρκτῖνος* has been added in the margin of C from 277d); Lydus *Mens.* 4. 71.

*Εὔμηλος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος τὸν Δία ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς Λυδίᾳ τεχθῆναι βούλεται.*

Eumelos the Corinthian would have it that Zeus was born in the land we know as Lydia.[8]

|[111] We should understand this to mean on Mt Sipylos; cf. Aristides, *Or.* 17. 3, 'the oldest foundation of our city [Smyrna] is on Sipylos, where they locate both the "goddesses' couchings" (*Il.* 24. 615) and the dances of the Kouretes round the mother of Zeus'; id. *Or.* 18. 2, 21. 3.

Another peculiarity of the *Titanomachy*, at least as against Hesiod, is that Aigaion, who cannot be distinguished from Hesiod's Briareos,[9] was the son of Pontos, not of Ouranos, and fought on the Titans' side instead of against them: sch. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1165c,

Eumelos in the *Titanomachy* says that Aigaion was the son of Earth and Sea, lived in the sea, and fought on the side of the Titans.

In Hesiod Gaia advises the younger gods that in order to defeat the Titans they should bring up the Hundred-handers, Kottos, Gyges, and Briareos, from the lower darkness where Ouranos has imprisoned them (*Th.* 617–28). They do so, and the Hundred-handers help the Olympians to victory by discharging a massive fusillade of rocks from all their hands. The Titans are overwhelmed and committed to Tartarus. Hesiod then describes the underworld regions at length. In the course of this we are surprised to find that the three Hundred-handers have returned there (*Th.* 734 f.). A little later this is modified: Kottos and Gyges are there, 'at the foundations of Okeanos', but Briareos, 'being good', has been specially favoured by Poseidon, who has given him one of his daughters to marry. It is implied that he lives somewhere else, presumably in the sea (*Th.* 815–19). It must have been from the sea that Thetis brought him up to support Zeus against his enemies on the occasion recalled at *Il.* 1. 397–406.

[8] Lydus, loc. cit. = Eumelos fr. 18 B., dub. 4 D., 2 W. The fragment seems not hitherto to have been assigned to the *Titanomachy* (though Wilisch 7 mentioned the possibility), but this is the obvious place for it. Earlier in the same section of Lydus, where we find *ὁ δὲ †μηλίας ὑπὸ Ἀμαλθείας αὐτὸν τραφῆναι*, Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* 1047 not. *i*, conjectured *Εὔμηλος*, which Wünsch should have reported. But in the acknowledged fragment Lydus writes *Εὔμηλος ὁ Κορίνθιος*, as if introducing a new name.

[9] The two are explicitly identified in *Il.* 1. 402–4, though presumably separate in origin.



There is later evidence for his marine connections,[10] and it seems likely that this many-armed figure was a marine monster in origin, a demonized giant polyp, an embodiment of the sea itself in its unruly strength.[11] The myth in which he rises up against the storm-god and is quelled and confined to his element looks older than the one in which he is brought up to perform as Zeus' ally and then sent back to the deep. It recalls the Ugaritic myth of the battle between Baal and Yammu (Sea), conceived as a seven-headed dragon, and its biblical and Mesopotamian parallels. Its Hesiodic reflex seems to be Zeus' conflict with the hundred-headed Typhoeus.[12] Hesiod's treatment of Briareos, then, would involve a secondary reassignment of function, and the Eumelian account, whether or not written before the Hesiodic, would preserve the older version.

Echoes of this version appear in Antimachus[13] and Virgil, *Aen.* 10. 565 ff.:

> Aegaeon qualis, centum cui bracchia dicunt
> centenasque manus, quinquaginta oribus ignem
> pectoribusque arsisse, Iouis cum fulmina contra
> tot paribus streperet clipeis, tot stringeret ensis.[14]

Like Aigaion, who they say had a hundred arms and a hundred hands and blazed fire from fifty mouths and in fifty breasts, when he raged against Jupiter's thunderbolt with the same number of matching shields and bared the same number of swords.

|[112] Cf. Servius auctus on *Aen.* 6. 287, *centumgeminus Briareus*:

Who, as some record, waged war on the gods' behalf against the Giants; but as others affirm, he fought against the gods, above all on the occasion when Jupiter and Saturn were contesting for the kingship of heaven. Hence they record that he was driven down by Jupiter to the underworld with a thunderbolt.

[10] Sch. *Il.* 1. 404a (Aristarchus) *ἐνάλιος δαίμων*; sch. D *Il.* 1. 399 (Didymus) *θαλάσσιος δαίμων*; sch. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1165c *θαλάσσιον θηρίον*; Ov. *Met.* 2. 8–10, *caeruleos habet unda deos, Tritona canorum | Proteaque ambiguum ballenarumque prementem | Aegaeona suis immania terga lacertis*; Preller–Robert 623–4; my commentary on Hes. *Th.* 149.

[11] Cf. Preller–Robert 49; Roscher i. 142.

[12] See West (1997), 86, 97, 302.

[13] Sch. Veron. Virg. *Aen.* 10. 565, *Homerus amicum Aegaeona dicit Iouis, sed Antimachus in tertio Thebaidos* (fr. 14 Matthews) *d<icit> aduersum eum armatum.*

[14] Statius, *Theb.* 2. 596, is probably dependent on Virgil.

And on 10. 565:

> Others say he was born from Earth and Sea, and had Koios[15] and Gyges as his brothers. He is said to have assisted Jupiter against the Titans; or as some would have it, to have assisted Saturn.

The details that Virgil gives of Aigaion's armature and emission of flames may perhaps come from 'Eumelos'. I am more doubtful about the commentator's statement that Zeus dispatched his adversary with a thunderbolt to the underworld (where Virgil locates him), as the characterization of Aigaion as a son of Pontos who lived in the sea has little point if that is not where he is imagined as living now. It seems more likely that Zeus repulsed him and he returned to his own element.

There seem to have been other differences between 'Eumelos' and Hesiod in the roll-call of those who fought on the Titans' side. In Hesiod they are simply 'the Titans' without qualification (*Th.* 392, 630, 648, 650, 663, 668, 674, 676, 697, 717, 882), which should mean the six sons and six daughters of Ouranos and Gaia listed at 133–7: Okeanos, Koios, Kreios, Hyperion, Iapetos, Kronos; Theia, Rheia, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phoibe, Tethys. In consigning his Titans collectively to the underworld (717, 729, 814), Hesiod did not stop to reflect that that was no place for such figures as Okeanos and Tethys, Themis, or Mnemosyne. Now, Servius, in a muddled comment on Virgil's reference to the Titans in Tartarus (*Aen.* 6. 580, *hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes*), writes:

> Antiquum, i.e. primum. Titanas enim contra Saturnum genuit, Gigantas postea contra Iouem. Et ferunt fabulae Titanas ab irata contra deos Terra in eius ultionem creatos, unde et Titanes dicti sunt ἀπὸ τῆς τίσεως, id est ab ultione. De his autem solus Sol abstinuisse narratur ab iniuria numinum, unde et caelum meruit.
>
> 'Ancient', i.e. first. For she bore the Titans to oppose Saturn, and the Giants later to oppose Jupiter. And the legends have it that the Titans were created by Earth when she was angry with the gods, to avenge her; that is why they are named Titans, from the Greek *tisis*, 'vengeance'. Of them, the Sun-god alone is related to have abstained from assaulting the gods; hence he earned a place in heaven.

This last sentence appears to refer to a version of the Titanomachy in which the Sun-god refrained from assisting the Titans and was

[15] Probably a mistake for 'Kottos' (Thilo).



rewarded by being stationed in heaven instead of Tartarus. The deity in question was doubtless not Helios but Hyperion.[16] The account in which he defected from the Titan cause must have been an old poetic narrative of the Titanomachy, as there were no Hellenistic ones. The Eumelian poem is practically the only source that comes into question; we have seen that details from it reached the Virgilian commentators.

[113] There are signs that the sons of Iapetos (Atlas, Menoitios, Prometheus) were more directly involved in the war than in Hesiod. Apollodorus, whose account of the conflict probably derives from 'Eumelos' (see below), mentions that Menoitios fought in it (*Bibl.* 1. 2. 3):

> Iapetos' sons by Asia were Atlas, who holds the heaven on his shoulders, Prometheus and Epimetheus, and Menoitios, whom Zeus thunderbolted in the battle with the Titans and consigned to Tartarus.

Hesiod (*Th.* 514–16) mentions that Menoitios was a ruffian (ὑβριστής) whom Zeus dispatched to the lower world because of his bad qualities, but he gives no further explanation and does not place the incident in the context of the Titanomachy. With Atlas, similarly, Hesiod describes the fate that Zeus imposed on him, the support of the sky, but he gives no motivation, whereas a later mythographer, Hyginus, says that it was because he led the Titans in their assault on Jupiter (*Fab.* 150). Hyginus' account is an eccentric one, in that he makes Juno provoke the Titans to their revolt after seeing Epaphus born to her husband's mistress Io. Jupiter is assisted by other children not born from Juno: Minerva, Apollo, and Diana. But the detail about Atlas is not organically related to this construction, and may perhaps come from 'Eumelos', whom Hyginus cites by name elsewhere.

In describing Atlas' fate Hesiod writes (*Th.* 517–19):

> Ἄτλας δ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
> πείρασιν ἐν γαίης, πρόπαρ' Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων
> ἑστηώς, κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτῃσι χέρεσσιν.

[16] E. Wüst, *RE* viA. 1502. Hyperion was a poetic name and epithet of the sun; theogonists accommodated him as the father of Helios, but his name continued to be used for the sun itself (*Il.* 19. 398, *Od.* 1. 24, *Hymn. Ap.* 369). Cf. K. F. Ameis and C. Hentze, *Anhang zu Homers Odyssee* (4. Aufl., Leipzig 1890), 8–9 (on *Od.* 1. 8); H. Usener, *Götternamen* (Bonn 1896), 19–25.

Atlas, under strong constraint, holds up the broad sky with his head and tireless hands, standing at the ends of the earth, away by the clear-voiced Hesperides.

It may have been in the same context of Atlas' punishment that 'Eumelos' told of the golden apples of the Hesperides: Philodemus, *De pietate* 1088 vii (lines 5700–7 Obbink),

καὶ τὰς Ἁρπυίας τὰ μῆ[λα φ]υλάττειν Ἀκο[υσί]λαος (*FGrHist* 2 F 10=fr. 10 Fowler), Ἐπιμεν[ί]δης δὲ (DK 3 B 9) καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι ταῖς Ἑσπερίσιν· ὁ δὲ τὴν Τι<τα>νομαχίαν <γράψας φησὶν τὰ>μὲν μῆλα φυλάτ[τειν . . .

And Akousilaus says the Harpies guarded the (golden) apples; Epimenides agrees, while identifying them with the Hesperides. The author of the *Titanomachy* says the apples were guarded by [ . . .

Kranz argued that the reference to the apples made sense only in the context of Heracles' journey to obtain them.[17] But the Hesiod passage, and similar ones elsewhere in the *Theogony* (215–16, 334–5), show that this need not be the case.

As for Prometheus, an entry in Hesychius' lexicon (ι 387) may be relevant:

Ἴθας· ὁ τῶν Τιτήνων κήρυξ, Προμηθεύς. τινὲς Ἴθαξ.

Ithas: the herald of the Titans, Prometheus. Some write 'Ithax'.

Welcker and others have conjectured that this Ithas or Ithax came from the *Titanomachy*.[18] The Ionic form Τιτήνων is perhaps the relic of a verse quotation. In any case it is hard to see where l[114] a 'herald of the Titans' could come from if not a poetic narrative, or in what circumstances he might have had a function if not in interchanges with another group of gods, namely the Olympians in the context of the struggle for power. Prometheus, it seems, acted as the Titans' envoy to his cousins.

As for an explanation of his name Ithas, I would suggest that this was the mythical eponym of a phyle in some region or other known as the Ithageneis, literally the Indigenous Ones. The element *itha-* (an ancient adverb, 'here') being no longer perspicuous, the word was interpreted as 'born from Ithas'. If the Ithageneis also

[17] Kranz 95.

[18] Welcker ii. 415; M. Pohlenz, *NJb.* 37 (1916), 588 n. 2.



claimed to be descended from Prometheus (through Deucalion), the identification of Prometheus with Ithas is easily understood.

Diplomatic activity by Prometheus in the context of the Titanomachy is recalled in the *Prometheus Vinctus* (199–221, cf. 305). He offered the Titans wise advice, which they spurned. Knowing that they could not win on their own, he went over to Zeus and gave him the counsel that led to his victory. Did he change sides already in the *Titanomachy*?[19] The logic of events almost requires it, for it was a fixed datum that he was punished for giving mankind fire, not for being on the wrong side in the Titan war. If he played a part in the Titanomachy at all, it was only as an ally of Zeus that he could have come through unscathed. His portrayal as a herald going between the two sides would have provided the ideal framework within which his defection could be narrated.[20]

More about the course of the battle may probably be gleaned from the account in Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1. 2. 1:

With them [his brothers and sisters] Zeus unleashed the war against Kronos and the Titans. When they had been fighting for ten years, Ge prophesied to Zeus that he would be victorious if he had as his allies those who had been consigned to Tartarus; so he killed their prison-warder Kampe and freed them. Then the Cyclopes gave thunder, lightning, and the thunderbolt to Zeus, the cap of invisibility to Pluto, and the trident to Poseidon. Armed with this equipment they overcame the Titans, imprisoned them in Tartarus, and set the Hundred-handers to be their warders. They themselves cast lots for government, and Zeus got power in heaven, Poseidon in the sea, and Pluto in the underworld.

Apollodorus' preceding account of the gods' history, from the reign of Ouranos to Zeus' nurture in Crete, is mainly based on an Orphic theogony. But his Titanomachy seems to come from a different source. It is quite unlike Hesiod, and the obvious candidate is the Eumelian poem.[21] It is true that Apollodorus does not mention that Aigaion fought on the Titans' side, and indeed he speaks of the Hundred-handers collectively as being set to guard them in Tartarus.

[19] Welcker ii. 415–16.

[20] Stephanie West, *Mus. Helv.* 51 (1994), 129–49, has argued, partly following Welcker (ii. 414–20), that other elements of pseudo-Aeschylus' mythology derive from the *Titanomachy*: Zeus' wish to destroy mankind (*sc.* by means of the Flood, which Prometheus enabled his son Deukalion to survive), and Prometheus' release from torment through the self-sacrifice of Cheiron.

[21] On the sources of Apollodorus' account see West (1983), 121–6.

But he had to maintain consistency with his previous (Orphic) narrative, which on these points agreed with Hesiod.

Who are 'those who had been consigned to Tartarus', οἱ καταταρταρωθέντες, whom Zeus must release to win the war? If 'Eumelos' is the source, they cannot be the Hundred-handers, as Aigaion was on the enemy side, and there is no sign that Zeus got any help from Kottos and Gyges. They must be the Cyclopes, who furnish the three sons of Kronos with the decisive weapons. In Hesiod there is an awkward duplication. Zeus releases the Cyclopes at *Th.* 501–6 and receives the thunderbolt from them, before there is any mention of the Titanomachy. In 617 ff., on Gaia's advice, he releases the Hundred-handers, and the battle goes forward. In 687–711 l[115] his discharge of thunderbolts appears to be decisive: ἐκλίνθη δὲ μάχη, 'the battle tipped'. But then, in a clumsy breach of Zieliński's Law that epic narrative moves only forwards (or sideways), not backwards, we are suddenly pulled back to an earlier moment: 'But until then, they attacked each other, fighting furiously in fierce combat.' Now it is the bombardment by the Hundred-handers with their rocks that defeats the Titans. Hesiod has conflated two competing motifs.

The Cyclopes were guarded in Tartarus by Kampe, 'Worm', who must have been a formidable dragon.[22] The same name is borne by a murderous, earthborn creature (γηγενὲς θηρίον) that Dionysus destroyed in the Libyan desert, and Nonnus has a long description of another Kampe, a multiform monster with a winding body, a consort of Tartarus (νύμφη Ταρταρίη), that Zeus killed in his struggle against Kronos.[23]

In Hesiod the Cyclopes bear the names Brontes, Steropes, and Arges, corresponding to the thunder, lightning, and bright bolt (ἀργῆτα κεραυνόν) that they make for Zeus. No other artefact of theirs is mentioned, and no contribution of Poseidon and Hades to the defeat of the Titans. In Apollodorus' account each of the three brothers receives his own special, characteristic weapon from the Cyclopes. Zeus gets the thunderbolt, Poseidon the trident, and Hades (whose name, in its epic form Ἀΐδης, suggested 'no-see') the cap of invisibility. In this presumptively Eumelian version the Cyclopes are general manufacturers; they are not uniquely connected with

[22] 'Eine doch wohl um das Gefängnis sich windende Schlange' (Gigon xvi).
[23] Diod. 3. 72. 3; Nonn. *Dion.* 18. 236–64. Cf. J. Fontenrose, *Python* (Berkeley 1959), 243–5.



thunder and lightning as in Hesiod, and they will not have had the Hesiodic names, Brontes, Steropes, and Arges. In fact in 'Eumelos' Bronte and Sterope were the names of two of Helios' horses.[24]

The Eumelian version of the battle, with its motif of the three brothers using three special weapons, looks old. The trident is already an attribute of Poseidon in the *Iliad* (12. 27), and Hades' Cap is mentioned there too (5. 845: Athene puts it on to avoid being seen by Ares). What is more striking is that the *Iliad* poet also knows a history of the gods in which, as in Apollodorus, the three brothers draw lots after their victory to determine which parts of the universe each is to govern.[25] The Hellenistic poet of a hymn to Demeter, in recalling the myth, rather pointedly has Poseidon holding his trident: *Supp. Hell.* 990. 5–6,

πρώτωι δ' ἦλθε λαχεῖν πόντον βαθὺν ἁλμυροδίνη
χερσὶ τρίαιναν ἔχοντα Ποσειδᾶν.

And first it fell to Poseidon, his trident in his hands, to get as his portion the deep, briny-swirling sea.

Callimachus' version of the lot-casting in his *Aitia* may also be relevant to 'Eumelos': fr. 119 Pf.,

Μηκώνην μακάρων ἕδρανον αὖτις ἰδεῖν,
ἦχι πάλους ἐβάλοντο, διεκρίναντο δὲ τιμάς
πρῶτα Γιγαντείου δαίμονες ἐκ πολέμου.

To see again Mekone, seat of the immortals, where the gods cast their lots and made their original settlement of privileges after the war with the Giants.

l[116] We cannot draw any conclusions from the fact that he refers to the war with the Giants instead of the one with the Titans.[26] What is more noteworthy is that he locates the event at Mekone. This was the mythical place where, according to Hesiod (*Th.* 535 ff.), gods and mortals separated and determined their respective portions, and Prometheus tricked Zeus in the division of the sacrificial meat. It was identified as Sicyon, or as a village in Sicyon's territory.[27] Whether

[24] Hyg. *Fab.* 183; see below.
[25] 15. 187–92; cf. *Hymn. Dem.* 86. This was an old Babylonian motif; see West (1997), 109–10.
[26] See Pfeiffer ad loc.; G. Massimilla, *Callimaco, Aitia. Libri primo e secondo* (Pisa 1996), 397–8.
[27] See Pfeiffer or Massimilla (n. 26).

or not Hesiod knew this identification, there is some likelihood that it was maintained in Corinthian tradition; we shall see that the histories of Corinth and Sicyon were closely linked in the Eumelian *Korinthiaka*. We have already found reason to believe that Prometheus played a part in the *Titanomachy*. Even if the poet did not relate the Hesiodic story about the division of the meat, he may have named Mekone as the place where the sons of Kronos cast lots.

Apollodorus naturally omits as an inessential embellishment the festivity with which the Olympians celebrated their victory. But this was no doubt the context of the line quoted by Athenaeus 22c (=fr. 6 B, 5 D, 8 W),

> μέσσοισιν δ' ὠρχεῖτο πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.
>
> And in their midst danced the father of gods and men.

Later authors record that Zeus was garlanded by the other gods after the Titans were defeated, that Apollo, his unshorn locks nicely combed, sang Zeus' praises, and that Athena danced the *purrhiche*.[28]

In Hesiod the defeat of the Titans is followed by the acclamation of Zeus as king of the gods and by his allocation of functions and privileges to the rest (*Th.* 881–5). In the Eumelian poem, as we have seen, the major division of cosmic provinces was done by lot. But this may also have been the occasion for assigning their places to other gods. If the story of Hyperion's abstention from the battle is rightly attributed to the *Titanomachy*, it would be at this juncture that he got his reward and his station as celestial sun. Here the poet might have described his team of four steeds, the yoked mares Bronte and Sterope and the male trace-horses Eoios and Aithops;[29] here too the vessel that carries him over the waters at

[28] Diod. 6. 4 ap. Tertull. *De corona militis* 7, *Saturnum Pherecydes* (DK 7 B 4) *ante omnes refert coronatum, Iouem Diodorus post deuictos Titanas hoc munere a ceteris honoratum*; Tib. 2. 5. 9–10, *qualem te memorant Saturno rege fugato | uictori laudes concinuisse Ioui*; Sen. *Ag.* 332–4, *licet et chorda grauiore sones, quale canebas cum Titanas fulmine uictos uidere dei*; Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 7. 72. 7, Ἑλληνικὸν δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ παλαιὸν ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις ἡ καλουμένη πυρρίχη, εἴτ' Ἀθηνᾶς πρώτης ἐπὶ Τιτάνων ἀφανισμῶι χορεύειν καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τἀπινίκια ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἀρξαμένης, εἴτε παλαίτερον ἔτι Κουρήτων αὐτὴν καταστησαμένων, κτλ. Others speak of Zeus revelling or dancing after the Gigantomachy: Eur. *HF* 178–80; Pamprepius, *Carm.* 4. 13 Livrea Ζῆνα γ|ιγαντοφόνοιο κυβερνητῆρα χορείη[ς. See further Lebedev 3–5.

[29] Hyg. *Fab.* 183 (fr. 7 B.=4 D., 11 W.). M. Schmidt's correction of *Aethiops* to *Aethops* is supported by Eur. fr. 896 (from *Phaethon*?); cf. Ov. *Met.* 2. 153 *Eous et Aethon.*



night.[30] If Hyperion had not previously been the sun, he had now to be provided with these essential pieces of equipment.

The two pairs of horse-names do not sort well together, and we may suspect that an earlier two-horse team with established names has been expanded into a four-horse team by the addition of the trace-horses. These have the intelligible, secondary names: Eoios, who steers the sun [117] from the east, and Aithops, who steers him through the south.[31] The mares' names, Bronte and Sterope, will be the older ones. They no doubt made up the first half of a hexameter, *Βροντή τε Στεροπή τε*.[32] But why should the Sun's chariot be drawn by Thunder and Lightning? The usual explanation is that it is the horses' thundering hooves that make the thunder.[33] But what about the lightning? And why are they the horses of the Sun-god, whose progress across the clear sky is not accompanied by continuous thundering? If it were the Storm-god's chariot that they were drawing, there would be less of a problem.[34] Perhaps they had been Zeus' horses in some older tradition, and when he came to be thought of as too dignified to gallop about in a chariot, they were transferred to the Sun-god. Conceivably they kept the residual function of conveying the thunder and lightning to Zeus, as Pegasus does in Hesiod and Euripides.[35]

Two further fragments of the poem are concerned with the centaur Cheiron. One of them, to be sure, is ascribed to 'the author of the *Gigantomachy*', but it is generally accepted that this is an error of the scholiast on Apollonius for 'the author of the *Titanomachy*'.[36]

[30] Ath. 470b (fr. 8 B.=7 D., 10 W.). For mention of the Sun's horses in the same context as his floating vessel cf. Mimn. fr. 12 W. In Pisander's *Herakleia* (fr. 5 B.=6 D., 5 W.) and in Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* (*PMGF* p. 160, S17) Heracles used the vessel to get to the Hesperides, and there has naturally been a temptation to link it with the Hesperides in the *Titanomachy*, as both are known to have been mentioned in the poem (Severyns 166; Kranz 95). But it is hard to imagine how it could have encompassed the labours of Heracles.

[31] Kranz 92.

[32] Kranz 93, comparing Hes. *Th.* 140, 286, al.

[33] Gigon xviii; Barigazzi (1966*a*), 137; Davies 15.

[34] For oriental parallels see West (1997), 115. There is an Assyrian text that lists nine storm demons as the yoke-animals of Shamash, the sun: ibid. 507.

[35] Hes. *Th.* 285–6; cf. Eur. fr. 312.

[36] There must have been an early *Gigantomachy*, to account for the wealth of allusions to the subject in literature and art (see e.g. M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst* (Berlin 1887); Vian; Dorig–Gigon (1961)), but it was apparently not transmitted to later times. There is no evidence that the Giants' Revolt had a place in the narrative of the *Titanomachy*, as some have supposed.

This fragment (10 B=9 D, 12 W) concerns Cheiron's birth from the Oceanid Philyra, whom Kronos impregnated in the form of a horse, thus accounting for the centaur's hybrid physique.[37] The escapade must have preceded the Titanomachy, since Kronos can have been in no condition for it afterwards. If Cheiron took any part in the war, it must have been on Zeus' side. But perhaps he was not born in time. He was clearly no enemy of Zeus, but a wise creature, celebrated as a culture-hero. According to fr. 11 B=6 D, 13 W, he first

> εἷς τε δικαιοσύνην θνητῶν γένος ἤγαγε δείξας
> ὅρκους καὶ θυσίας ἱλαρὰς καὶ σχήματ' Ὀλύμπου.

led the human race to righteousness by instructing them in oath-taking and cheerful sacrifices and the patterns(?) of Olympus.

This reflects his role in myth as the educator of heroes such as Achilles, 'whom Cheiron had taught, most righteous of centaurs' (*Il.* 11. 832), or perhaps an actual didactic poem such as the *Precepts of Cheiron* ascribed to Hesiod. The importance of sacrifices is stressed in an extant fragment of that work (283 M–W). The 'patterns of Olympus' are presumably astronomical or meteorological lore, 'Olympus' standing for 'heaven'.[38] Possibly the *Titanomachy* contained other stories about Cheiron, such as his voluntary surrender of his immortality to Prometheus.[39]

The last fragment of the poem, cited as being from its second book, is beautiful but enigmatic:

> ἐν δ' αὐτῇι πλωτοὶ χρυσώπιδες ἰχθύες ἐλλοί
> νήχοντες παίζουσι δι' ὕδατος ἀμβροσίοιο.

And in it there float fish with golden scales, that swim and sport through the ambrosial water.

|[118] Welcker supposed that it belonged in an ecphrasis of a shield, perhaps one wielded by Zeus or Athena. Others objected that the present tense was incompatible with this.[40] In fact it would be

[37] Sch. Ap. Rhod. 1. 554; cf. Hes. *Th.* [1001–2]; Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 50=fr. 50 Fowler; Ap. Rhod. 2. 1231–41; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 2. 4.

[38] See Kranz 94–5. On the problems of the phrase see also Lebedev 5–10.

[39] [Aesch.] *Prom.* 1026–9; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 5. 4; Welcker ii. 414–20. Cf. above, n. 20.

[40] Welcker ii. 409; Kranz 94; Davies 17; J. N. Bremmer in F. García Martínez and G. P. Luttikhuizen (edd.), *Interpretations of the Flood* (Leiden 1998), 44.



possible if the shield (or whatever it was) was represented as a god's possession that still exists now.[41] In any case, unless the lines are from a speech, they must refer to something still existing. I would guess that the feminine noun represented by αὐτῇι was λίμνη, and that the description was of some marvellous pool or lake associated with one of the gods, such as the Circular Lake (τροχοειδὴς λίμνη) on Delos, or the Libyan Tritonis (Τριτωνὶς λίμνη) from which, according to some, Athene (Tritogeneia) was born.[42]

## THE *KORINTHIAKA*[43]

This composition was valued more for its content than for its poetry, and the poetic text was largely displaced from circulation by a prose version, still under Eumelos' name, that told the same story in what was perhaps felt to be a more accredited format. Hence Clement can associate Eumelos with Akousilaos as a prose historian who used material of the Hesiodic type: *Strom.* 6. 26. 7,

> τὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδου μετήλλαξαν εἰς πεζὸν λόγον καὶ ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν Εὔμηλός τε καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος οἱ ἱστοριογράφοι.

And Hesiod's poetry was turned into prose and brought out as their own work by the historians Eumelos and Akousilaos.[44]

Pausanias (2. 1. 1) clearly distinguishes the prose history from Eumelos' verses:

[41] Cf. *Il.* 2. 448 (v.l.), 5. 724–8, 13. 21–2.

[42] Hdt. 4. 180. 5, cf. 'Hes.' fr. 343. 12, Aesch. *Eum.* 292–3, Call. fr. 37 with Pfeiffer. Gigon (xix) thought of the Delian lake. Kranz (96) suggested that someone was advising Heracles about his journey to the Hesperides and 'das göttliche Weltmeer'.

[43] Besides the editions of Kinkel, Bernabé, and Davies (as in n. 6), the fragments are collected by G. Marckscheffel, *Hesiodi, Eumeli, Cinaethonis, Asii et Carminis Naupactii Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1840), 397–407; F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIB no. 451; M. L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments* (Cambridge Mass. 2003), 232–45. R. L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* i (Oxford 2000), 105–9, edits those fragments which he regards as coming from the prose version. For discussion see especially Marckscheffel 216–35; Wilisch; P. Friedländer, 'Kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Heldensage, I: Argonautensage', *Rh. Mus.* 69 (1914), 299–317; Radermacher 226–30; Jacoby; Will 85–129, 237–42; Barigazzi (1966*a*), 129–48, (1966*b*), 321–5; Huxley 61–8, 74–5; Brillante 187–99; P. de Fidio; Harrauer.

[44] Does the reference to Hesiod indicate that the prose version included the *Titanomachy* as well as the Corinthian history?

ἐπεὶ Εὔμηλός γε ὁ Ἀμφιλύτου τῶν Βακχιαδῶν καλουμένων, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίαι συγγραφῇ – εἰ δὴ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφή – κτλ.

For Eumelos the son of Amphilytos, one of the so-called Bacchiadai, and the reputed author of the poetry, says in the *Corinthian History*—if it is by Eumelos—(etc.).

It may have been from a preface prefixed to the prose version that Pausanias obtained his biographical details about Eumelos.[45] On the other hand, references in the Pindar and Apollonius scholia show that some people still had access to the poetic version, at least in late Hellenistic times.[46]

[119] The work was primarily concerned with the origins of Corinth and the history of its kingship, but it also took account of its western neighbour Sicyon. Corinth had been a notable settlement in Neolithic and Early Helladic times, but it then lapsed into insignificance, becoming a major town again only after about 925 BCE.[47] It had no standing in traditional epic myth, and it is hardly mentioned in Homer.[48] A mythical history had to be constructed for it in the Archaic period. Much the same applies to Sicyon. It too is mentioned only twice in Homer, and both passages may be interpolated.[49]

For Corinth the first step was to identify itself with a place celebrated in tradition: Ephyra, the city of Sisyphos, which lay 'in a secluded part of Argos', μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο (*Il.* 6. 152). Its true location was perhaps in Thessaly, in the 'Pelasgic Argos'.[50] Corinth must have been called Corinth continuously from pre-Hellenic times, as its *-nth-* suffix shows.[51]

[45] Jacoby 297.

[46] Sch. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 74f (fr. 3 B.=2A D., 17 W.); sch. Ap. Rhod. 3. 1354–6a (fr. 19 B.=4 D., 21 W.).

[47] Brillante 211–17; Salmon 39.

[48] Only at *Il.* 2. 570 and 13. 664.

[49] *Il.* 2. 572, 23. 299. Cf. my *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (Leipzig–Munich 2001), 12, 181.

[50] M. B. Sakellariou in *Atti e Memorie del I Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia* (Rome 1968), 903–5. On the problem of the location cf. also Dunbabin 60 n. 18; R. Drews, *CPh* 74 (1979), 122 n. 53; Brillante 209–10. There were various other Ephyras: see Strabo 8. 3. 5; Sakellariou 901–2; Brillante 196 n. 35.

[51] Cf. Leaf 215; P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 31 (1948–51), 99. It occurs as a place-name in the Pylos tablets.



'Eumelos' accounted for the name Ephyra as that of an Oceanid nymph who was the first settler in the area (fr. 1 B and D, 15 W). He made her the wife of Epimetheus. For an explanation of this odd alliance we turn to Hesiod, the primary source for Epimetheus. There he is the man who marries the first woman, Pandora, from whom all women descend.[52] Prometheus is involved in the story, as the wise brother who advises Epimetheus not to accept the gift. Prometheus, as we have seen, also played an important role in the separation of gods from humankind at Mekone, which was identified with Sicyon. Pandora was brought out by Hephaestus 'where the other gods and men were' (*Th.* 586). Was this also at the Mekone gathering? In any case there was clearly interest in Prometheus and Epimetheus in the Sicyon area. In the Eumelian mythology where Ephyra, as the first settler in the land, was the ancestress of the city, she takes the place of Pandora as *Urmutter* and thus as the consort of Epimetheus.

The first king was Helios, a deity who enjoyed a certain honour in the land.[53] According to a myth told by 'the Corinthians', he contested for possession of the region with Poseidon. They called upon Briareos to arbitrate, and he awarded the Isthmus to Poseidon, but the higher ground on which the city stood to Helios: Paus. 2. 1. 6 (cf. 2. 4. 6),

The Corinthians too say that Poseidon got into dispute with Helios over the land, and that Briareos acted as their arbitrator, who decreed that the Isthmus and that whole area should belong to Poseidon, but gave Helios the heights above the city.

It is very probable that this came in 'Eumelos', especially as Favorinus in his *Corinthian Oration* (=Dio Prus. *Or.* [37]) 11, in referring to the story, quotes a hexameter describing Briareos:

(The city) over which they say two gods contested, Poseidon and Helios . . . and after referring their dispute for arbitration to a third, more senior god, who had

πλεῖσται μὲν κεφαλαί, πλεῖσται δέ τε χεῖρες,
very many heads, and very many arms,

they both occupy this city and territory.

[52] Hes. *Th.* 511–14, 570–612; *Op.* 57–89. In the *Catalogue of Women* (frr. 2–4) the primal pair Deukalion and Pyrrha were respectively the son of Prometheus and the daughter of Epimetheus by Pandora.

[53] O. Jessen, *RE* viii. 64; Will 233–5.

[120] Wilamowitz saw that the source of the verse was likely to be 'Eumelos' (= fr. 2 B, 12 D, 16 W).[54]

Helios' wife was called Antiope (fr. 3. 2 B = 2. 2 D, 17. 2 W). Whose daughter was she? It would be economical to suppose that she was the daughter of Epimetheus and Ephyra. Ephyra had no need of a husband if she was to be childless. She had to be linked to the royal dynasty of Corinth, and the straightforward way to do it was to have her daughter marry the first king.[55]

But why is this daughter called Antiope? It is hardly a coincidence that the famous Antiope of mythology, the mother of Amphion and Zethos, was a daughter of Asopos (*Od.* 11. 260, etc.). There was always ambiguity with the various mythical Asopides as to whether the Boeotian or the Sicyonian Asopos was the river in question.[56] The tug between the two is manifest in Antiope's case.[57] She was usually, and properly, regarded as a Boeotian heroine, from Hyria. But there was an early legend that she was abducted by the Sicyonian Epopeus and that he was the real father of her sons.[58] Pausanias quotes some lines of Asios of Samos (fr. 1 B = D = W):

> Ἀντιόπη δ' ἔτεκε Ζῆθον κἀμφίονα δῖον
> Ἀσωποῦ κούρη ποταμοῦ βαθυδινήεντος,
> Ζηνί τε κυσαμένη καὶ Ἐπωπεῖ ποιμένι λαῶν.

Antiope, daughter of Asopos the deep-swirling river, bore Zethos and noble Amphion, after conceiving to Zeus and Epopeus, shepherd of peoples.

In naming Helios' consort as Antiope, 'Eumelos' may have been operating with an existing Antiope who was the daughter of the Sicyonian Asopos.[59]

This paternity is not necessarily incompatible with our hypothesis that he represented her as the daughter of Epimetheus and Ephyra. The nymph Ephyra, having Epimetheus as her official husband, might have been impregnated by the river. The pairing of Asopos and Ephyra would make the perfect start to the dual Sicyonian–Corinthian genealogy.

[54] Wilamowitz (1924), ii. 241 n. 2; so too (without reference to Wilamowitz) Barigazzi (1966*a*), 131–4, (1966*b*) 321; disputed by Jacoby (Noten), 186 n. 32. The verse probably began with τοῦ δ' ἦν, cf. Hes. *Th.* 321, *Op.* 150.

[55] In 'Epimenides', *FGrHist* 457 F 11 = fr. 14 Fowler, she herself was evidently the wife of Helios, since she was the mother of Aietes. This telescopes the Eumelian genealogy.

[56] See West (1985), 100–1. There was more than one river Asopos, but there could not be more than one god.

[57] Cf. F. Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes* (Paris 1963), 194–8.

[58] Paus. 2. 6. 1–4; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 5. 5.

[59] Cf. Jacoby (Noten), 185 n. 15.



Helios and Antiope have two sons, Aloeus and Aietes, who by the rules of mythical history account for the dichotomy of the two neighbour states. Helios divides his realm between them, allocating the Asopos land to Aloeus and the Ephyraea to Aietes (fr. 3. 1–5 B = 2. 1–5 D, 17. 1–5 W):

> ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ[60] Αἰήτης καὶ Ἀλωεὺς ἐξεγένοντο
> Ἠελίου τε καὶ Ἀντιόπης, τότε δ' ἄνδιχα χώρην
> δάσσατο παισὶν ἑοῖς Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·
> ἣν μὲν ἔχ' Ἀσωπός, ταύτην πόρε δίωι Ἀλωεῖ·
> ἣν δ' Ἐφύρη κτεάτισσ', Αἰήτηι δῶκεν ἅπασαν.

But when Aietes and Aloeus were born from Helios and Antiope, then Hyperion's glorious son divided the country in two between his sons. The Asopos riverland he awarded to noble Aloeus, while all that Ephyra had settled he gave to Aietes.

[121] Aietes the son of Helios belongs, of course, in the story of the Argonauts. He is here given a Corinthian origin only in preparation for the later appearance of his daughter Medea. As the next lines of the fragment relate, he does not stay in Corinth:

> Αἰήτης δ' ἄρ' ἑκὼν Βούνωι παρέδωκε φυλάσσειν,
> εἰς ὅ κεν αὐτὸς ἵκοιτ' ἠ' ἐξ αὐτοῖό τις ἄλλος,
> ἢ παῖς ἠ' υἱωνός· ὃ δ' ἵκετο Κολχίδα γαῖαν.

Aietes chose to entrust it to Bounos, until such time as he himself should return, or someone of his blood, a child or grandchild, and he went off to the Colchian land.

The narrative in these verses is very summary, and some of the events they relate must have been told more fully in another context. The reason for Aietes' departure is not explained. The scholiast on Pindar who quotes the fragment, paraphrasing it in advance, says that he left from discontent, μὴ ἀρεσθεὶς τῇι ἀρχῇι.[61] Another scholion on the same passage gives him a more definite motivation: it says he received an oracle telling him to found a city in Colchis that should

[60] I have written δὴ for the impossible δ' given by the manuscripts. The corruption occurs regularly in Homer where δή is in synaliphe, as in *Il.* 1. 340, 540, 2. 225, 7. 24, etc.

[61] Sch. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 74f, copied by sch. Eur. *Med.* 9 and Tzetzes on Lycophron 174 and 1024; cf. Paus. 2. 3. 10.

be named after himself, *sc.* Aia. Jacoby rightly proposes attributing this to 'Eumelos'.[62]

The scholiast also adds another detail that is not given in the verse fragment, namely that Bounos was the son of Hermes and a nymph. This is confirmed for 'Eumelos' by Pausanias (2. 3. 10), who names the mother as Alkidameia. Bounos is a stopgap figure who gets his name from Hera's local cult title Bounaia, 'Hera on the Hill', whose shrine he was supposed to have founded.[63]

On his death the Ephyraia falls under the sway of the king of the Asopos land, Epopeus, son of Aloeus (Paus. 2. 3. 10). Epopeus was an important figure in Sicyonian tradition independently of 'Eumelos'. In one Sicyonian account reported by Pausanias (2. 6. 1–3) he was an interloper from Thessaly whose reign briefly interrupted the rule of the autochthonous dynasty. The linkage of his name with that of Aloeus also has suspiciously Thessalian associations, as Aloeus and Epopeus are listed among the sons whom the Aeolid Kanake bore to Poseidon (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 7. 4); that Aloeus was the father of the notorious pair, Otos and Ephialtes, who tried to scale heaven. But Aloeus may originally have been a general protective hero of *ἀλωαί*, and so liable to appear in more than one place.

Epopeus' annexation of the Ephyraia violated the fair allocation that Helios made between his two sons, and from the Corinthian point of view it was an injustice. In keeping with this, 'Eumelos' represented Epopeus as a harsh and tyrannical ruler.[64] His son Marathon fled from his iniquities and made his home in coastal Attica. When Epopeus died, Marathon returned, but only to re-divide the Asopian–Ephyraian kingdom between his two sons, whose names were Sikyon and Korinthos. Thus the historical cities acquired their names. Marathon then returned to Attica.[65]

We see now why the kingdoms that Helios had separated had to be united under Epopeus. The eponyms Sikyon and Korinthos were naturally treated as brothers. That implied a new division of a father's realm. But why was the father identified with the eponym of Marathon in Attica? 'Eine schwierige erscheinung, die nur da ist um wieder zu verschwinden . . . Ich kann . . . I[122] in ihr nicht mehr sehen

[62] Sch. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 74d; Jacoby 301. Cf. Mimn. 11. 2 W. *ἐξ Αἴης . . .* 11a. 1 *Αἰήταο πόλιν.*

[63] Paus. 2. 4. 7; Wilisch 11.

[64] Cf. de Fidio 247.

[65] All this is related on Eumelos' authority by Paus. 2. 1. 1 (=fr. 4 B, 5 D, 19 W).



als . . . eine freche annexion.'[66] It stands beside other genealogies that connected Sicyon with Attica. 'Hesiod' made Sikyon a son of Erechtheus, and Asios made him a son of the Erechtheid Metion.[67] These affiliations have the effect of subordinating Sicyon to Athens, and they suit the early sixth century.[68] But why Marathon? The story seems to contain both a claim and a counter-claim: Sikyon and Korinthos were the sons of Marathon, giving Marathon the primacy; but then, Marathon was himself a Sicyonian, the grandson of Aloeus. Possibly the Corinthians felt themselves to have a connection with Marathon in the cult of the old goddess Hellotis, who became identified with Athene. According to a scholiast on Pindar (*Ol.* 13. 56a) Athene had the name Hellotis from the marsh (*helos*) at Marathon, where she had a statue.[69]

Having served his purpose as eponym, Korinthos dies childless, leaving the stage clear for the entry of the next character: Medea. As the daughter of Aietes and granddaughter of Helios, she is the true heir to the throne. She no longer lives in Colchis, as the Argonauts' expedition has by now taken place and Jason has brought her to Iolkos. She is sent for from there.

She comes with Jason, travelling, it seems, in the Argo with its whole crew of heroes. Several authors mention that its last voyage was to the Isthmus, where Jason dedicated it to Poseidon.[70] This makes sense only in the context of Medea's move to Corinth.

We can go further. Favorinus makes the dedication of the ship follow on the celebration of the first Isthmian Games, which he says were organized by Poseidon and Helios. It is the same passage where he has adverted to the earlier dispute between the two gods and quoted what appears to be a line of 'Eumelos' describing Aigaion.

[66] Jacoby 299 f. We may leave aside the explanation of Will 250: 'Ne serait-il pas un souvenir d'une communauté ionienne s'étendant de part et d'autre de l'Isthme? Et un Isthme *ionien* ne rétablirait-il pas la continuité entre les deux domaines *ioniens* de Thesée, l'Attique et Trézène?'

[67] 'Hes.' fr. 224; Asios fr. 11 B, D, W. On Metion cf. West (1985), 107.

[68] See West (1985), 133.

[69] On Hellotis cf. Wilamowitz (1931–2), i. 382–4; Will 131–5; M. H. Jameson, D. R. Jordan, and R. D. Kotansky, *A lex sacra from Selinous* (*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs* 11, Durham, NC 1993), 23; below at the end of my discussion of the *Europia*. This link between Corinth and Marathon is noted by de Fidio 251.

[70] Diod. 4. 53. 2; Aristid. *Or.* 46. 29; Favor. *Cor.* (=Dio Prus. *Or.* [37]) 14; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 9. 27. Aristides' idea that the Argo was built at Corinth in the first place, attributed to 'Eumelos' by Barigazzi (1966*a*), 142, is manifestly the orator's own invention.

He lists the victors in the games: Kastor in the stadion, Kalais in the diaulos, Orpheus in the citharodic contest, Heracles in the pankration, Polydeukes in the boxing, Peleus in the wrestling, Telamon with the discus, Theseus in the race in armour, Phaethon as jockey, Neleus in the chariot-race, and the Argo in a boat race. All these persons are known as Argonauts except for Phaethon, who is of course Helios' son. 'Eumelos' is the obvious source for the whole event.[71] The start of the list of victors, *Κάστορα μὲν στάδιον, Κάλαϊν δὲ δίαυλον*, appears to preserve nearly a whole hexameter.[72] Favorinus also quotes a Sibylline oracle that combines the foundation of the games by Poseidon and Helios with a reference to the Eumelian Oceanid Ephyra:

> *<Ἰσθμοῦ δ'> εὐδαίμων πιτυώδεος ὄλβιος αὐχήν,*
> *Ὠκεανοῦ κούρης Ἐφύρης <ἕδος>, ἔνθα Ποσειδῶν,*
> *μητρὸς ἐμῆς Λαμίας γενέτωρ, προύθηκεν ἀγῶνα*
> *πρῶτος ἅμ' Ἠελίωι, τιμὰς δ' ἠνέγκατο μοῦνος.*[73]

[123] And the fortunate, god-favoured neck of the pine-clad <Isthmus, seat> of Okeanos' daughter Ephyra, where Poseidon, the father of my mother Lamia, first established a contest together with Helios, and he alone carried off the honours.

This tends to confirm the Eumelian provenance of the story about the games.

The poem also included some reference to the Colchian expedition. When Apollonius Rhodius describes how the warriors grew from the earth after Jason had sown the dragon's teeth, and Ares' whole temenos 'bristled' (*φρῖξεν*) with armour and weapons (3. 1354–7), the scholiast reports:

[71] Barigazzi (1966*a*), 140–3; (1966*b*), 323. In Diodorus' narrative the story has been adapted to make it the origin of the Olympic Games instead of the Isthmian. The heroes sail to the Isthmus and dedicate the Argo there; Jason stays in Corinth; the rest are about to disperse to their homes, but Herakles proposes that they bind themselves in a treaty of alliance, and also seek out the best site in Greece for a panegyris and games, to be consecrated to Olympian Zeus, after whom he names the chosen site Olympia.

[72] In the original the names would have been in the nominative.

[73] Favor. *Cor.* 13. I adopt supplements by Ebert in lines 1 and 2. Barigazzi, followed by Bernabé (fr. 8), wrongly treats the oracle as a fragment of 'Eumelos'. The Sibyl who uttered it, the daughter of Lamia, was the Libyan Sibyl (Paus. 10. 12. 1), not Herophila as Bernabé says. She was mentioned in a Euripidean prologue spoken by Lamia (fr. 472m); Varro ap. Lact. *Inst.* 1. 6. 8; sch. Pl. *Phaedr.* 244b; see H. M. Cockle in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* lii, 21.



This and the following lines are taken from Eumelos, in whom Medea says to Idmon: <' '>. And Sophocles in his *Colchian Women* makes the Messenger, in reply to Aietes' enquiry about the matter, 'Then did the autochthonous growth not grow?', say 'Indeed it did: bristling with helmet-plumes and bronze-worked weapons it rose up out of its mother.' These lines Apollonius has adapted.

This should not be understood to mean that the verses were taken verbatim from Eumelos, but that some lines in Eumelos, spoken by Medea to the seer Idmon, appeared to be their model.[74] The actual quotation has fallen out, but it no doubt contained the 'bristling' image, for which the Sophocles parallel is also adduced.

How was the Argonauts' expedition to Colchis brought into the *Korinthiaka*? One possibility is that when he had dealt with the eventless reign and demise of Korinthos, the poet proceeded: 'Now the Corinthians decided that they should invite Medea, the daughter of their former king Aietes, to come and occupy the throne. She was no longer at Colchis, for Jason had brought her to Iolkos, in the following way.' But the story might also have been told in retrospect after the Argo's arrival at Corinth, for example in a first-person narrative by Medea, in the manner of Odysseus' Apologoi. The above scholion indicates that at least one of Jason's exploits was indeed related in a speech by Medea. It remains hard to explain why the addressee should be Idmon, the seer who had sailed with the Argonauts. In Apollonius (2. 815–34) he is killed by a boar in Mariandynia on the way to Colchis. In the *Carmen Naupactium* (fr. 5 B=D, W) he at least reached Colchis, and encouraged Jason to undertake the fearsome task of yoking Aietes' bulls. But what part he played in the Eumelian narrative is obscure.

Medea was now queen of Corinth, with Jason as her consort.[75] The story of her children's death and her separation from Jason took a different form from that familiar from Euripides. Each time she gave birth, she would take the baby into the temple of Hera and bury it there,[76] believing that by this procedure they would become immortal. Eventually she realized that it was not working, and she was detected by Jason, who had no sympathy with her explanations but sailed off back to Iolkos. So Medea departed too, transferring

[74] Cf. Barigazzi (1966*a*), 145 n. 3.

[75] Paus. 2. 3. 10–11; sch. Eur. *Med.* 9=19; fr. 5 B=3 D, 20 W; cf. Simon. *PMG* 545.

[76] For this interpretation of Pausanias' *κατακρύπτειν* see Radermacher 229.

the sovereignty to Sisyphos. Where she went is not recorded, and is perhaps of no significance: she just went.

The underlying fact is a Corinthian cult of the dead children, whose tomb was situated in the precinct of Hera.[77] It is probable that the dead children of the cult were originally sons of a local [124] goddess Medea who had no connection with the Medea of the Argonautic legend.[78] The coincidence of name led to Aietes' and Jason's introduction into the Corinthian story.

Once the cult is provided for, there is no further role for Medea. She takes her leave, and hands over the throne to the Aeolid Sisyphos. He was famous in myth as a king of Ephyra (*Il.* 6. 152, 210), and therefore needed to be worked into the narrative, but we do not know how Medea's choice of him as her successor was explained.[79] Nor can we say how many of his wily exploits the poem celebrated. The only event of his reign attested for 'Eumelos' is that Neleus died of some illness at Corinth and was buried on the Isthmus. Nestor came to pay his respects at his father's tomb, but Sisyphos refused to reveal its whereabouts, saying it was a secret that must be withheld from everyone without distinction. When Sisyphos himself died, he too was buried on the Isthmus, and the poet recorded that the site of this tomb likewise was known to only a few of his fellow Corinthians.[80] This seems to exclude the story of Sisyphos' attempt to cheat Hades and his punishment in the underworld.[81] The secret hero-tombs whose location is known only to the king or to a

[77] Eur. *Med.* 1378–83; Parmeniscus *ap.* sch. Eur. *Med.* 264; Paus. 2. 3. 7; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906), 57–60; A. Brelich, 'I figli di Medea', *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 30 (1959), 213–54; id., *Paides e Parthenoi* (Rome 1969), 355–65; F. Graf in J. J. Clauss and S. I. Johnston (edd.), *Medea* (Princeton 1997), 39–40; S. I. Johnston in the same volume, 44–70.

[78] Robert 185 f.; Wilamowitz (1924), ii. 234; A. Lesky, *RE* xv. 50–1; Will 103–14; disputed by Harrauer 22. For Medea as a goddess cf. Hes. *Th.* [992], Alcm. *PMGF* 163(?), Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 11, Musaeus *π. Ἰσθμίων FGrHist* 455 F 2.

[79] As a son of Aiolos he was in fact Jason's great-uncle according to the standard genealogies (noted by de Fidio 236). Theopompus' tale that Medea was in love with him (*FGrHist* 115 F 356) is not to be projected back into 'Eumelos'; as Jacoby says, it is a 'romanhafte Fortbildung'. Robert 186 suggested that Sisyphos was originally Medea's consort in the pre-Argonautic Corinthian myth. Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrHist* 90 F 36) eliminated Medea and made Sisyphos the immediate successor of Korinthos, whose assassination by local conspirators he avenged.

[80] Paus. 2. 2. 2 = fr. 6 B and D, 24 W. Neleus had taken part in the Isthmian Games; probably he was represented as having stayed at Corinth since then.

[81] *Od.* 11. 593–600, Alc. fr. 38, Theognidea 702–5, Pherec. *FGrHist* 3 F 119 = fr. 119 Fowler, etc.; Jacoby 301.



privileged priesthood have their best parallel in the tomb of Oedipus at Colonus (Soph. *OC* 1520–38). Oedipus tells Theseus that he would not divulge the secret even to his own children, much as he loves them, just as in 'Eumelos' the site of Neleus' tomb cannot be revealed even to his son. There was also a secret tomb of Dirce at Thebes, known only to the hipparch.[82]

Sisyphos bequeathed the kingship to his son Glaukos. Glaukos went to Lacedaemon in search of some lost horses and there encountered a girl called Panteidyia, with whom he had intercourse. Soon afterwards she married Thestios and gave birth to Leda, who was generally held to be Thestios' daughter but was really Glaukos'.[83] The purpose of this fiction was no doubt to claim the Dioskouroi (rather than Helen or Clytaemestra) as being of Corinthian blood.[84]

We do not know how much further the poet of the *Korinthiaka* took his tale. He can hardly have omitted Glaukos' son Bellerophon, who went to Lycia and started a new royal line there (*Il.* 6. 168–211). He may perhaps have been the source for Pindar's myth of the golden bridle that Bellerophon obtained from Athena, which enabled him to capture Pegasus.[85] Bellerophon's story is, moreover, a possible point of attachment for the Arcadian genealogy attested for Eumelos in two passages of Apollodorus.[86] It covered at least four generations: Lykaon, his daughter Kallisto, her son Arkas, and Arkas' sons Elatos and Apheidas. According to the *Catalogue of Women* (frr. 129. 18, 131) Apheidas was the father of Stheneboia, Proitos' wife, whose passion for Bellerophon led to his leaving the Argolid for Lycia.

Pausanias (2. 4. 3) relates that the Corinthian kingship was carried on by the descendants of another son of Sisyphos, Ornytion, until in the fourth generation the Dorians arrived under the [125] leadership of the Heraklid Aletes. Aletes and his desendants then reigned for five generations more to the time of Bacchis, the ancestor of the Bacchiads. Some part of this account may possibly derive from

[82] Plut. *De genio Socratis* 578b. Cf. E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (*BICS* Suppl. 57, 1989), 51–2; J. N. Bremmer in H. G. Kippenberg and G. Stroumsa (edd.), *Secrecy and Concealment* (Leiden 1995), 61–3.

[83] Sch. Ap. Rhod. 1. 146–9a = fr. 7 B, 8 D, 25 W.

[84] Cf. Barigazzi (1966*a*) 144, who emphasizes the presence of the Dioskouroi among the Argonauts.

[85] Pind. *Ol.* 13. 63–92, cf. Paus. 2. 4. 1; Jacoby (Noten), 186 n. 18; Barigazzi (1966*a*), 139.

[86] Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 8. 2, 3. 9. 1 = fr. 14–15 B, 10–11 D, 31–2 W.

Eumelos,[87] though it is to be observed that the last of the Sisyphids, Doridas and Hyanthidas, have names that are awkward to accommodate in hexameter verse—awkward, but not impossible, as forms such as Δωρίδεω, Υανθίδη, could have been used with correption before a vowel. It has been suggested that Βακχιάδαι, which alternates in the tradition with Βακχίδαι as the name of the family descended from Bacchis, is a form created by 'Eumelos' for the hexameter.[88]

Such is the evidence for the contents of the *Korinthiaka*. It is obvious what an artificial construct the whole story was. It is easy to discern the author's agenda. He had to explain that Corinth was originally Ephyra, and account for the change of name. He had to define its relationship with Sicyon. Because of the cult of Medea's children, he had to explain her presence in the city and the legitimacy of her queenship. He had to provide also for the Sisyphid dynasty that came with the name Ephyra. He managed to stitch these things together, but he left some rough seams. It is not clear, at least in the evidence available to us, what motivated Aietes to bestow the kingdom on Bounos, or Medea to give it to Sisyphos. There is blatant disregard for chronology: Korinthos, the great-grandson of Aloeus, is succeeded by Medea, the daughter of Aloeus' brother Aietes, and yet she can still bear children. She in turn is succeeded by her husband's great-uncle, Sisyphos. He, grandfather to Leda and therefore living a good three generations before the Trojan War, receives a visit from Nestor, his great-great-nephew. Leda's sons Kastor and Polydeukes visit Corinth as Argonauts even before Sisyphos' reign.

Connections are made with non-Corinthian, especially Thessalian mythology, with the tendency to appropriate some of it for Corinth. Neleus dies there and has a tomb—or so it is claimed; no one can actually visit it. Glaukos is represented as the real father of Leda.

Before we pass on to the *Europia*, let us consider whether there are detectable connections between the *Titanomachy* and the *Korinthiaka* beyond the fact that both were ascribed to Eumelos. I suggest that there are several elements in the former poem that point forward to the latter.

[87] So Dunbabin 67; Will 238; Brillante 192; Salmon 38, 46–7, 49–50, 52; denied by Jacoby 299.

[88] T. Lenschau, *RE* Supp. iv. 1013.



Firstly there is the interest shown in the Sun-god: his explicit exclusion from the Titans' battle line, his reward of a place in heaven, and the details of his four-horse team and his floating vessel. Admittedly, this god is Hyperion in the first instance, and while we have postulated the identity of Hyperion and Helios in the *Titanomachy*, the Helios of the *Korinthiaka* is called Hyperion's glorious son (fr. 3. 3 B=2. 3 D, 17. 3 W). But this use of a formula found also in the Homeric Hymns hardly nullifies the argument. It may be added that the young Phaethon's participation in the Isthmian Games may be a sign that the poet somewhere told the story of his drive in the solar chariot, with the horses that were introduced in the *Titanomachy*.

Secondly there is the prominence of the ancient, many-handed sea-deity Aigaion or Briareos, who in the *Titanomachy* measured himself against Zeus and in the *Korinthiaka* was called in to arbitrate between Poseidon and Helios over the division of the land.

Thirdly there is the prominence of the sons of Iapetos. Atlas, Menoitios, and Prometheus all had distinctive roles in the first poem, and the unwarlike brother who is missing there, Epimetheus, turns up in the second poem as the husband of Ephyra and father-in-law of Helios. A factor in the use of Epimetheus may have been an association with Mekone-Sicyon, if that is where Hesiod thought of him as receiving Pandora; and that may also have been the place where the gods cast lots in the *Titanomachy*.

I[126] These links may suggest that, whether or not the two poems were actually the work of one poet, they were intended to complement one another. The *Titanomachy* supplied the divine prehistory to the Corinthian dynastic history. They constituted a unity of the same sort as that formed by the Hesiodic *Theogony* and *Catalogue of Women*, that is, a sequence of genealogies that began with the gods and continued with mortal kings. In the Hesiodic case the continuation is certainly by a second hand. In the case of the Eumelian complex we have not got the evidence on which to make a judgment, or to override the general ancient hesitation about Eumelos' authorship.

## THE *EUROPIA*

How does it stand with the *Europia*? Examining the scanty fragments for signs of connection with the *Korinthiaka* or with Corinth or Sicyon, we make three relevant observations.

The first concerns the story of Dionysus and Lykourgos which is related summarily in *Iliad* 6. 130–40 and which, according to the D scholia, many authors had referred to, 'and principally (προηγουμένως) Eumelos the author of the *Europia*' (=fr. 11 B, 27 W, *Eur.* 1 D). We should not spring to the conclusion that the *Iliad* poet got it from the *Europia*, but it is noteworthy that he drags it in oddly just in the episode where Glaukos rehearses to Diomedes the history of Sisyphos of Ephyra and his descendants (6. 152–211). Nowhere else in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* does Dionysus have such prominence. But he was the patron deity of the Bacchiadai, as their name implies; the Bacchis from whom they claimed descent was a son of the god.[89] Dionysus may therefore have been somewhat more at home in archaic Corinthian epic than he is in Homer, whether or not the *Europia* was actually composed by a Bacchiad.

The second observation concerns Amphion, whom the *Europia* celebrated as the first man to play the lyre: Hermes taught him the art, to such effect that his music attracted the animals and moved the stones with which the walls of Thebes were built.[90] As mentioned earlier, Amphion and his brother Zethos have a direct connection with Sicyon in the legend that their mother Antiope had been abducted from Hyria in Boeotia by the Sicyonian Epopeus, and that he was actually their father. Epopeus, as we have seen, played a part in the narrative of the *Korinthiaka*.

The third observation concerns another daughter of Asopos who appeared in 'Eumelos': Sinope, eponym of the Milesian colony on the Black Sea (fr. 10 B=7 D, 29 W). Because this Pontic allusion seemed to tie up with the Argonauts and the Colchian location of Aietes' kingdom (fr. 3. 8 B=2. 8 D, 17. 8 W), it has generally been assumed that the testimony is to be referred to the *Korinthiaka*. However, the scholiast on Apollonius who cites Eumelos mentions that

[89] Sch. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1212/14a. Cf. H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (Paris 1951), 72–3; Untersteiner 171.

[90] Paus. 9. 5. 8=fr. 13 B, 30 W, *Eur.* 3 D. As Hermes was his teacher, Amphion's instrument was the simple tortoise-shell lyre, not the Apolline cithara.



Sinope was abducted by Apollo from Hyria in Boeotia. This makes her parallel to the Antiope who was abducted from Hyria by Epopeus, the mother of Amphion and Zethos. Amphion at least was dealt with in the *Europia*. So perhaps Sinope should be assigned to the same poem. If so, the Black Sea interest makes another link with the *Korinthiaka*. If on the other hand Sinope had her place in the *Korinthiaka*, then the link between the two poems would be their shared interest in Asopides abducted from Hyria.[91]

The title *Europia* implies that the story of Europa had a prominent place in the work, which Pausanias indeed cites as 'the Europa epic', τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Εὐρώπην (9. 5. 8).[92] A text that has l[127] hitherto eluded editors attests that it described her abduction by Zeus: Philodemus, *De pietate* 1692 iii (lines 7262–70 Obbink) (=fr. 26 W),

ὁ δὲ [τὴν Εὐ]ρώπειαν γράψα[ς] καὶ αὐτῆς τὸν α[ὐ]τὸν ἐρασθῆνα[ι] φησιν, καὶ διὰ τ[ὸ] μὴ ὑπομεῖνα[ι μι]χθῆναι Δ̣ι̣ὶ αὐτ[όν] αὐτὴν [τὸν] Δ̣ί̣α [πα]ρηιρῆσ[θαι.

The author of the *Europia* says that the same god fell in love with her [Europa] too, and that because she would not submit to intercourse with Zeus, Zeus himself abducted her.

The poem must then have recorded the birth of her sons Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon, and perhaps some of their descendants. There is one fragment, attributed to 'Eumelos' without the poem being specified, that can perhaps be attached here. It is a notice that Menelaos had a son Xenodamos by a Cnossian nymph.[93] It is a reasonable guess that the amorous encounter occurred on the fateful occasion when Menelaos went to Crete for the funeral of his maternal grandfather Katreus, leaving Helen to look after the house-guest Paris.[94] Katreus was a son of Minos. The poet may therefore have followed the line Minos–Katreus–Aerope–the Atreidai.

[91] It has been plausibly suggested that some other mythical Asopides such as Corcyra, Thebe, and Aegina appeared in 'Eumelos': Bowra 216–19; G. Capovilla, *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo* 91 (1957), 746–50.

[92] This is against Scaliger's idea that the poem was named after Europs, the son of the autochthonous Aigialeus in a Sicyonian genealogy known to Castor *FGrHist* 250 F 2 and Paus. 2. 5. 6.

[93] Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 11. 1=fr. 9 B and D, 33 W. Xenodamos was presumably a figure of Cretan legend. The only guess we can make at his significance is that he might possibly have been a mythical ancestor of Xenodamos of Cythera, an early poet of choral lyric (Pratinas *PMG* 713 (ii); ps.-Plut. *De musica* 1134bc).

[94] Proclus, summary of the *Cypria* §2; Apollod. epit. 3. 3; Huxley 74.

The story of Europa led also towards Boeotia. We know that the *Europia* of Stesichorus included the story of Kadmos' foundation of Thebes (*PMGF* 195), no doubt after he had searched in vain for his vanished sister Europa and received advice from Delphi. If the Europa story was developed similarly in the Eumelian poem, this suggests possible contexts for the Delphic reference of fr. 12 B, 28 W = *Eur.* 2 D,

> ὄφρα θεῶι δεκάτην ἀκροθίνιά τε κρεμάσαιμεν
> σταθμῶν ἐκ ζαθέων καὶ κίονος ὑψηλοῖο,

So that we might hang up for the god a tithe and first-fruits from his holy steading and tall pillar,

and for Amphion and his lyre.

Europa herself had links with Boeotia, as did one of her sons. There was a myth that Zeus hid her in a cave at Teumessos, and a Demeter Europa was worshipped at Lebadeia. Rhadamanthys is associated with Okalea and Haliartos, where he had a tomb.[95] Dionysus, the subject of fr. 11 B, 27 W = *Eur.* 1 D, has connections with Thebes, though his encounter with Lykourgos is located in a region far to the north.

A further doubtful Boeotian connection might be sought in the strange trinity of Muses ascribed to Eumelos by Tzetzes in his commentary on the *Works and Days*, p. 23 Gaisford (fr. 17 B, 35 W = dub. 3 D):

> But Eumelos of Corinth says there are three Muses, daughters of Apollo: Kephiso, Apollonis, and Borysthenis.

Kephiso necessarily evokes a river Kephisos, and we think in the first instance of the Phocian–Boeotian Kephisos. However, there were several others, including a Sicyonian one.[96] Borysthenis too is called after a river: Borysthenes, the Dniepr. The third name, Apollonis, is [128] suspect, not only because it is not based on a river, but because it fails to individuate; as daughters of Apollo, all three are Apollonides. Gottfried Hermann made these observations and conjectured that

[95] See West (1985), 146. The possibility that the Teumessos myth might come from 'Eumelos' has been noted by Wyss on Antim. fr. 3; Untersteiner 172; Lecomte 75.

[96] Strabo (9. 3. 16) enumerates six besides the Phocian one: in Attica, Salamis, Sicyon, Skyros, Argos, and Apollonia (Epirus).



'Apollonis' was corrupt for 'Achelois'.[97] One might also think of 'Asopis', linking Boeotia with Sicyon. In any case the conjunction of central Greece (Kephiso?) and the Black Sea (Borysthenis) recalls the case of the Asopid Sinope. But in what context might 'Eumelos' have named such Muses? In an invocation at the beginning of a poem?[98] If so, the bizarre choice of names might have been governed by the scope of the intended work. A poet who planned to deal with Boeotian myths and also to pursue Pontic connections might perhaps have invented these particular Muses to deliver the material. But it remains very peculiar.

Finally an indirect association may be noted between Europa and Corinth.[99] The Corinthian cult of Hellotis has been mentioned in connection with Marathon. This goddess was known in one or two other places, including Crete—Gortyn is mentioned in particular—and there she was identified with Europa.[100] Seleucus in his *Glossai* (fr. 52 Müller *ap.* Ath. 678a) recorded the word ἑλλωτίς, denoting an enormous myrtle garland, twenty cubits in circumference, which was carried in procession at the Hellotia:

> φασὶ δὲ ἐν αὐτῶι τὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὀστᾶ κομίζεσθαι, ἣν ἐκάλουν Ἑλλωτίδα. ἄγεται (-εσθαι Ath.) δὲ καὶ ἐν Κορίνθωι τὰ Ἑλλώτια.

And they say that in it are conveyed the bones of Europa, whom they called Hellotis. The Hellotia are also held at Corinth.

As the additional clause at the end indicates, the festival that featured the garland said to contain Europa's bones was not the Corinthian Hellotia; it was presumably the Cretan one.[101] Europa, we know, was strongly attached to Crete in myth. There is no evidence that Hellotis was identified with her at Corinth.

[97] *Opuscula* ii (Leipzig 1827), 301. His discussion of the fragment is otherwise unprofitable.

[98] Such is clearly the source of fr. 16 B, 34 W = dub. 2 D, *Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐννέα κοῦραι*. This may have been the first line of the *Titanomachy* or *Korinthiaka*.

[99] Cf. Barigazzi (1966*a*), 148 n. 1; Lecomte 75.

[100] Hesych. ε 2181, 'Hellotia: a festival of Europa in Crete'; St. Byz. p. 212. 2 Meineke, 'Gortyn . . . formerly called Hellotis, for so Europa was called among the Cretans'; cf. *Et. Gen.* ε 423 = *Magn.* 332. 40, 'Europa was anciently called Hellotia'.

[101] Wilamowitz (1931–2), i. 383.

## CONCLUSIONS

The discussion of the *Europia* is necessarily unsatisfactory and leaves loose ends. The testimonia are too few for us to assess where its centre(s) of gravity lay. One of its foci may have been Boeotian mythology, seen from a Sicyonian–Corinthian perspective. It may or may not be relevant that in the Pythian *Hymn to Apollo* (251 and 291) Εὐρώπη is a geographical term designating central and northern Greece.

If the Sicyonian–Corinthian perspective is real, and the poem was a product of that region and initially current in it, it might be seen as complementing the more narrowly local *Korinthiaka*, however imperfectly it did so.[102] A couple of pages back I pointed to links between the *Korinthiaka* and the *Titanomachy* and argued that they too effectively complemented one another, the *Titanomachy* supplying the divine prehistory to the Corinthian dynastic history. When we take the *Europia* into account as well, it does not seem far-fetched to speak of a sort of Corinthian epic cycle.

[129] If Eumelos was remembered in connection with the Messenian Prosodion as a significant poet from Corinth, it is not surprising if the epics too, in the absence of other claimants, came to be ascribed to him, whether or not he actually had anything to do with any of them. This was already the view of Welcker.[103] As É. Will put it:

> Le nom d'Eumèlos pourrait avoir été passablement . . . collectif.
>
> On est ainsi amené à se demander si le nom d'Eumèlos serait attaché non tant à l'œuvre d'*un* poète qu'à une tradition corinthienne, dont l'élaboration première remonterait bien au VIIIe s. mais qui aurait pu être remaniée par la suite, et fixée dans le langage épique. La nature même de la geste d'une cité laisse entrevoir la possibilité de remaniements, d'additions, de retranchements . . ..[104]

Will's suggestion that the beginnings of this tradition may go back to the eighth century is no doubt based on the supposed date of

[102] Untersteiner 172 suggested that the poem was 'una specie di sintesi religiosa, alla maniera delle *Eoiai*, in modo da ottenere il collegamento di alcune significative storie sacre, che illustrassero non solo l'unità spirituale-religiosa di Corinto e della Beozia, ma anche i rapporti fra il mondo egeo e quello della grecità sicula, dall'Asia e dalla Tracia fino a Siracusa'.

[103] Welcker i. 257–8: 'Spätere Verse unbekannter Verfasser, die in Korinth einheimisch waren, giengen, wie es scheint, wegen dieser Unbekanntheit unter demselben Namen, der wenigstens die Korinthische Herkunft unterschied.'

[104] Will 125, 128–9 (author's triple dots).



Eumelos. But if the situation is as sketched above, and it is a matter of anonymous poems being ascribed to Eumelos, the date(s) of their composition is (are) independent of his lifetime. Any attempt at dating them must be founded on internal evidence.

We saw that the *Titanomachy* appeared to exhibit certain motifs in a more original state than Hesiod: Aigaion-Briareos as a strongly individual marine deity, not just one of three less clearly defined Hundred-handers; the more definite roles played by Iapetos' sons Atlas, Menoitios, and Prometheus in the war between the Titans and the younger gods; the Cyclopes as general artificers, not specialist thunderbolt-makers, and the treatment of their release from captivity and their material assistance as an organic part of the Titanomachy. There are other things that look old: the oriental motif of the battle between the Storm-god and a monster representing the sea; the three divine brothers each armed with a special weapon; their division of the universe among themselves by lot. This last (again an ancient oriental myth) is known to the poet of the *Iliad*, as are Poseidon's trident and Hades' cap of invisibility.

All this would be compatible with an eighth-century dating of the *Titanomachy*, but other considerations must be set against it. The Sun's chariot and his floating vessel are unknown to Hesiod and the Homeric epics (though Dawn has a chariot in *Od.* 23. 244–6). Outside the *Titanomachy* they first appear in Mimnermus; the chariot also in some of the Homeric Hymns, and the vessel in Pisander's *Herakleia*.[105] These items, then, are not securely attested before about 630 BCE. The fact that the Eumelian Sun-god has four horses to his chariot rather than two (as Dawn has to hers in the *Odyssey* passage) is also against a very early date. Four-horse teams are abnormal in Homer, and in art they are not represented before the later eighth century. According to Pausanias they were admitted to the Olympic Games in 680.[106]

Another thing not likely to be very ancient is the idea of Cheiron as the teacher of mankind, which would seem to presuppose the

[105] Mimn. fr. 12 W.; *Hymn. Dem.* 63, 88, *Herm.* 69, *Hymn. Hom.* 28. 14, 31. 9, 15; Pisander fr. 5 B=6 D, 5 W. The chariot is another oriental motif: West (1997), 507–8.] [But see also *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007), 203–7.]

[106] *Il.* 8. 185 (interpolation), 11. 699; *Od.* 13. 81–3; Paus. 5. 8. 7; H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950), 328; J. Wiesner, *Fahren und Reiten* (*Archaeologia Homerica* I F, Göttingen 1968), 22–3, 66: 'in geometrischer Zeit noch nicht häufig. Daß dieser Fahrweise die Zukunft gehörte, zeigt das Konkurrieren mit der Zweigespanntradition seit dem achten Jahrhundert.'

currency of the 'Hesiodic' *Precepts of Cheiron* or some similar composition. Admittedly we do not know how old this poem was. The evidence shows only that it was well known by the first half of the fifth century.[107]

[130] All in all, the likelihood is that the *Titanomachy* was composed in the later seventh or the sixth century, though it contained mythical material of older origin. If Stephanie West[108] should be right in suggesting that it introduced the story of the Flood, it would probably have to be brought down to the late sixth century, as this myth is first attested by Pindar and Epicharmus and was apparently absent from the *Catalogue of Women*.

We turn to the *Korinthiaka*. The first point to be made with regard to its dating is that the assertion of Corinthian and Sicyonian status in the heroic age is essentially post-Iliadic. That is not to say that the assertion had not yet been made when the *Iliad* was composed, only that it had not achieved any wide recognition. There is no sign that the Ephyra of Sisyphos, Glaukos, and Bellerophon in *Iliad* 6 is meant to be Corinth; ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη implies a distant place, not too well known, and the expression μυχῶι Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο also indicates somewhere out of the way. It would be a very odd way to refer to the location of Corinth.[109] The Sicyonian claim on Adrastos, unsubtly interpolated at *Il.* 2. 572, is best attested for the time of Kleisthenes, when it received the authorization of the Delphic Oracle (Hdt. 5. 67). To be sure, the interpolator who called Adrastos Sicyon's first king was no student of 'Eumelos'. Conversely, we have no evidence for Adrastos in 'Eumelos'. But we do have evidence for Corinthian adoption of mythical heroes for cult purposes in the reference to tombs of Neleus and Sisyphos.

The nomination of Marathon as the father of Sikyon and Korinthos is puzzling, but as I have said, it has analogies in sixth-century genealogies ('Hesiod', Asios) that linked Sicyon with Attica.

Aietes' eastern kingdom is located in Colchis: fr. 3. 8 B = 2. 8 D, 17. 8 W, ὃ δ' ἵκετο Κολχίδα γαῖαν. This is the only evidence before Simonides[110] for the identification of the mythical Aia with the land

[107] See testimonia in R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, 143–4.

[108] See n. 20 above.

[109] Cf. E. Bethe, *Thebanische Heldenlieder* (Leipzig 1891), 181–4; Leaf (1915), 216–19 and on *Il.* 6. 152.

[110] *PMG* 545, and probably *SLG* 372. 3 from P. Oxy. 2623, now known to be also Simonides.



of the Colchians, who were a real people.[111] There is no good reason to believe that the identification preceded Greek settlement in Colchis, which appears to date only from the middle of the sixth century, though the region was no doubt visited sporadically before that.[112]

If Favorinus' mythical account of the first Isthmian Games comes from 'Eumelos', and if the details can be trusted, there are further implications for chronology. The Games are supposed to have been suspended by Kypselos and restored in their original form in 582, i.e. after the fall of the Kypselids. Solinus 7. 14:

hoc spectaculum per Cypselum tyrannum intermissum Corinthii olympiade quadragesima nona sollemnitati pristinae reddiderunt.

This spectacle, which had been intermitted under the tyrant Kypselos, the Corinthians restored to its old ceremonial in the forty-ninth Olympiad.

The abolition of a prestigious, potentially supra-regional festival is an unlikely act for a popular tyrant. The truth is more likely that the Games were first established in 582; a mythical origin was invented for them,[113] and it was claimed that the new Games were a restoration of old ones [131] that had been celebrated in the same form. The now unpopular tyranny was blamed for the interruption. That at least is Solinus' story, but in Jerome's version of Eusebius' *Chronicle* under Ol. 49 we read: *Isthmia post Melicerten et Pythia primum acta*, in other words, these were the first Isthmia since Melikertes.

This will give us—again, if Favorinus is following the *Korinthiaka*—a definite *terminus post quem* of 582. Of the events that Favorinus enumerates, two are of particular interest. There is a contest for κιθάρα, i.e. for citharody, which Orpheus wins. Orpheus is never heard of before the mid sixth century. He is first named on the sculptured metope of the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi, and in

[111] Urartian *Qulḫā*: I. M. Diakonoff and S. M. Kashkai, *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*, 9: *Geographical Names According to Urartian Texts* (Wiesbaden 1981), 68–9.

[112] D. Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity* (Oxford 1994), 89–118; Tsetskhladze 35; id., *Die Griechen in der Kolchis* (Amsterdam 1998). These writers misguidedly cite 'Eumelos' as evidence that Aia was localized at Colchis as early as 700 or before. 'Eumelos' as evidence that Aia was localized at Colchis as early as 700 or before. The more usual account is that

[113] Not necessarily from the Argonauts' visit. Poseidon or Sisyphos or Glaukos founded the Games in honour of Melikertes-Palaimon, the drowned son of Athamas. In another version they were founded by Theseus. See K. Schneider, *RE* ix. 2248; Barigazzi (1966*a*), 141 n. 1.

literature by Ibycus; Pythagoras had much to do with the dissemination of his fame.[114] In what may have been the earlier version of the Argonauts' adventures their musician was Philammon (Pherecydes, *FGrHist* 3 F 26=fr. 26 Fowler). [But see above, Chapter 9.] It is actually questionable whether a musical contest existed at the Isthmia before the Hellenistic period, as Nikokles of Tarentum (early third century BCE) in the inscription recording his many citharodic triumphs claims to be the first Isthmian victor.[115] Still, the concept was certainly familiar in the sixth century, and 'Eumelos' might have put in a citharodic event for Orpheus' sake, as he was a notable presence among the Argonauts. The boat race is similarly an *ad hoc* invention for the Argo; there is no other evidence for such an event at the Isthmia at any period.

The other contest worthy of remark is the *enhoplion* won by Theseus, that is, a race in armour, Hoplitodromia. According to Pausanias (5. 8. 10) this event was first introduced at the Olympic Games in 520. So we may have here another pointer to a late date.

The claim that Glaukos was the real father of Leda, and thus the grandfather of the Dioskouroi, was endorsed by a lyric poet quoted in the same scholion to Apollonius that records the Eumelian story, 1. 146–9a:

*Φερεκύδης δὲ ἐν τῇι β̄ ἐκ Λαοφόνης τῆς Πλευρῶνος Λήδαν καὶ Ἀλθαίαν γενέσθαι φησίν. ὅτι δὲ Γλαύκου ἐστὶ θυγάτηρ, καὶ †Ἀλθαίας αἰνίττεται λέγων· "τοὺς τέκε θυγάτηρ Γλαύκω μάκαιρα".*

Pherecydes in Book 2 (*FGrHist* 3 F 9=fr. 9 Fowler) says that Leda and Althaia were born from Laophone the daughter of Pleuron. But that she [Leda] is Glaukos' daughter, †Althaias too implies when he says, '[the Dioskouroi,] whom Glaukos' blessed daughter bore' (= *PMG* adesp. 1012).

The poet's name has been corrupted under the influence of the preceding *Ἀλθαίαν*, but the Doric or Aeolic genitive *Γλαύκω* makes it virtually certain that he was either Alcman or Alcaeus. Bergk assigned the fragment to Alcman, writing *τὼς τέκε <οἱ>* to restore a plausibly Alcmanic elegiambus (his fr. 8). He was followed in this ascription by Diehl (fr. 6) and Calame (fr. °230). Wendel noted that *Ἀλκαῖος* would be closer to what is transmitted, and Page said he would prefer it, emending to *τοὶς τέκε Γλαύκω θυγάτηρ*

[114] West (1983), 7–20.

[115] *IG* ii² 3779. Cf. my *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992), 373.



*μάκαιρα*, an Alcaic hendecasyllable that might in fact be accommodated in the lost portion of Alcaeus' hymn to the Dioskouroi (fr. 34). I think the balance of probability is on Page's side. But whether it was Alcaeus or Alcman, the fragment indicates that the Corinthian version of Leda's ancestry was already abroad by the late seventh century. We have seen reason to suspect that the *Korinthiaka* was composed, or at any rate brought into its definitive form, distinctly later than that. If so, it incorporated an older claim about Leda.

Finally the *Europia*. There is very little to go on. The poem is named as the principal text in which to find the story of Dionysus and Lykourgos as related by Diomedes in *Iliad* 6. It has already been noted that the tale is dragged in oddly here, and in the very scene where the Sisyphid genealogy is presented. This raises a suspicion that the poet of the *Iliad* had become acquainted with some poetry in which those two things were both contained. But as has also [152] been noted, he does not appear to associate Sisyphos' Ephyra with Corinth. So perhaps it was poetry that was only later, or independently, adapted and exploited by Corinthians.

The reference to Sinope as a daughter of Asopos, which I have attributed to the *Europia* on account of the indirect parallel between her abduction from Hyria and that of Antiope, presupposes an interest in the Black Sea. So does the Muse Borysthenis, whom I assigned to this poem on the frail ground that she and Sinope were better not separated. Supposing these assumptions to be right, what are the chronological implications? Pontic exploration possibly goes back to the eighth century, but Sinope was not likely to be celebrated as an Asopid before the establishment of the pioneering Milesian colony, a cardinal event in Greek penetration of the Black Sea. Although Eusebius dates this to before 756, the archaeological evidence, which alone has any value, points to the late seventh century.[116] The settlement on Berezan, the island opposite the Dniepr–Bug estuary, dates from much the same time.[117] If Sinope and Borysthenis had a

[116] A. I. Ivantchik in Tsetskhladze 329–30; Boardman 242, 254–5, 282. R. Drews, *JHS* 96 (1976), 24, appeals to 'Eumelos' as evidence for an eighth-century Corinthian foundation: another example of historians and archaeologists being misled by unreliable literary history.

[117] Boardman 282; S. L. Solovyov, *Ancient Berezan* (*Colloquia Pontica* 4, Leiden–Boston–Cologne 1999), 3–4; id. in G. R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *North Pontic Archaeology: Recent Discoveries and Studies* (*Colloquia Pontica* 6, Leiden–Boston–Cologne 2001), 120.

place in the *Europia*, therefore, we can say that the poem was composed not much before 600. For all we know, it may have been a good deal later.

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# 27

# The View from Lesbos

When did the various early Greek epics, or at any rate the subject matter contained in them, become known? And in what areas? To answer such questions we must look not to the ancient chronographers' datings of Homer, Arktinos, and others, but to the reflections of epic in archaic art and in such poets as are really datable, that is, the elegiac and lyric poets. Among these the two Lesbian poets are of especial importance, both for the quantity of material they provide and in view of the special connections between Lesbos and the Troad. A re-examination of their evidence will have a bearing on matters that have long been at the heart of Wolfgang Kullmann's interests. He will, I think, be in sympathy with at least some of my presuppositions.[1]

Lesbos must have known epic poetry ever since its colonization from Boeotia and Thessaly in the eleventh or tenth century.[2] Certainly the main line of tradition before 900 was an Aeolic one, as analysis of the Homeric language shows, and several of Homer's

Michael Reichel and Antonios Rengakos (edd.), *Epea Pteroenta. Beiträge zur Homerforschung. Festschrift für Wolfgang Kullmann zum 75. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart 2002), 207–19.

[1] I should emphasize that I am not here concerned with the interpretation of the Lesbian poets or their use of mythical material, but rather with trying to establish what epic poetry was available to them. Of previous works covering related ground I have found the most relevant material in D. Meyerhoff, *Traditioneller Stoff und individuelle Gestaltung. Untersuchungen zu Alkaios und Sappho* (Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 1984); rather less in H. Eisenberger, *Der Mythos in der äolischen Lyrik* (Diss. Frankfurt 1956). But these writers had different aims from mine.

[2] According to N. Spencer, 'Early Lesbos Between East and West', *BSA* 90 (1995), 269–306, at p. 276, there is a clear break between the Bronze Age and Iron Age occupations, the latter not beginning before 1000. Since then building remains of Submycenaean date have been reported from Gera: *Archaeological Reports for 1998–1999*, 97.



Aeolicisms appear to be of specifically Lesbian origin.[3] The same may be true of certain Troy formulae such as Ἴλιος ἱρή (< *Ϝίλιος ἱρά) and Ἰλίου προπάροιθεν (< *Ϝιλίοο προπάροιθεν).[4] We shall see later that some element of this Aeolic tradition must have persisted down to the late seventh century.

Lesbos itself falls well within the epic poets' field of view. It is named as the southern limit of the region within which, before the war, Priam was acknowledged as the greatest of kings (*Ω* 544). It was one of the many places in the region that Achilles sacked (*I* 129≈271, 664); from it he took beautiful women, αἳ τότε κάλλει ἐνίκων φῦλα γυναικῶν, a reference which the D scholium (on *I* 129) reasonably connects with the famous Lesbian beauty contests. After he killed Thersites he went to Lesbos for purification, sacrificing there to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto (*Aithiopis*). At the end of the war several of the major heroes I[208] called at Lesbos on their homeward voyage (*γ* 169; cf. Sappho 17).[5] There is also a reference to Odysseus' having defeated one Philomeleides in a wrestling-bout on Lesbos (*δ* 342=*ρ* 133, v.l. ἐν Ἀρίσβηι).

For the Lesbians the Troad was no mythical country but an area they knew from close at hand. Culturally Lesbos had always belonged more closely with north-west Anatolia than with the western Aegean.[6] Troy lay directly to the north: from Methymna it was a voyage of 9 km across the narrow strait and some 65 km more up the coast. Between the early tenth and the mid eighth century, while Troy was not supporting any settled population, it did receive visitors and squatters, and there is a steady trickle of Protogeometric pottery that shows links with the Thermaic Gulf, Thessaly, Skyros, Lefkandi, and Lesbos.[7]

[3] Cf. M. L. West, 'The Rise of the Greek Epic', *JHS* 108 (1988), 151–72, at pp. 162–5 [=above, pp. 55–60]; B. Forssman in J. Latacz (ed.), *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung* (Colloquium Rauricum 2, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1991), 269–74; most recently D. Haug, *Les Phases de l'évolution de la langue épique* (Oslo 2001), 54–88.

[4] West (as n. 3), 163.

[5] Unless otherwise indicated, fragments of the Lesbian poets are cited by the numeration of E.-M. Voigt, *Sappho et Alcaeus* (Amsterdam 1971), which is based on that of Lobel–Page and is retained with minor modifications by D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* i (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1982), and G. Liberman, *Alcée. Fragments* (Paris 1999).

[6] N. Spencer (as n. 2).

[7] R. W. V. Catling, 'The Typology of the Protogeometric and Subprotogeometric Pottery from Troia and its Aegean Context', *Studia Troica* 8 (1998), 151–87; D. Lenz, F. Ruppenstein, M. Baumann, and R. W. V. Catling, 'Protogeometric Pottery at Troia', ibid. 189–222.

No doubt some of the visitors came from the Aiolis. Certainly in the seventh century Lesbos exercised a proprietary interest in the area. According to Strabo, Archeanax of Mytilene fortified Sigeion with stones taken from the ruins of Troy, Λεσβίων ἐπιδικαζομένων σχεδόν τι τῆς συμπάσης Τρωιάδος, ὧν δὴ καὶ κτίσματά εἰσιν αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν κατοικιῶν (13. 1. 38). When the Athenians under Phrynon seized Sigeion, Alcaeus personally fought in the ensuing war; the Mytilenians based themselves at Achilleion, the settlement near Achilles' tumulus 10 km south of Sigeion.[8] Sappho's father, according to the biographical tradition, had a name connected with the Troad: Skamandronymos, or in shortened form Kamon.[9]

The Lesbians recognized other connections with the Achaean heroes. One of the leading families at Mytilene, the Penthilidai, claimed to descend from Agamemnon through Penthilos, a son of Orestes and of Aigisthos' daughter Erigone; Orestes or Penthilos was supposed to have led the first colonists to Lesbos. Alcaeus recognizes the claim when he refers to the Penthilidai rhetorically as Ἀτρείδαι (70. 6). Sappho (17) relates that the Atreidai were delayed at Lesbos on their way home from Troy and were unable to proceed until they had prayed to Zeus, Hera, and Dionysos. This must have been a legend told at the precinct that these three deities shared.[10] Its recognition by the Atreidai lent it a special authority.

[209] When we take all this into account, it will be clear that the Lesbian poets' relationship to the Trojan epics is not to be conceived just in terms of literary reception. They were interested in the poems, but no less in the subject matter of the poems: the heroes and heroines, the sites. That said, it can hardly be disputed that their extraordinary enthusiasm for the Troy saga, which expresses itself in the frequency and fullness of their references to it, was fuelled chiefly by their acquaintance with current Ionian epic. Indeed, we need not limit ourselves to speaking of indefinite 'epic': we can say 'epics', as in certain cases it is possible to identify specific poems that they knew. When Alcaeus writes

[8] Hdt. 5. 94. 2. On the location and identification of Achilles' tumulus (Beşik Tepe) see J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973), 185 f.; id. in L. Foxhall and J. K. Davies, *The Trojan War: Its Historicity and Context* (Bristol 1984), 167 f.

[9] Hdt. 2. 135. 1; P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 1; Ael. *VH* 12. 19; sch. Pl. *Phaedr.* 235c; *Suda* σ 107; Meyerhoff (as n. 1), 37 n. 287.

[10] Eisenberger (as n. 1), 84; Meyerhoff, 224 f.



μάτε|ρ' ἐξονομ|άσδων ἐκάλη νᾶ|ος ἀπυστάθεις,
νύμφ|αν ἐνν|αλίαν· ἃ δὲ γόνων |ἀψαμένα Δίος
ἰκέτευ|' ἀγαπά|τω τέκεος μᾶνιν | ∪ – ∪ –,[11]

he is echoing, not just an epic that contained an episode similar to what we know from *Iliad A*, but one in which Zeus must have responded as Thetis wished, that is, by allowing the Trojans to gain the upper hand, to be driven back only when Achilles was induced to forget his wrath against Agamemnon: an epic, then, with the same basic architecture as our *Iliad*. No one doubts that the *Iliad* existed by Alcaeus' time, so it is hardly an over-bold conclusion that he was alluding to the *Iliad*—perhaps an *Iliad* with some recensional differences from ours, but still *the Iliad*.[12] Vase painters had begun some twenty or thirty years earlier to paint recognizably Iliadic scenes. In another fragment (395) Alcaeus wrote of how Xanthos (Scamander) had its flow obstructed by corpses, a hyperbolic motif special to Achilles' battle with the river in *Φ* 219 f.; the 'Ammonios' commentary draws attention to the imitation.[13] Again, Alcaeus 347. 3 ff. (cf. Sappho 101A), ἄχει δ' ἐκ πετάλων ἄδεα τέττιξ κτλ., is such a close metaphrasis of *Works and Days* 582 ff.—scarcely a κοινὸς τόπος—that we can state with some assurance that he knows Hesiod's poem. Another passage from it had earlier been given similar treatment by Semonides of Amorgos (fr. 6 ≈ Hes. *Op.* 702 f.). This being so, it is a reasonable hypothesis that when Sappho refers to a swallow as Πανδίονις . . . χελίδων (135) she has got the phrase from *Works and Days* 568, and that the same poem is her source for the myth that the gods inflicted *mulieres et morbos* upon mankind because of Prometheus' theft of fire (207).[14]

By the second half of the seventh century, evidently, certain celebrated hexameter poems were current in something like a fixed form, no doubt due to the existence of written texts (not that many people *read* written texts).[15] Perhaps by 600 this was the situation of epic overall, so that what Sappho and Alcaeus heard from the lips of rhapsodes consisted generally of poems (or portions of poems) [210] that either already had a fixed identity or, if new, were intended to retain a fixed identity for the future.

[11] Fr. 44. 6–8, with a new supplement at the end of 6; but the supplements are not essential.

[12] Cf. Meyerhoff, 46–53; R. L. Fowler, *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric: Three Preliminary Studies* (Toronto 1987), 37.

[13] Cf. Eisenberger, 78.

[14] So ibid. 109.

[15] Cf. Fowler (as n. 12), 33.

Did they, then, know any of the Cyclic epics, or other works of similar content? Certainly they knew more than the *Iliad*. They knew a poem (or poems) about the beginnings of the Trojan War, and about its end. But to judge from the surviving fragments they were very selective in what they chose to mention. They were fascinated above all by the two most glamorous characters in the story: Helen, who caused the war, and Achilles, the supreme hero who fought in it. The poet of the *Iliad* is explicit that Achilles was πολὺ φέρτατος of the Achaeans, with Telamonian Ajax his nearest rival (*B* 768 f., cf. *Π* 279 f.), and Alcaeus (387) takes over this ranking:

Κρονίδα βασίληος γένος Αἴαν τὸν ἄριστον πεδ' Ἀχίλλεα.[16]

The poet of the *Cypria*, incidentally, had something of the same tendency to make Achilles and Helen the focal figures. He gave elaborate accounts of their births, both resulting from initiatives of Zeus to lay the basis for the great war he planned.[17] And he recounted that at an early stage of the war Achilles, conceiving a desire to meet Helen, told his mother of it, and a rendezvous was arranged; Thetis brought Achilles to a private place, and Aphrodite brought Helen. After seeing Helen's beauty for himself, Achilles was committed to the cause of recapturing her from the Trojans, and he restrained the Achaeans when they were minded to abandon the expedition.[18]

The Lesbian poets did not fail to treat the two birth-legends. Sappho (166) told how Leda once found an egg, obviously the one from which Helen came. This is related to the version of the *Cypria*, where the egg was laid by Nemesis and found by a shepherd; he brought it to Leda, she kept it safe, and when Helen hatched out she reared her as her own daughter.[19] Alcaeus (42. 5 ff.) tells of the

[16] So also λ 469 f. (=ω 17 f.), 550, the skolion *PMG* 898 and Pindar, *Nem.* 7. 27. To Achilles and Ajax belonged the two great tumuli on the Sigeion and Rhoiteion shores, south-west and north of Troy.

[17] This is pinpointed in the version given by the D scholium on *A* 5: οἵός τε ἦν κεραυνοῖς ἢ κατακλυσμοῖς ἅπαντας διαφθείρειν· ὅπερ τοῦ Μώμου κωλύσαντος, ὑποθεμένου δὲ αὐτῷ γνώμας δύο, τὴν Θέτιδος θνητογαμίαν καὶ θυγατρὸς καλῆς γένναν, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πόλεμος Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις ἐγένετο. Cf. E. Bethe, *Homer. Dichtung und Sage*, ii[2] (Leipzig–Berlin 1929), 228 f.

[18] Proclus, *Cypria* hypothesis, §11. A later tradition coupled Achilles with Helen in a posthumous marriage on the island of Leuke: Ptolemy Hephaestion *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 149a18, Paus. 3. 19. 13, Philostr. *Her.* 16. Cf. H. Hommel, *Der Gott Achilleus* (*Sitz.-Ber. Heidelb. Ak.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1980, 1), 27–9.

[19] Apollod. 3. 10. 7; cf. *Cypria* frr. 10–11 W.



wedding of Peleus and Thetis that all the gods attended at the house of Cheiron, and of how the Nereid then παῖδα γέννατ' αἰμιθέων [ἄριστον], ὄλβιον, ξάνθαν ἐλάτη[ρα πώλων. Sappho too may have described those famous nuptials, for her fr. 141 comes from a narrative in which the gods attended a wedding, poured [211] libations of ambrosia, and wished blessings on the bridegroom.[20] Hermes served the drinks, a role that he also had somewhere in Alcaeus (447).

Of the 'Antehomerica', the other episode that concerns the Lesbians is Helen's desertion of Menelaos for Paris. As many have noted, there is a significant difference of personal perspective. For Sappho, Helen is the paragon of mortal beauty, and her daughter Hermione is close to being so (23. 3–6). Her decision to abandon this daughter and the finest of husbands is taken as a paradigm, not of deplorable behaviour that had terrible consequences, but of the power of love to alter one's judgment of what is κάλλιστον (16. 6 ff.). It is a sympathetic response to the story from a woman with a young daughter of her own whom she would not exchange for the whole of Lydia (132). But when Alcaeus deals with Helen's elopement, in what is in part a very similar poem (283), he does not represent her just as 'led astray', as Sappho does (16. 11 παράγαγ' αὔταν), but as ἐκμάνεισα, driven out of her sound mind; and he goes on to describe the catastrophic consequences of her actions, the fine young men killed, the chariots smashed. He may have added, if Gallavotti's supplement is correct, φόνωι δ' ἔ[χαιρε δῖος Ἀ]χι̣[λλ]ευς (283. 17 f.), setting in counterpoint the themes of Helen's ἄτη and Achilles' fierce brilliance. This is what he does in fr. 42, alternating the two to create, in a miracle of miniature, a bird's-eye view of the entire war. After a stanza on how Helen caused disaster to Priam's house and destroyed holy Ilios, he contrasts her with the wonderful bride that Peleus wed, and swiftly moves on to the birth of Achilles. The lines already quoted above must here be given again with their continuation, which concluded the song:

παῖδα γέννατ' αἰμιθέων [ἄριστον],
ὄλβιον, ξάνθαν ἐλάτη[ρα πώλων·
οἳ δ' ἀπώλοντ' ἀμφ' Ἐ[λέναι δάμεντες] καὶ πόλις αὔτων.[21]

[20] Referred to Peleus and Thetis by Herwerden, *Mnem.*[2] 14 (1886), 54; to Herakles and Hebe by Ahrens, *Rh. Mus.* 6 (1839), 239. A third possibility is Kadmos and Harmonia, of whom there is a possible mention at Sappho 70. 9. Meyerhoff, 16 n. 108, argues that ambrosia could only be served at a wedding of gods.

[21] δάμεντες is the supplement of Edith Hall, *ZPE* 73 (1988), 17; she compares fr. 283. 13.

So Helen returns at the end, binding the two strands together in a final knot.

Sappho's feminine viewpoint appears again in regard to Achilles. Where she mentions him, it is not to recall scenes of death on the Trojan plain but to praise a bridegroom in a wedding song (Him. *Or.* 9. 16 = fr. 218): *Σαπφοῦς ἦν ἄρα μήλωι μὲν εἰκάσαι τὴν κόρην . . . τὸν νυμφίον τε Ἀχιλλεῖ παρομοιῶσαι καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν τῶι ἥρωι τὸν νεανίσκον ταῖς πράξεσι.* Himerios' last phrase suggests indeed that the bridegroom had done himself credit on the battlefield—at Sigeion, perhaps?—but in the hymenaeal context Achilles surely stands as an ideal of young manhood. Sappho would have been happy to picture him as a bridegroom himself, just as with Hector it is not his prowess with the spear that she celebrates but his wedding to Andromache (fr. 44). Here, presumably, she is not following an epic narrative but incorporating epic data (Andromache's |[212] provenance from Thebe Hypoplakia, Idaios as the name of Priam's herald) in an imaginative re-creation of an event presupposed by the *Iliad*.[22] Her joyous idyll draws depth from our knowledge of the tragic fates that awaited the couple at a later time, much as does Hector's optimistic prayer for Astyanax's future at *Z* 474–81.

There is no mention in the fragments of Achilles' death. Alcaeus (354) said something about *Ἀχίλλευς ὁ τὰς* (or *γᾶς*) *Σκυθίκας μέδεις*, the Achilles worshipped in the Pontic region, and he no doubt knew the story of the hero's posthumous translation to the White Island in the Black Sea, as related in the *Aithiopis*. But it probably did not originate in an epic, and he need not have had it from an epic source.

He certainly knew epic narratives of the end of the war and the Returns. One of his political songs (298, cf. 306A h) contained a substantial digression on the Locrian Ajax's assault on Cassandra in the shrine of Athena, the goddess's anger at the act, and the storm that she roused against the homeward-bound Achaeans because they had failed to stone him to death. This is in good agreement with the *Iliou Persis*, so far as we can tell from Proclus' summary (§3):

*Κασσάνδραν δὲ Αἴας ὁ Ὀϊλέως πρὸς βίαν ἀποσπῶν συνεφέλκεται τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανον· ἐφ' ὧι παροξυνθέντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καταλεῦσαι βουλεύονται τὸν Αἴαντα· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς βωμὸν καταφεύγει,*

[22] Cf. Meyerhoff, 130–6.



*καὶ διασώιζεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου κινδύνου. ἔπειτα ἀποπλέουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ φθορὰν αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος μηχανᾶται.*[23]

The main account of the storm, however, came in the *Nostoi*. There (again according to Proclus) it was located *περὶ τὰς Καφηρίδας πέτρας*, off southern Euboea. Alcaeus (298. 6) puts it near Aigai, which may or may not be in the same area; there is a possibility that he means the Lesbian Aiga.[24]

I have already mentioned the cult legend retailed by Sappho (17), that the Atreidai were delayed at Lesbos on their way home from Troy and were unable to continue until they had prayed to Zeus, Hera, and Dionysos. Here too we have something that connects with the *Nostoi*, but it certainly diverges in detail. Proclus' summary of the epic does not mention Lesbos, but this may be the result of excessive compression. The *Odyssey* gives more detail of what seems to be the same account. It relates that Nestor and Diomedes stopped at Lesbos, and Menelaos came soon afterwards and found them there (*γ* 165–9). In neither epic is there any question of Agamemnon's having been there with Menelaos, because the brothers had disagreed at Troy over the safety of setting sail, and |[213] when Menelaos left, Agamemnon stayed behind; they were never to see each other again.[25]

At this point, having surveyed the relevant material, we may attempt to frame an answer to the question posed earlier: whether the Lesbian poets knew the Cyclic epics. What they say about the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the birth of Helen from an egg that Leda fostered, and her elopement with Paris, agrees well enough with the *Cypria* for that to be a possible source.[26] But the *Cypria* seems to have been a late compilation with no organic unity, a long concatenation of episodes, most of which find no echo in the

[23] The last sentence is problematic, because the summary continues with further details of what happened during the sack of the city, before the Achaeans sailed away. I suggest emending to *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποπλέουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, φθορὰν αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ κτλ.* The sentence then provides the antithesis to *διασώιζεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου κινδύνου*, in an anticipation of what was to happen later.

[24] See A. M. van Erp Taalman Kip in J. M. Bremer, A. M. van E. T. K., and S. R. Slings, *Some Recently Found Greek Poems* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 99, Leiden–New York–Copenhagen–Cologne 1987), 112 f.; R. Janko in the Cambridge *Iliad* commentary, on *N* 21–2.

[25] Cf. Meyerhoff, 223–6.

[26] Cf. Meyerhoff, 101–8. Sappho's use of the *Cypria* is now argued for by M. Steinrück, 'Homer bei Sappho?', *Mnem.*[4] 52 (1999), 139–49, at 144–6.

remains of the Lesbians. The language of its fragments, especially fr. 1 W, makes a date before 550 appear unlikely.[27] Sappho and Alcaeus can hardly have known the *Cypria*, and it seems altogether improbable that any epic singer in their time attempted to cover in one poem the whole story of the Trojan War from the wedding of Peleus to the point where the *Iliad* begins. What is conceivable is a poem about how the war began, from the births of Achilles and Helen to the Judgment of Paris, his abduction of Helen, and her reception at Troy. In view of what was said earlier about the currency of fixed, written epics in the second half of the seventh century, it is possible that such a poem continued to be transmitted after the time of the Lesbians and was later incorporated in the *Cypria*.

For the Posthomerica the question is more open. We have no clear reason to deny that the *Aithiopis*, *Little Iliad*, *Iliou Persis*, and *Nostoi* could have existed before 600—the poet of the *Odyssey* evidently knew poems quite like them[28]—and been heard in Lesbos. It will be recalled that the *Little Iliad* is actually ascribed to a Lesbian poet, Lesches of Pyrrha or Mytilene. On the other hand the relationships might have been more like what is suggested above for the Antehomerica. What Sappho and Alcaeus heard might have been poems that later became parts of the canonical Cyclic epics. However this may be, it does seem that the material had achieved something like a stable form.

In the case of the *Nostoi* there is a further pointer. Alcaeus refers to the myth of Sisyphos who tried to cheat death (38. 5–10, cf. 117. 40),[29] and to his punishment in Hades. He also alludes to the stone of Tantalos (365). We know of both these sinners from a suspect passage of the *Odyssey*, λ 593–600, though Tantalos' punishment is there a different one. Alcaeus' source for these stories might well have been a poem describing a katabasis in which a series of sinners undergoing punishment was presented, as in λ 576 ff., but with a fuller account of their sins. We know that the *Nostoi* contained (it is not clear in what context) an account of *Ἅιδης καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ δείματα* (Paus. 10. 28. 7); it included the story of Tantalos' offence (Ath. 281b), and indeed mention of Sisyphos (Paus. 10. 30. 5). |[214] As

[27] J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Göttingen 1916), 182 f.

[28] His *Aithiopis*, however, may still have lacked the Amazon episode, of which he shows no awareness. Penthesileia first appears in art around 600.

[29] It should be noted that fr. 117 belongs to a group of fragments (115–28, from P. Oxy. 1788) that Liberman (lxxxvii–xci) ascribes to Sappho.



Alcaeus certainly knows other *Nostoi* material, it is tempting to suppose that he knew the Sisyphos and Tantalos myths from the same source.[30]

There is no clear sign of the Lesbians showing any awareness of the *Odyssey*.[31] Alcaeus' mention of the spring Artakia (440) and of the Phaeacians (441) might be claimed as such; but both may have belonged in an Argonautic context.[32] It might also be objected that the *argumentum ex silentio* carries little weight, especially when the greater part of these poets' work is lost. It would not have been surprising, however, if Penelope's faithful love for her husband, or his for her, had aroused sufficient response in Sappho for some echo of it to have survived. The date of the *Odyssey* is a question requiring more discussion than can be accommodated here, but I will state my belief that it cannot have been composed much before the last quarter of the seventh century. It should not be taken as axiomatic that it must have been known to the Lesbian poets.

They knew, of course, other mythology besides the story of the Trojan War, even if this was what preoccupied them above all else. For some of it, at least, epic poetry was a likely source. Alcaeus, as noted above, may have referred to the voyage of the Argonauts: this was a theme that enjoyed some popularity in the seventh century (μ 70 *Ἀργὼ πᾶσι μέλουσα*; Mimn. 11–11a), and it must have been the subject of an epic. It has long been recognized that such an epic lies behind a group of Odysseus' adventures in the *Odyssey*. The only archaic epic that treated the subject *in extenso* and that was available to Alexandrian scholars was the *Carmen Naupactium*. But we cannot say whether this was the poem that Mimnermus and the *Odyssey* poet knew.[33]

[30] Cf. Eisenberger, 77 f.; Meyerhoff, 156 f. Alcaeus calls Sisyphos *Αἰολίδας βασίλευς* (38. 5). The patronymic (already in *Z* 154) perhaps enhanced his interest-value for a Lesbian audience, as the island's hero Makar was an Aiolid according to some (*Hymn. Ap.* 37, Paus. 10. 38. 4); cf. Alc. 34A. 8 *Μάκαρο[ς νᾶσον ἐ]π̣η̣ράτ[αν* (and inc. auct. 42. 10); 169a. 7 *Α]ἰολίδαν τὼν ᾳ̣ [*, 8 ] *Μυτι[λ]η̣ν̣[*.

[31] Meyerhoff, 13: 'Stoffe der Odyssee spielen bei Sappho und Alkaios keine erkennbare Rolle'.

[32] Cf. Ap. Rhod. 1. 957; 4. 769, 822, 991, etc.

[33] Other epic allusions to the subject matter: *H* 469 (interpolated passage?); *Φ* 41, *Ψ* 747; Hes. *Th.* [992–1002]; 'Hes.' frr. 241, 263 M–W; Cinaethon fr. 2 W.; 'Eumelus', *Korinthiaka* frr. 17. 8, 20 W (cf. my paper '"Eumelos": A Corinthian Epic Cycle?', = above, Chapter 26). Lobon of Argos attributed an Argonautic epic to Epimenides (Diog. Laert. 1. 112), but this, if it existed at all, may have been a Hellenistic forgery. A reference to Medea in Sappho (186) is doubtful: cf. P. Maas, *Kl. Schr.*, 62 n. 6.

Somewhere Alcaeus mentioned the Hydra that Herakles killed (fr. 443). Again we may think of an epic source. Hesiod was already familiar with poems about Herakles' Labours, as appears from a series of allusions in the *Theogony*, and there are references to his servitude to Eurystheus also in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[34] The fight with the Hydra is represented on a Boeotian fibula of the late eighth or early seventh century. The only archaic epic covering the Labours that survived to be read by Alexandrian scholars was the *Herakleia* of Pisander of Camirus. However, he may not have lived much earlier than Alcaeus, seeing that |[215] he represented Herakles as wearing a lion-skin and armed with a bow and a club (Strabo 15. 1. 9, *Suda* π 1465), something not portrayed in art before about 600.

Another Argive monster-slayer known to Hesiod (*Th.* 280) was Perseus. His decapitation of Medusa appears to be alluded to in a Lesbian fragment (inc. auct. 30). For Pherecydes at least (frr. 10–12 Fowler) the exploit was part of a longer saga that had, we may suppose, previously found extended poetic expression. It may possibly have been accommodated in the epic *Danais*.

It was not till well after the time of Sappho and Alcaeus that Theseus emerged as a sort of Attic Herakles who overcame a series of monsters and brigands and had various other heroic achievements to his credit; an Attic *Theseis* appears to have gone into circulation in the late sixth century. Certain stories about him, however, were current earlier. The Cyclic poems told of his mother Aithra's capture by the Dioskouroi, her enslavement to Helen, and her rescue by Theseus' sons Akamas and Demophon at the fall of Troy. A legend known to Sappho (206) was his journey to Crete and slaying of the Minotaur. The story is presupposed by the mentions of the Ariadne story in the *Odyssey* (λ 321–5) and *Cypria* (Proclus, §4), and a scene from it is also depicted on the neck of the François Vase. Probably it had been the subject of an independent epic poem. Alcaeus, who perhaps mentioned Minos in a drinking-song,[35] may have known of him in this or in some other connection.

Sappho touches on some other myths that were less naturally the subjects of epic treatment. Any of them might have appeared in epic in a digression, but they were essentially self-contained stories,

[34] Hes. *Th.* 287–94, 313–18, 327–32, 526–32, cf. also 215 f., 334 f., 518; Θ 362–365, *O* 639 f., T 95–133; λ 617–626.

[35] In fr. 356: M. L. West, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 5.



capable of being transmitted orally without poetic form. There was the myth of Eos and Tithonos (58. 19 ff.), well known in the seventh century;[36] this must have been at home in the Troad, as Tithonos was identified as a brother of Priam. Two further myths that she made use of were local legends attached to west Anatolian mountains: the stories of Niobe of Sipylos (142, 205) and Endymion of Latmos (199; perhaps also Alcaeus 317).

Apart from specific myths, Sappho (much more than Alcaeus) makes repeated use of poetic theology. Much of it derives from Hesiod:

| | Sappho | Hesiod |
|---|---|---|
| Pieria as the home of the Muses | 55. 3; 103. 5 | *Th.* 53, *Op.* 1 |
| Calliope as principal Muse | 124; *SLG* S260[V] | *Th.* 79 |
| The Charites as Zeus' daughters | 53 | *Th.* 907 |
| Their association with the Muses | 44A b. 5; 103. 5; 128 | *Th.* 64 |
| Peitho as a deity associated with Aphrodite | 96. 29; 200 | *Op.* 73 |
| Leto as daughter of Koios | 44A a. 2 | *Th.* 404 |

|[216] When she makes Eros in one place the child of Ge and Ouranos and in another of Aphrodite and Ouranos (198a, b), and when Alcaeus (327) makes him the son of Zephyros and Iris, these constructions are at least Hesiodic in spirit, if not in the letter. Sappho is more Homeric in making Aphrodite the daughter of Zeus (1. 2) and in imagining that to respond to her invocation the goddess will come from Zeus' house in a golden chariot (1. 7; cf. 127). The vehicles of Homeric divinities, to be sure, are pulled by horses, not by sparrows. The sparrow-chariot finds its counterpart in the swan-chariot of Apollo (Sappho 208, Alcaeus 307c).

The conception of a house of Hades in which the dead flit about as dim ghosts (ἄμαυροι νέκυες, Sappho 55. 4) is thoroughly Homeric. But the belief that one reaches this place by crossing the Acheron (65. 10; 95. 13; Alc. 38. 8) cannot be derived from extant epic. It is probably presupposed at κ 513, where Acheron is located at the boundary of Hades; this is the place where Odysseus will dig his pit

[36] Λ 1 = ε 1; Tyrt. 12. 5; Mimn. 4; most fully in *Hymn. Aphr.* 218–38. It may have been related also in the *Aithiopis*, as Eos and Tithonos were the parents of Memnon (Meyerhoff, 190 f.).

[37] Cf. also Alcman, *PMGF* 27. 1.

and meet the ghosts. But there is no explicit reference to anyone's crossing the river. This was perhaps more of a popular than a literary theme among the eastern Greeks.[38]

Alcaeus' hymn to Apollo (307), which described the god's annual return to Delphi from the Hyperboreans, shows no particular connection with any of the extant Homeric Hymns. Certain of his other hymns, however, do. A hymn to Dionysos, in which he told the story of Hera's entrapment in a special chair made by Hephaistos (349a–e), had the same subject matter as a major Homeric hymn of which only fragments have reached us.[39] In his hymn to Hermes (308 + *SLG* S264) Alcaeus related how the infant god stole Apollo's cattle and then his bow. This naturally provokes comparison with the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*. Thirdly there is Alcaeus' hymn to the Dioskouroi, fr. 34, with which *PMG* 1012 perhaps belongs.[40] It describes them as riding over land and sea on their swift horses, and as saving sailors from death, leaping in brightness from afar onto their ships' extremities. The 33rd Homeric Hymn has very similar content. Fourthly there is a fragment of a hymn to Artemis, ascribed by some editors to Alcaeus but by others to Sappho,[41] in which the goddess swears an oath of eternal virginity while touching the head of her father Zeus, and he assents and grants her her special [217] role as a huntress. In the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* (25 ff.) there is a similar description, but applied to Hestia instead of Artemis.

These parallelisms are such that we must at least say that the melic and the hexameter hymns stand in a common tradition. In the light of our previous conclusions about the currency of fixed and

[38] On its oriental affinities cf. *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 155 f.

[39] See *ZPE* 134 (2001), 1–11 [= above, Chapter 23].

[40] Sch. Ap. Rhod. 1. 146–9a, *Γλαύκου δὲ αὐτὴν* (Ledam) *τοῦ Σισύφου εἶναι πατρὸς ἐν Κορινθιακοῖς λέγει Εὔμηλος* (fr. 25 W) *καὶ Παντειδυίας μητρός . . . ὅτι δὲ Γλαύκου ἐστὶ θυγάτηρ, καὶ †Ἀλθαίας αἰνίττεται λέγων· "τοὺς τέκε θυγάτηρ Γλαύκω μάκαιρα"*. The poet's name has been corrupted under the influence of the preceding *Ἀλθαίαν*, but the Doric or Aeolic genitive *Γλαύκω* makes it virtually certain that he is either Alcman or Alcaeus. Bergk assigned the fragment to Alcman, writing *τὼς τέκε <οἱ>* to restore a plausibly Alcmanic elegiambus (his fr. 8). He was followed in this ascription by Diehl (fr. 6) and Calame (fr. °230). Wendel noted that *Ἀλκαῖος* would be closer to what is transmitted, and Page said he would prefer it, emending to *τοὶς τέκε Γλαύκω θυγάτηρ μάκαιρα*, an Alcaic hendecasyllable. I think the balance of probability is on Page's side.

[41] Alc. 304 L–P = Sappho 44A Voigt. Cf. E. Lobel and D. L. Page, *CQ* 3 (1952), 3; Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955), 261–5; M. Treu, *Sappho* (4. Aufl., Munich 1968), 161–3; Liberman, xciv.



identifiable epic texts in Alcaeus' time, it is quite conceivable that there are more direct relationships. Alcaeus will hardly have been the model for the hexameter poets. The likelihood is that he knew 'Homeric' hymns to Dionysos, Hermes, and the Dioskouroi, and adapted material from them to his compact lyric forms. In the cases of the Dionysos and Dioskouroi hymns there seems no reason why he should not have known the poems later transmitted in the Homeric collection. But the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* can hardly be dated as early as 600: it contains too many words and expressions that are not paralleled before the fifth century.[42] Rather it is a later descendant of the hymn that Alcaeus knew.[43] The *Hymn to Aphrodite* is probably early enough to have been known to the Lesbian poets. But it is perhaps more likely that Hestia's oath in the hexameter poem is adapted from a similar passage in an Artemis hymn, and that such a hymn served as the direct source for the Lesbian poet, than that the Lesbian personally transferred the motif from Hestia to Artemis.

It is time to sum up. It is clear that Ionian hexameter poetry, epic and hymnic, bulked large in Alcaeus' and Sappho's cultural world. The fact and the detail of their interest in heroic myth indicate this, and their sporadic use of epic morphology and prosody confirms it. What is more, they clearly presuppose familiarity with the subject matter on the part of their hearers.[44] The implication is that rhapsodes were performing regularly at public or private gatherings on Lesbos. They were reciting poems with more or less stable contents that can in some cases be identified with works known to later antiquity; poems, therefore, that had already been fixed in writing. None of them, probably, was more than a hundred years old, and most of them much less. The *Iliad* and the *Nostoi* were not classics from an earlier century but the products of recent decades; this is why the Lesbians' response to them is so full and so fresh. New epics were still being composed. To this extent we may assent to Bethe's

[42] For other arguments for a fifth-century dating see H. Gorgemanns, 'Rhetorik und Poetik im homerischen Hermeshymnus', in H. Görgemanns and E. A. Schmitt (edd.), *Studien zum antiken Epos* (Meisenheim 1976), 113–28.

[43] So Wilamowitz, *Gött. Nachr.* 1895, 222 = *Kl. Schr.* v(2). 10, and *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913), 311 n. 1; cf., most recently, Liberman, 133. For a clear and cautious comparison of Alcaeus' poem with the Homeric Hymn see Page (as n. 41), 252–8.

[44] Cf. Meyerhoff, 232.

remark: 'Man redet vom Umsetzung des Epos durch die Lyriker, ich möchte lieber von ihrer Concurrenz mit den Epikern in gleichzeitiger Behandlung derselben Stoffe sprechen.'[45] [218] Sappho and Alcaeus were not living in a 'lyric age' that had succeeded an 'epic age'. On the other hand there can be no doubt that they were inspired primarily by epic models.

They were Ionic models, representing an Ionian tradition. Lesches of Pyrrha, if he existed, composed his epic in Ionic, not Lesbian.[46] This Ionian tradition had been dominant on both sides of the Aegean from before the time of Hesiod. There was little left of the old Aeolic epic. Wilamowitz put it in a very pointed form: 'Sappho kennt nur den Homer, den wir haben . . . Die äolischen Iliaden sind vollends Phantome.'[47] The latest editor of Alcaeus has written in similar vein:

> Quant à l'*épos* ionien, son influence sur Alcée et Sappho est telle qu'il constitue un arrière-fond de leur poésie qui leur fournit à l'occasion thèmes et matériaux (mots, formes, formules, moyens prosodiques). La forme et le contenu de la poésie aristocratique d'Alcée et de Sappho ne seraient pas autant marqués par l'*épos* ionien si à l'époque de ces poètes une poésie épique autre que l'ionienne occupait à Lesbos le devant de la scène, et s'il y existait une forte tradition poétique locale, non hexamétrique, autre que populaire et dotée d'un statut aussi élevé que celui de l'*épos* ionien.[48]

It will be noted that Liberman's formulation is less absolute than Wilamowitz's. He does not exclude a local, popular tradition of some kind, of lower status. Here I find it necessary to repeat an observation that I made nearly thirty years ago.[49] It concerns the dialect forms of Priam's name that Sappho and Alcaeus use, *Πέρραμος* and *Πέραμος*. *Πέρραμος* shows a regular Lesbian development from *Πρίαμος*,[50] while *Πέραμος* is a metrical accommodation that presumably originated within a Lesbian hexameter tradition: in any

[45] E. Bethe, *Homer. Dichtung und Sage*, ii.[2] 382.

[46] Clement's quotation of fr. 14 W of (Lesches') *Little Iliad* in an Aeolic or Doric form, *νὺξ μὲν <ἔ>ην μεσάτα, λαμπρὰ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελάνα*, remains unexplained. Other sources (apart from Eusebius, who is transcribing Clement) give it in Ionic form.

[47] *SPAW* 1906, 23 = *Kl. Schr.* v(1). 154.

[48] Liberman, xiv.

[49] *CQ* 23 (1973), 179–92, at p. 191 [= above, pp. 18 f.].

[50] Like *Ἀγερράνιος* < *Ἀγριάνιος*, *μέτερρος* < *μέτριος*, etc.; A. Thumb and A. Scherer, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* ii.[2] (Heidelberg 1959), 89.



formulae involving Priam's name the first syllable had to be kept short. Now, where did Sappho and Alcaeus hear these forms, if the Lesbian line of tradition about the Trojan War had completely petered out and given way to the Ionian tradition? It must have been maintained by epic singers at least long enough for the dialect forms to diverge. There was a time, in other words, when epic singing was practised in Asia Minor by both Aeolic and Ionic bards, the former saying *Πέρ(ρ)αμος*, while the latter preserved the older Aeolic *Πρίαμος*. Once that stage had been reached, it is possible that the Aeolic epic died out and that the *Πέρ(ρ)αμος* forms were then kept alive by lyric poets down to the time of Sappho and Alcaeus. At any rate there was some local continuity of tradition about Troy.

Such was 'the view from Lesbos' at the beginning of the sixth century. If we had also had a quantity of fragments of Lesbian lyric from fifty years later, it [219] would have been extremely interesting to see how the picture had changed by then. But it is a curious fact of literary history that the sudden outburst of this lyric around 600, nine books of Sappho and ten of Alcaeus, was immediately followed by silence. Sappho and Alcaeus are a flash in the pan; they have no successors. Perhaps the reason may be that they themselves became instant local classics, and Lesbian folk were content to go on singing their songs instead of constantly composing new ones. If that is what happened, it is a further illustration of the power of the written text (for Sappho and Alcaeus must have written, or such quantities of their verse could not have been preserved) to stabilize tradition and halt its further growth.

# 28

# The Invention of Homer

I shall argue for two complementary theses: firstly that 'Homer' was not the name of a historical poet but a fictitious or constructed name, and secondly that for a century or more after the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there was little interest in the identity or the person of their author or authors. This interest only arose in the last decades of the sixth century; but once it did, 'Homer' very quickly became an object of admiration, criticism, and biographical construction.

Most scholars nowadays consider that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the work of different authors. This is what is indicated by the many differences of narrative manner, theology, ethics, vocabulary, and geographical perspective, and by the apparently imitative character of certain passages of the *Odyssey* in relation to the *Iliad*.[1] But if there are two major authors, we cannot claim to know the names of both of them, and at least one of the epics has to be regarded as anonymous. Yet people continue to use the name 'Homer' (preferably for the poet of the *Iliad*, the greater of the two epics) and to assume that there was a real person of that name who very likely had something to do with the creation of the poem. Let me begin by questioning the basis for that assumption.

*CQ* 49 (1999), 364–82.

[1] It is not the purpose of the present paper to establish these points, which are not essential to my argument, and this is not the place for a bibliography of separatist and unitarian statements. Those who cling to the belief that one man was responsible for both poems seem to me to be hindered from a just assessment of the contrary evidence by a romantic attachment to the traditional idea of the one supreme poet.



## HOW OLD IS THE TRADITION ABOUT HOMER?

Why do we believe that there was a poet called Homer? The answer is evident: we believe it because there is a long-standing and unanimous tradition from antiquity to that effect. But in assessing the value of a tradition the important thing is not how long it has lasted, or whether anyone has questioned it hitherto, but when and how it started. Is the existence of the tradition explicable only on the hypothesis that what it alleges is historically true, or could there have been other circumstances that might have given rise to it?

Most scholars would agree that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were both composed not later than the seventh century. The *Iliad*, at least, seems from the evidence of art and literature to have been in circulation by about 630. However, we cannot tell whether the two poems were associated with one another at that time, or whether either of them was current under the name of Homer. There is only one (probable) seventh-century reference to 'Homer', and there he is associated not with the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* but with a lost epic, the *Thebaid*. I shall come back to that later.

How far back, then, can we trace the belief that Homer was the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*? It must have been established by about 520, when Hipparchus instituted regular recitations of these two epics (and only these two) as a feature of the Great Panathenaea at Athens. But that is as far back as we can trace it. So from the time of the poems' composition there is a gap of a century, or a century and a half, during which we have no evidence at all as to who, if anyone, was regarded as their author.

[365] One may want to say, 'Well, but these are such impressive creations that their author's name or names must have been celebrated from the beginning, and could not possibly have been forgotten or displaced by a false name'. This cannot be taken for granted. We are used to the idea that every book bears an author's name, which is one of the most important things about it when one wants to order it from a bookshop or look it up in a catalogue. Anonymous books are a rare exception to the general rule. But in most ancient literatures, at least in their earlier stages, anonymity is either the rule or at any rate commonplace. We have no idea who wrote most of the books of the Old Testament, apart from the Prophets. We have no authors' names for most of the Babylonian epics, or for the works of Ugaritic or Hittite literature, or for the

*Mahābhārata*, or for *Beowulf*, or the *Nibelungenlied*, or the poems of the *Elder Edda*. As for Archaic Greece, of course we do know the names of many poets, sometimes because they mentioned their own names in their poems, as do Hesiod, Alcman, Sappho, Alcaeus, Theognis, Solon, Hipponax. Theognis claims that his name was famous and that people would recognize his verses as those of Theognis even if someone else were to recite them as his own. But epic poems are a special case because of their traditional nature. They were the work of men known as ἀοιδοί, singers, a term that refers to performance, not creation. The singers portrayed in the Homeric epics are not represented as creating poems but as reproducing songs that they know about the deeds of men and gods, memory of which has been preserved through the ages by the Muses. Lyric and elegiac poets speak of poetic creation, using the terms εὑρίσκειν, ποιεῖν, σοφίζεσθαι, μῶσθαι.[2] But the epic ἀοιδός is not said to do any of these things, he just sings.[3] Evidently there was not, to begin with, the same concept of an author in the case of epic poems as in lyric and elegy.[4]

This is reflected in the titles of certain epics, such as the *Cypria*, the *Phocais*, the *Naupactia*, and indeed the *Iliad* and *Little Iliad*, which suggest poems identified by their currency in a particular region, not clearly attached to particular poets: the *Cypria* (τὰ Κύπρια ἔπη) was the poem that came from Cyprus, the *Phocais* was the poem from Phocaea, the *Naupactia* (τὰ Ναυπάκτια ἔπη) the one that came from Naupactus, and the *Iliad* and the *Little Iliad*, I take it, were ones current at Ilios.[5] There were other epics in Greece named from their subject matter and preserved without any author's name, such as the

[2] Alcm. *PMGF* 39; Sol. 20. 3; Thgn. 19; *771*; Stes. *PMGF* 212.

[3] Phemius' song about the Ἀχαιῶν νόστος is called 'new' (*Od.* 1. 352), with regard to the fact that its subject matter was very recent, but there is no suggestion that he personally composed it or that it belonged to him more than to other poets.

[4] Cf. M. Durante, *Sulla preistoria della tradizione poetica greca* ii (Rome 1976), 185–7. He notes that in the South Slavic epic tradition no guslar's name is remembered from the centuries before Vuk Stefanović Karadžić made his famous collections (from 1813 on).

[5] Some Old Norse texts were similarly identified by their place of origin, like the *Greenland Lay of Atli* and the *Flateyjarbók* (*Flat Island Book*). According to one view, the name *Edda* comes from the place-name Oddi in south-west Iceland, the home of Snorri Sturluson. For the *Iliad* poet's connection with Ilios cf. W. Schadewaldt, *Iliasstudien* (Leipzig 1938), 125; M. L. West, *Mus. Helv.* 52 (1995), 217 n. 43 [=above, p. 206 n. 43].



*Danais*, the *Phoronis*, the *Alcmeonis*, and the *Titanomachy*. There are others again for which two or three alternative authors are named. For example, some said that the *Cypria* was by Stasinus of Cyprus, others ascribed it to Hegesias of (Cyprian) Salamis, others again ascribed it to Homer. For the *Little Iliad* no less than five different authors are named. Such controversies indicate 'that the epics as a rule were transmitted without an author's name, from [366] naive interest in their contents: it was the scholars who looked for the "poet", only to resign themselves to uncertainty'.[6]

In these circumstances we cannot assume that if only one author is named the attribution is reliable, or that if the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were ascribed to Homer from about 520 BCE they had not been anonymous at an earlier period. Indeed, the ascription to Homer must be wrong for at least one of them, if we accept that they are the work of different poets. And we must bear in mind that these were not the only poems attributed to Homer: he was credited with several of the Cyclic epics too, with the whole corpus of the *Hymns* (which were obviously composed at various different times and places), and with the comic narrative poem *Margites*. For most of these poems no alternative author was ever identified. So the 'consensus of antiquity' that he was the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* cannot carry very much weight. If the title *Iliad* means 'the poem current at Ilios', the inference is that it had originally been anonymous.

## THE NAME HOMER; THE HOMERIDAI

'Very well,' the reader may respond, 'but what have you got to set against the consensus of antiquity? Why shouldn't we believe that a poet called Homer existed, whatever exactly he did?'

One reason is that Ὅμηρος is not a regular Greek name, and hard to account for as such. No other person so named is known from before Hellenistic times. The following are attested from the third century BCE:

(1) An Aetolian Ὄμαρος (*Fouilles de Delphes* iii(3). 184. 2, 190. 1; *SIG*[3] 498. 2). This is probably to be connected with the Ζεὺς

[6] W. Burkert, *Mus. Helv.* 29 (1972), 75 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 139.

Ὁμάριος worshipped by the Achaean confederacy (cf. below, p. 375).[7]

(2) A Cretan Ὄμαρος (*Inscr. Cret.* i. 108 no. 1. 3, from Lato).

(3) An Athenian Ὁμη[ (*Ath. Mitt.* 85 (1970), 213; *SEG* 32. 207. 18).

(4) The tragedian Homeros of Byzantium (*TrGF* 98), whose parents were a philologist and a poetess, and who was no doubt named after the famous poet.

In the mid second century there is a Ὄμηρος (n.b. not -αρος) at Larisa (*GDI* 2138), and a century later there is another, presumably of the same family (*SIG*³ 1059 I 3, II 29). The Ionic vocalization points to an association with the poet.

Under the empire the name became more frequent, in particular for freedmen; a M. Anniolenus Homerus is known from Apulia, a M. Servilius Homerus from Lucania, an Αὐρήλιος Ὄμηρος from Melos. Ten Ὄμηροι are attested from Attica between the first and third centuries CE. There was also a poet and grammarian Sellios ὁ καὶ Ὅμηρος, evidently a literary nickname.[8]

How, then, is Homer's name to be understood? To the ancients it suggested the meaning 'hostage' (from ὅμηρα, normally a neuter plural), and there were various stories explaining how he came to be so called after being given as a hostage by some [367] town or other. But it is incredible that anyone would be given the name Hostage for this or any other reason, and in any case the masculine formation is linguistically suspect.[9] Ephorus, the historian from Cyme, who wanted Homer to be a Cymaean, claimed that ὅμηρος was a Cymaean word for 'blind' and that Homer was named for that reason.[10] But there is no supporting evidence for the existence of such a word; and again, while 'Blind' may serve as a cognomen, as with Appius Claudius Caecus (*né* Crassus) or Δίδυμος ὁ τυφλός, no one is given it as a self-sufficient name.

[7] Durante (as n. 4), 189. He refers also to the Euboean Ὁμέριος (*IG* 12(9). 56. 135; lead tablet from Styra, fifth century), 'che peraltro è omonimo di Ζεὺς Ὁμάριος, e quindi ha ragione teoforica.' The Aetolian Ὄμαρος 'può ben essere una *Rückbildung* del nome precedente, qual è ad esempio Παναιτώλιος rispetto a Παναιτώλιος (così Bechtel, *Pers[onennamen]*, pp. 525, 532).'

[8] A. Körte, *RE* iiA. 1321 f.

[9] Durante (as n. 4), 190–1.

[10] Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 1. Lycophron's use of ὅμηρος for 'blind' (422) is of course inspired by this theory.



We have now to consider the ancient corporation of rhapsodes who called themselves the Homeridai, generally understood to mean 'the descendants of Homer'. They are first mentioned in surviving literature by Pindar in the Second Nemean. He describes them as the 'singers of stitched verses', ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ἀοιδοί, which is clearly a paraphrase of ῥαψωιδοί. He refers to their often beginning their recitations with a hymn to Zeus, as we know rhapsodes used the extant Homeric Hymns to introduce their recitations from epic. Plato in the *Phaedrus* quotes two otherwise unknown verses about Eros and says that some of the Homeridai recite them from the ἀπόθετα ἔπη, evidently poems not generally current which these Homeridai have in their possession and are able to produce from under the counter, asserting that they are by Homer. In another dialogue Plato portrays the Ephesian rhapsode Ion as claiming to be a fine expounder of Homer's meaning, so fine that he reckons he deserves to be decorated by the Homeridai with a golden crown. In the *Republic* Plato alludes to the Homeridai as people who proclaim Homer's achievements and spread his fame. Isocrates too refers to their telling stories about the poet's life; some of the Homeridai, he says, relate that Helen appeared to Homer in a dream and instructed him to compose an epic about the Trojan War.[11]

So in the fifth and early fourth centuries the Homeridai appear as a kind of guild of rhapsodes who recited Homer's poetry, including some poems which were not widely known; who told stories about his life, and were concerned to spread his fame; and who were corporately wealthy and prestigious enough to confer gold coronets on others who they thought had served the poet well. It looks as if people's ideas about what Homer had been and what he had done were very much determined by what the Homeridai chose to tell them.

Who were these Homeridai, and where did they come from? The most valuable information about them comes from ancient commentators on two of the texts just cited.

One is Harpocration, who, in explanation of Isocrates' mention of the Homeridai, says that they were a family or clan in Chios. He refers to two fifth-century historians, Acusilaus of Argos and Hellanicus of Lesbos, the second of whom stated that the Homeridai were named after the poet. Harpocration also cites Seleucus as

[11] Pind. *Nem.* 2. 1–2; Pl. *Phaedr.* 252b; *Ion* 530d; *Rep.* 599e; Isoc. *Helen* 65.

having contradicted the view of one Crates ἐν ταῖς Ἱεροποιίαις, that the Homeridai were Homer's descendants. According to Seleucus they really got their name from ὅμηρα 'hostages', because once upon a time, at the Dionysus festival on Chios, the women had gone mad and fought against the men; they had then made a truce, giving each other hostages in the form of young men and women. These hostages got married, and their descendants were called Homeridai.[12]

[368] The other important source is the well-known scholion on the Pindar passage, explaining Pindar's reference to the Homeridai. It reads as follows:

Ὁμηρίδας ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου γένους, οἵ καὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἦιδον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ῥαψωιδοί, οὐκέτι τὸ γένος εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀνάγοντες. ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὗς φασι πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Κύναιθος τὸ γένος Χῖος, ὃς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Ὁμήρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γεγραφὼς ὕμνον ἀνατέθεικεν αὐτῶι. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κύναιθος πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐρραψώιδησε τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ξθ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς Ἱππόστρατός φησιν.

'Homeridai' was the name given anciently to the members of Homer's family, who also sang his poetry in succession. But later it was also given to the rhapsodes, who no longer traced their descent back to Homer. Particularly prominent were Cynaethus and his school, who, they say, composed many of the verses and inserted them into Homer's work. This Cynaethus came from a Chian family, and, of the poems that bear Homer's name, it was he who wrote the *Hymn to Apollo* and laid it to his credit. And this Cynaethus was the first to recite Homer's poems at Syracuse, in the 69th Olympiad (=504/1 BCE), as Hippostratus says (*FGrHist* 568 F 5).

The Hippostratus cited as a source (at least for the last statement) was a Hellenistic historian who specialized in Sicilian history. The rather precise date which he gave for Cynaethus' Homeric recitation at Syracuse, if it has any value, might conceivably have been derived from an inscription listing the victors in a competition for

[12] Harpocr. s.v. Ὁμηρίδαι; Acusilaus *FGrHist* 2 F 2; Hellan. 4 F 20; the Crates in question is identified by Jacoby as the Athenian writer on rituals, *FGrHist* 362 F 5. Besides Jacoby's commentaries ad locc. see his important additional note in vol. IIIb (Noten), 407–10. The Seleucus fragment (76 Müller) is overlooked by M. P. Nilsson in his brief treatment of the Chian Dionysia, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906), 306.



rhapsodes, in which Cynaethus appeared as the first entry.[13] It would be a plausible date for the beginning of such a record; a few years earlier the Athenians had begun to keep records of the victors in the competitions for tragedy and dithyramb at the Great Dionysia, and the Gamoroi of Syracuse might have copied the practice from Athens. Against this hypothesis stands the objection of Jacoby that if any such victor lists had existed we ought to have more firm dates for Sicilian poets.[14] Alternatively, Cynaethus' performance may have been associated with some other event that yielded a synchronism with the tyranny of Cleander at Gela, which began in 505. The histories of Gela and Syracuse were soon to be entwined, and there is actually a possible piece of evidence for Cynaethus' presence at Gela: a sixth-century statue base has been found there with the inscription ϙ]υναιθο εμι το α[γαλ]μα το Εποχο, 'I am the s[tat]ue of [C]ynaethus the son of Epochos'. We cannot be sure that it is the same man, but Cynaethus is a rare name.[15]

The statement that Cynaethus wrote the *Hymn to Apollo* and passed it off as Homer's is extraordinarily interesting, and opens the way to further conclusions. The [369] *Hymn to Apollo* as we have it is clearly a composite text, consisting of two separate hymns that have been roughly cobbled together. The first is a hymn to Apollo of Delos, telling the story of his birth on that island and concluding with an evocative picture of the festival there at which people gather from all over Ionia to honour him. The poet says his farewells to Apollo, Artemis, and the chorus-girls of Delos. Then we suddenly find ourselves in a second and longer hymn to Apollo of Delphi, in which it is related how he first came there and established the

[13] G. W. Nitzsch, *De historia Homeri* i (Hanover 1830), 130; id., *Die Sagenpoesie der Griechen* (Braunschweig 1852), 317; T. Bergk, *Griech. Literaturgeschichte* i (Berlin 1872), 546 n. 36; A. Kirchhoff, *SPAW* 1893, 904; W. Schmid, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* I. i (with O. Stählin, Munich 1929), 158; A. Dihle, *Homer-Probleme* (Opladen 1970), 96; W. Burkert in G. W. Bowersock *et al.* (edd.), *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M. W. Knox* (Berlin–New York 1979), 55 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 191. The conversion into an Olympiadic dating would be due to Hippostratus himself after the example of Timaeus; cf. Jacoby (as n. 12), 595. A dating by Olympiads also appears in F 4.

[14] Jacoby (as n. 12), 596.

[15] P. Orlandini, *Kokalos* 3 (1957), 94–6, fig. 22/3; M. Guarducci, *Annuario* 1959/60, 397; *Bull. épigr.* 1962, no. 397; Burkert (as n. 13), 54 f. = *Kl. Schr.* i. 190 f. A. Fick, *Die homerische Odyssee* (Göttingen 1883), 280, sought to find another reference to Cynaethus in Pliny, *NH* 4. 66, *hanc* (Delum) *Aristoteles ita appellatam prodidit quoniam repente apparuerit enata; Aglaosthenes Cynthiam, alii Ortygiam, Asteriam, Lagiam, Chlamydiam, Cynethum Pyrpylen* (*Cynaethus Pyrpolen* Fick) *igne ibi primum reperto.*

Pythian oracle. It has a different geographical perspective from the Delian portion and a measurably different style. The Pythian hymn seems to date from the early part of the sixth century, and the Delian hymn from the latter part; I have argued elsewhere that the Delian hymn was composed with knowledge of the Pythian and was to some extent modelled on it.[16] As for the conflation of the two into one text, Walter Burkert and Richard Janko have independently connected it with the occasion, probably in 523, when Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, celebrated a festival on Delos that was called both Pythian and Delian.[17] That would have been a uniquely suitable moment for the combination of the Delian hymn, which must have been quite a recent poem, with the older Pythian one, and the hypothesis that the combination was made on that occasion has been widely accepted.

What are we to make of the allegation that Cynaethus of Chios wrote 'the *Hymn to Apollo*'? The Delian hymn refers explicitly to a poet from Chios in the famous lines from near the end (166–75), addressed to the Maidens of Delos whose singing had been one of the major events at the festival:

χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι· ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε
μνήσασθ', ὁππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται ξεῖνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθών·
"ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὔμμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν
ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέῳ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;"
ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμως·
"τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίωι ἔνι παιπαλοέσσηι·
τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν ἀοιδαί."
ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμέτερον κλέος οἴσομεν, ὅσσον ἐπ' αἶαν
ἀνθρώπων στρεφόμεσθα πόλις εὖ ναιεταώσας.

[16] *CQ* 25 (1975), 161–70 [=above, Chapter 24]. On p. 168 I suggested that the Delian hymn might be dated between 570 and 547. However, Burkert (as n. 13), 62=*Kl. Schr.* i. 197, has a better argument for a later date: the hymn presupposes that Apollo has a temple on Delos (52, 56, 80), which he does not seem to have done until about 540/30.

[17] Burkert (as n. 13), 59 f.=*Kl. Schr.* i. 194 f.; R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns* (Cambridge 1982), 112 f. Burkert dates the event to (spring) 522, arguing that Polycrates' death followed μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον (Phot. s.v. *Πύθια καὶ Δήλια*; cf. Zen. Ath. 1. 62), and that that was 'late in 522'. But this is incorrect. The account of Polycrates' death in Hdt. 3. 122–5, which is no doubt based on Samian tradition, presupposes that Cambyses was still the King of Persia (122. 3, 126. 1). Cambyses died in the spring or summer of 522. It remains theoretically possible that Polycrates could have celebrated his Delian festival in the spring of 522 and still died before Cambyses, but 523 seems much likelier. So H. W. Parke, *CQ* 40 (1946), 105–8.



Farewell, all of you, and remember me in future,
whenever some long-suffering stranger comes here and asks,
'O Maidens, which is your favourite singer
who visits here? Who do you enjoy most?'
Then you must all answer with one voice(?):
'It's a blind man, who lives in rocky Chios;
all of his songs remain supreme afterwards.'
And we will take your fame wherever we go
as we roam to the well-ordered cities of men.

[170] But who is this blind singer? Is it the sixth-century poet (Cynaethus or whoever) speaking of himself? Thucydides, who quotes the passage (3. 104. 5–6), assumes it to be Homer, and draws attention to the fact that this is a place where Homer mentioned himself. 'All of his songs remain supreme afterwards' (that is, presumably, after he has once sung them): this is a reference to songs that are learned and perpetuated by other singers and acknowledged as the best in the repertory. It certainly looks much more appropriate to Homer than to a new poet, and it must have been generally understood in antiquity to refer to Homer's songs. It would have been strange for Cynaethus to claim that his own songs were supremely famous throughout Greece, when he was remembered only as one who concealed his identity under that of Homer. The picture of the singer who roamed from city to city also suits Homer: this is just how he was imagined by classical writers and in the later *Lives*, which must be based on the stories told about the poet's life by the Homeridai.

But how could the new poet, addressing his Delian audience in the late sixth century, speak as if he were Homer, the famous singer of the past? Evidently he claimed to be reciting *verbatim* a hymn composed by Homer many generations earlier and addressed to an earlier Delian audience. This might not have been very much out of the ordinary by that time. After all, whenever a rhapsode recited Hesiod's *Theogony* or *Works and Days*, the audience must have understood and accepted that the references to 'I' and 'me' meant the original author, Hesiod, and not the rhapsode who was uttering the words. In the same way, we may suppose, the poet of the Delian hymn to Apollo might claim to be singing Homer's hymn, and ask his audience to understand the first-person references as being to Homer, not to himself.

This corresponds closely to what is alleged about Cynaethus in the Pindaric scholion, namely that he composed the *Hymn to Apollo* and

got it accepted as the work of Homer. The emphasis on Homer's being a Chiot is not surprising if the Chian Cynaethus was the poet.

But is the ascription to Cynaethus trustworthy? It was evidently clear to some in antiquity that the attribution to Homer was false, but what basis did they have for identifying the author with the Cynaethus recorded as having recited at Syracuse in the late sixth century? Some scholars have thought that there was no basis and that it was merely a conjecture.[18] Burkert writes,

> in such a case, it was customary for ancient critics to ask for, and to supply, a name of the forger, the 'real' author . . . the search for the 'real' author of the 'spurious' hymn to Apollo would inevitably lead to disreputable Homerids . . . Just because the discovery at Gela gives some background to Kynaithos' career in Sicily, his connection with the hymn to Apollo disappears in the turmoils of ancient literary feuds.

But what made Cynaethus a 'disreputable' Homerid? If he was known for other frauds, as the Pindaric scholion suggests, is it not all the more likely that he, as a prominent Chian poet-rhapsode active in the late sixth century, was indeed implicated in the matter of the Apollo hymn? Since his date was known, whoever made that accusation must have believed that the composite hymn was a product of the late sixth century (if not the early fifth); and as that appears to be a correct dating, we may suspect that some memory remained of the circumstances in which the hymn had been presented to the assembled Ionians. Even if its ascription to Cynaethus was [371] based only on a guess, it would seem to have been a very shrewd guess. I am prepared to accept the ascription and go on using his name, not in easy certainty but in the confidence that he is an altogether more palpable reality than Homer.

The conclusion that he was deliberately claiming Homer's authorship for his own hymn helps to account for a suspicious feature about the 'blind' poet who is supposed to be the author. Twenty lines before the reference to the blind man of Chios, the poet has enthused about what a wonderful *spectacle* the Delian festival is (151–5):

> φαίη κ' ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως ἔμμεναι αἰεί,
> ὅς τότ' ἐπαντιάσει', ὅτ' Ἴάονες ἀθρόοι εἶεν·
> πάντων γάρ κεν ἴδοιτο χάριν, τέρψαιτο δὲ θυμόν
> ἄνδρας τ' εἰσορόων καλλιζώνους τε γυναῖκας
> νῆάς τ' ὠκείας ἠδ' αὐτῶν κτήματα πολλά.

[18] Kirchhoff (as n. 13); Burkert (as n. 13), 57 f. = *Kl. Schr.* i. 193.



> Anyone coming when the Ionians were all here
> would think they were the unaging immortals
> as he saw the beauty of it all, delighting his heart
> at the sight of the men and the fair-girdled women,
> the swift ships, and all the people's belongings.

It would hardly have occurred to a blind man to comment on the festival in those terms (it was not a traditional motif), and yet the lines were surely inspired by the very festival at which they were recited. The inference is that Cynaethus himself was not blind, and his audience could see that he was not. This confirms that they were being asked to accept the hymn as the words of another poet—Homer.[19] The belief that Homer was blind did not arise from the subsequent ascription of the hymn to him: it was already the doctrine of the hymn's author.

Again according to the Pindaric scholiast, Cynaethus was the chief among those later Homeridai who foisted much of their own work on Homer and who no longer claimed to be actually descended from Homer. But these were the earliest Homeridai about whom there was any definite information. There can be no question of the ancients' having had records of Homeridai from an earlier period when they all were of the true blood. So the statement that they had originally been a clan cannot have had any other basis than what the later Homeridai claimed. These Homeridai were a guild of poets who did not in fact belong to one family and could not pretend to. On the other hand, their title 'Homeridai' sounded as if it meant the descendants of Homer. So they told the story that the Homeridai had originally been one clan but had subsequently admitted others who were not related. This is a most unlikely thing for a true clan to do. Why should a family so proud of their descent from Homer as to call themselves the Homeridai (only very special families were labelled by means of this suffix) have allowed others to assume the title and so rob it of its meaning? Detlev Fehling has pointed out that there is no analogy either for a genetic clan that maintained the profession of its ancestor or for one that turned into a supra-regional professional organization.[20]

[19] Cf. W. Burkert in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his World* (Malibu 1987), 55 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 214.

[20] *Rh. Mus.* 122 (1979), 197. Fehling argues bizarrely that the Homeridai did not exist at all, but were a fantasy developed from Pindar's poetic use of the word for rhapsodes.

There are other weaknesses in the claim to lineal descent from Homer. If it had been true, the family ought to have been able to name the poet's descendants in each generation and provide details of the genealogy. But while several historians offered a [372] list of Homer's ancestors, going back to Orpheus or Apollo, there is no trace of any genealogy of his descendants down to classical times.[21] Indeed, according to the principal Life of Homer, the pseudo-Herodotean one, the poet had two daughters but no son: a poor basis for a genetic line of Homeridai.[22]

The position we have reached is as follows. In the second half of the sixth century there existed a company of rhapsodes called Homeridai, of whom Cynaethus of Chios was a prominent member. They believed that they had their name from a great, blind poet of the past called Homer, though they could not collectively claim to be descended from him. They celebrated him as the author of all the poems in their repertoire, and even passed off new poems on the public as his. They were concerned to magnify his fame, and they claimed to be able to relate episodes from his life.

In 523 Polycrates celebrated a Delian and Pythian festival on Delos. For this occasion Cynaethus' recent hymn to Delian Apollo (supposedly Homer's hymn) was combined with the older hymn to Pythian Apollo which Cynaethus knew and had imitated in composing the Delian hymn. Cynaethus himself is the obvious person to have performed this editorial operation and presented the result at the festival.

Polycrates died not long afterwards. At least one poet from his circle, Anacreon, subsequently found patronage at Athens with Hipparchus (who is said to have sent a ship to fetch him). Did Cynaethus too go to Athens? There is no direct evidence. But it was Hipparchus, apparently, who established at Athens the custom of reciting the entire *Iliad* and *Odyssey* at the Great Panathenaea, with teams of rhapsodes taking turns to work through the poems over the four days of the festival. These two epics must have been chosen as

[21] The various genealogies of Homer are conveniently tabulated by T. W. Allen, *Homer: The Origins and the Transmission* (Oxford 1924), facing p. 32. A late genealogy of Terpander that makes him Homer's great-great-grandson (*Suda* τ 354 s.v. *Τέρπανδρος*=Terpander test. 24 Gostoli) is not relevant to the Homeridai's claims to be descended from the poet.

[22] Jacoby (as n. 12), 408 f., demolishing the amateurish romancings of H. T. Wade-Gery in *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge 1952). [Homer is given two sons in *Vita* 6. 5.]



being the two pre-eminent works of Homer, and advertised accordingly. We can hardly doubt that those who took this step did so under the influence of the Homeridai and their claims.[23] A few years later Cynaethus turns up again at Syracuse, as the first who recited 'the poems of Homer' in that city.

## 'HOMER': A FICTITIOUS PERSON

We began with what seemed to be a unanimous ancient tradition that Homer was the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It now appears that that broad stream of tradition can be traced back to a single narrow source: the claims of a society of 'Homeridai' in the late sixth century. We have already found those claims implausible in part, inasmuch as the two epics do not seem (to most of us) to be the work of the same poet; and we have seen that at least some of these Homeridai were unscrupulous forgers, willing to attach Homer's name to poems that they knew were not his because they had composed them themselves.

There is other evidence for literary forgery in the names of legendary poets of the past at just this period and in just these milieux. Pythagoras, who began his career in Polycrates' Samos, started (or was among the first to adopt) the practice of composing [373] poems under the name of Orpheus.[24] The *χρησμολόγος*, the collector of oracles attributed to old prophets such as Bakis or the Sibyl, is first heard of under Pisistratus (who himself acquired the nickname Bakis).[25] A protégé of Hipparchus', Onomacritus, undertook the collection and edition of the oracles of Musaeus; he was caught forging them and left Athens in disgrace.[26]

[23] It was no doubt the Panathenaic canonization of these two poems that led over time to their being regarded as the only epics that were truly by Homer. 'Um 500 sind alle gedichte von Homer; um 350 sind von Homer im wesentlichen nur noch Ilias und Odyssee' (Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Berlin 1884), 353, after a survey of the evidence).

[24] M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983), 7–20, 108–11. The first extant mention of Orpheus in literature comes from Ibycus, another poet at Polycrates' court.

[25] Hdt. 1. 62. 4; sch. Ar. *Pac.* 1071.

[26] Hdt. 7. 6. 3. In the Homeric scholia he is also accused of having interpolated *Od.* 11. 602–4, and elsewhere he is regarded as a forger of Orphic poems (West (as n. 24), 40).

What if Homer should be as fabulous a figure as Orpheus and Musaeus? We have not yet found any particular reason to doubt that this name which the Homeridai touted about was the name of a real epic poet of the past, except that it is an odd name for anybody. What we must do next is examine the relationship between the name Homer and the name Homeridai; for clearly there must be a relationship, and on the nature of this relationship will depend the existence of Homer.

There are three logical possibilities:

1. that there was once a poet called Homer, and the Homeridai were named after him;
2. that there was no original Homer, the Homeridai were not named after a person, but, not knowing any better, they invented a Homer as their ancestor or founder;
3. that there was a Homer, but the Homeridai were not named after him, and came to think they were as a result of some confusion.

The third alternative is really too unlikely to be worth considering. It would mean that an organization which originally had nothing to do with the poet Homer developed into one which was totally devoted to him, because of the similarity of name; as if Lincoln College should develop into a society for the study of Abraham Lincoln.

On the first hypothesis, that there was once a poet called Homer, and the Homeridai were named after him, we should expect them to be his descendants, because that is the normal meaning of -ίδαι when it is added to a person's name. The Homeridai themselves thought this ought to be the case; only they knew that they were not the common descendants of anybody. They gave the explanation that the name had at some previous time meant 'the descendants of Homer', and had then come to mean 'the school of Homer'.

In fact we have no real evidence for a *family* called the Homeridai at any historical period, because, by the time the Homeridai come into view in the latter part of the sixth century, the earlier existence of a family is part of their mythology and quite unverifiable. They had their reasons for inventing it and an original Homer from whom it had descended.

This leaves us with the second of our three alternatives, namely that the Homeridai were not named after a person at all. This is a perfectly valid possibility, because the suffix -ίδαι was in origin not



specifically patronymic. There are many collective names with this ending that do not denote a relationship to an individual. Aristophanes refers to the mutilators of the Hermai as the Hermokopidai, or 'Herm-chop-idai'; there is no question here of a family, or of descendants or followers of a man called Hermokopos.

These collective names in -ίδαι (or -άδαι, or -ιάδαι) are characteristic of professional groups or of those who perform some traditional role in ceremonies. [374] Sometimes they came to be interpreted in terms of genetic descent, and a fictitious ancestor was created. For example, there was the medical guild of the Asklepiadai in Cos, who claimed descent from the god or hero Asklepios and were able to enumerate nineteen generations of healers from Asklepios to Hippocrates.[27] In Crete there were singers called ἀμήτορες or ἀμητορίδαι, who sang love songs to the lyre, and they were supposed to be descended from one Ametor, who invented this type of song.[28] In the Eleusinian Mysteries the cantor-hierophants had the hereditary title of Eumolpidai, which means no more than Master Cantors; but they claimed to be descended from a legendary ancestor Eumolpos, who appears in the *Hymn to Demeter* as one of the rulers of Eleusis to whom the goddess revealed the Mysteries. Similarly the heralds or marshals at Eleusis, the Kerykes or Kerykidai, whose office was a hereditary privilege, traced their descent to a legendary person called Marshal (Keryx).

We see that it would be quite normal for a professional body called (for whatever reason) the Homeridai to invent an ancestor Homeros, and to say that they had inherited their name, their functions, and their properties—their poems—from him. That is what they must have done, seeing that they were not in fact a family. When the Pindar scholiast says that the first Homeridai, Homer's descendants, sang his poems in succession (ἐκ διαδοχῆς), that is, from generation to generation, this reflects the claim made by the later Homeridai, that the poems had been transmitted to them by descent through the family. If they said that Homer was blind, that was because many of them were: minstrelsy is a favoured occupation for the blind in many societies.

[27] Soranus, *Vita Hippocratis* 1; cf. Jacoby on Pherecydes 3 F 59; L. Edelstein, *RE* Supp. vi. 1295. [On these professional patronymics cf. F. Càssola, *Inni Omerici* (Milan 1975), xxix f.]

[28] Ath. 638b; Hsch. s.v. ἀμητορίδας; *Et. Magn.* 83. 15; O. Crusius, *RE* i. 1828 f.

## THE MEANING OF THE NAME HOMERIDAI

The question remains, how is the name Homeridai to be accounted for, if not from a man called Homeros? We are not in a position to answer this with certainty, any more than we can explain why an individual might be given the name of Homeros. But several possibilities can be suggested.

The stem *ὁμηρ-* has several possible connotations in Greek.[29] A verb *ὁμηρεῖν* occurs in the *Odyssey* in the sense 'meet up with' someone. This is a special application of the basic sense of the roots, *ὁμ-* + *ἀρ-*, 'fit together, come into union'.[30] Another application appears in Hesiod's use of the verb with reference to singing. He describes the Muses singing before Zeus on Olympus and delighting his great mind as they tell of what is and what shall be and what was aforetime, *φωνῇ ὁμηρέουσαι*, which I take to mean 'with voices in unison', fitting together so that no gap is apparent between them.[31] If *ὁμηρεῖν* was an ideal aimed at by singers, might the *Ὁμηρίδαι* have been the 'All-in-tunesters'? There is an easy objection: that might be an appropriate name for a [375] choir, or a league of choirs, but the Homeridai were rhapsodes who performed solo and did not have to be in tune with anything but their own lyre (if they had one). The *ὁμ-* element therefore seems to have no reference.

The most familiar sense of the *ὁμηρ-* stem is 'hostage'. What have hostages to do with epic singers? The only perceptible connection is the one contained in the aforementioned claim of Seleucus, that the Homeridai were not named after Homer (as most people assumed) but were the descendants of certain young men and women who were given to each other in marriage as 'hostages' in a sex war, in the

[29] I will pass over a possible explanation from West Semitic which I have put forward elsewhere (*The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 622 f.) and which is too adventurous to justify a second airing.

[30] *Od.* 16. 468. Cf. *συμβάλλομαι*, which can also mean 'meet, encounter'. *ὅμηρα* 'hostage' is similarly analogous to *σύμβολον*, a token exchanged by way of a compact. For the semantic development cf. Durante (as n. 4), 190 f.

[31] Hes. *Th.* 39. In my commentary I compared *Hymn. Ap.* 164 *οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν ἀοιδή*, and referred to the musical sense of *ἁρμονία*, 'tuning, attunement'. Gregory Nagy, who also regards *Ὅμηρος* as a mythical, prototypical author, interprets the name as 'he who fits [the Song] together': *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore 1979), 296–300; *Pindar's Homer* (Baltimore 1990), 373; *Homeric Questions* (Austin, Tex. 1996), 89–91; *Poetry as Performance* (Cambridge 1996), 74–5. It is not clear to me whether he regards the Homeridai as prior.



context of a Dionysus festival on Chios.[32] This looks like something more than mere invention. It looks like a myth designed to explain a Chian ritual, perhaps one involving transvestism and/or sexual licence, in which certain participants were called *ὅμηροι* or *ὁμηρίδαι*.[33] This may seem promising; only it is hard to see why it should lead to rhapsodes being given this name, even if they were regular performers at the festival in question.

Some light, however, may be thrown by a theory argued with great learning by Marcello Durante in what seems to be a little-known paper.[34] He referred to the sacred grove *Ὁμάριον* or *Ἀμάριον* near Helice in Achaea, and to its patron deity *Ζεὺς Ὁμάριος*. This was where the Achaean Confederacy held its common assemblies.[35] The name itself means the Place of Union; in Roman times it was replaced by the more perspicuous *Ὁμαγύριον*, the place of *ὁμήγυρις* or *πανήγυρις*.[36] The assembly of the whole people for a common festival at one centre, Durante argued, was the natural place for displays by rhapsodes and competitions between them, as is illustrated by the Panionian festival on Delos, and subsequently by the Panathenaea at Athens.

Philological investigation strengthens the argument. *Ὁμάριον* and *Ζεὺς Ὁμάριος* seem to presuppose an old word for assembly,

[32] Above, p. 367 with n. 12.

[33] Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916), 366 (cf. Jacoby (as n. 12), 410), thought that they were called *ὅμηροι*, not in the sense of 'hostages' but of 'followers, attendants'; Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 300) said that *ὁμηρεῖν* was an old word for 'follow', and derived the 'hostage' sense from this. (Cf. Hsch. o 714 *ὁμηρεῖ· ἐγγυᾶται, ἀκολουθεῖ*, and 717 *ὁμηρητῆρες· ἀκόλουθοι, συνήγοροι.*) Aristotle (fr. 76), in a complicated story about Homer's birth and childhood, related that he had at first been called Melesigenes, but his name was changed to Homer when the Lydians were abandoning Smyrna to the Greeks, the inhabitants were invited to follow them out of the city, and he said he wanted to *ὁμηρεῖν*, using this word for 'follow'.

[34] 'Il nome di Omero', *Rendic. morali dell'Accad. dei Lincei* 1957, ser. 8 vol. 12 fasc. 1–2, 94–111, repeated with slight modifications in *Sulla preistoria* . . . (as n. 4), 185–203.

[35] Polyb. 5. 93. 10; Strab. 8. 7. 3 *εἴκοσι μὲν ἔτη διετέλεσαν γραμματέα κοινὸν ἔχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὺς δύο κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ Ἀχαιοί, καὶ κοινοβούλιον εἰς ἕνα τόπον συνήγετο αὐτοῖς, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀμάριον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ κοινὰ ἐχρημάτιζον* and 8. 7. 5. The *Ὁμάριον* established in Calabria in the fifth century by the Achaean colonies Croton, Sybaris, and Caulonia had the same role: *κοινὸν ἱερὸν καὶ τόπον ἐν ᾧ τάς τε συνόδους καὶ τὰ διαβούλια συνετέλουν* (Polyb. 2. 39. 6).

[36] Paus. 7. 24. 2, who relates the legend that Agamemnon convened the Greek leaders there before they set out against Troy.

*ὅμᾱρος* or *ὅμᾱρις*. A parallel word in Vedic Sanskrit formed from the same elements, *sam-aryám*, is used in the context of festive gatherings and in some passages, at least, refers to the priest-poets' 'meeting' in poetic competition. *ὅμᾱρος* or *ὅμᾱρις* may therefore have been an ancient word in Greek for an assembly of the people with which poetic contests were associated, a sort of eisteddfod. The poets might appropriately have come to be called *ὁμάριοι*, or collectively *Ὁμαρίδαι*, in Ionic form *Ὁμηρίδαι*. The institution would presumably go back to the time of Graeco-Aryan unity, sometime before 2000 BCE, though the creation of an eponymous poet 'Homer' need not antedate the first millennium. Durante [376] refers finally to the legendary poet Thamyris or Thamyras, whose name is evidently related to the old Aeolic word *θάμυρις* meaning 'assembly, gathering of the people'.[37] He suggests the possibility that Thamyris' name was derived from a collectivity, the Thamyridai or Thamyradai, parallel to the Homeridai from whom Homer's name was derived.

Durante's theory may fall short of certainty, but it is the best and most coherent that has been offered. What should no longer be in doubt is that however the Homeridai got their name, Homer got his from them and not vice versa.

To put the argument in a nutshell: if Homer had been a real person, we could not account for the Homeridai, who were not of one family. Their existence refutes his.

## HOMER FINALLY MAKES IT BIG

In the remainder of the paper I shall try to trace the elaboration of the fiction, the process which provided Homer with a biography (like Lieutenant Kije) and set him up as an object of universal admiration.

The process reached its culmination in the late sixth century, but the Homeridai may have attributed their repertoire to 'Homer' for many generations before that. There are four references or apparent

[37] Hsch. *θ* 90 *θάμυρις· πανήγυρις, σύνοδος* ... 91 *θαμυρίζει· ἀθροίζει, συνάγει*. In a fourth-century inscription from Thespiae two men are named as *θαμυρίδδοντες*, evidently some kind of official role (*SEG* 32. 503; cf. P. Roesch, *Études béotiennes* (Paris 1982), 138–42, who interprets as 'célébrer le culte de Thamyris').



references to Homer that have been thought to date from the eighth or seventh century, though only one of them has a good chance of actually doing so:

1. Philochorus quoted three verses, allegedly by Hesiod (fr. dub. 357 M–W), in which the poet recalled that

> *ἐν Δήλωι τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀοιδοί*
> *μέλπομεν, ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ἀοιδήν,*
> *Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον, ὃν τέκε Λητώ.*
>
> That was the first time, in Delos, when I and Homer
> sang, stitching our song in new hymns,
> of Phoebus Apollo of the gold sword, the son of Leto.

Very few scholars have ever seen this as anything other than a forgery, based on the sophistic fable of a contest between Homer and Hesiod, though with the venue on Delos instead of at Chalcis as in the *Certamen*. ('That was the first time' may imply that they were to meet again at Chalcis.[38]) A forgery it certainly is; and the reference to a hymn to Apollo composed by Homer on Delos shows that the forger had a particular interest in the claims of Cynaethus. His purpose may have been to counter the critics who accused Cynaethus of having forged the Delian hymn: here, in these alleged verses of Hesiod, was independent testimony from a contemporary that Homer had composed a hymn to Apollo on Delos.[39]

2. A Byzantine commentator on Aristotle names Archilochus (fr. 304 W.) among others (Aristotle, Cratinus, Callimachus) as having referred to the *Margites* and [377] provided evidence for its being the work of Homer. We may be sure that Archilochus did not cite that or any other poem by title, and even if he alluded to the famous idiot Margites, we may be *almost* sure that he did not adduce a poet's name in connection with him. Probably the statement is based only on the fact that the proverbial line *πόλλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ, ἀλλ' ἐχῖνος ἓν μέγα* appeared both in Archilochus (fr. 201) and (from Archilochus?) in the *Margites*. Someone may have taken this as

[38] O. Crusius, *Phil.* 54 (1895), 717, 'mit *τότε πρῶτον* soll wahrscheinlich der Agon in Chalkis übertrumpft werden'.

[39] Janko (as n. 17), 113 f. and 259–61, suggests that Cynaethus himself produced the verses to validate the performance of a 'Hesiodic' together with the 'Homeric' hymn, *sc.* the Pythian beside the Delian.

evidence that Archilochus knew the *Margites*, which was therefore by the older poet, Homer, as commonly claimed.

3. Stobaeus preserves under the heading Σιμωνίδου an elegiac fragment in which a line of the *Iliad* (6. 146) is quoted as the work of a Χῖος ἀνήρ (*sc.* Homer). This has often been supposed to be from Semonides of Amorgos in the mid seventh century. But a papyrus discovery has confirmed that it stood in the elegies of Simonides of Ceos (fr. 19 W.²).

4. Pausanias (9. 9. 5), after mentioning the epic *Thebaid*, writes

τὰ δὲ ἔπη ταῦτα †Καλαῖνος, ἀφικόμενος αὐτῶν ἐς μνήμην, ἔφησεν Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι. †Καλαίνωι δὲ πολλοί τε καὶ ἄξιοι λόγου κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἔγνωσαν.

Kalainos, coming to speak of this epic, said that it was by Homer; and Kalainos' opinion has been supported by many notable authorities.

'Kalainos' is an unknown name, and ever since Sylburg (1583) it has been emended to that of the seventh-century elegist Callinus (fr. 6 W). This is very probably right; the context suggests an early author, and early poets are the sort of source that Pausanias likes quoting. (He does not cite Callinus elsewhere, but he does cite Tyrtaeus.) However, Callinus cannot have said anything like 'in the *Thebaid*, which Homer composed'. Presumably he referred to the story of the Theban War, and mentioned 'Homer' as the poet who told of it. But it is highly unlikely that he would have seen fit to name a contemporary or recent singer, however outstanding. If he named Homer, it will have been as the legendary poet reputed to be the source of epic narrative in general; as if he had said, 'as we hear from ancient tradition'. The inference would be that the Homeridai of Callinus' time already attributed their poetry to their imaginary eponym 'Homer'.

This mention of Homer remains isolated. For the rest, poets in the seventh century and the first half of the sixth show a lively interest in the subject matter of the various epics, but none at all in the poet or poets who gave shape to them. Hesiod speaks of the Theban and Trojan Wars, of the exploits of Heracles, and of the gathering of the Achaeans at Aulis. Tyrtaeus refers to Tithonus, Pelops, Adrastus. Mimnermus too knows about Tithonus, as well as Neleus' Pylos, the Argonauts, Niobe, Tydeus. There are mentions in Alcman of Ajax and Memnon, Priam and Paris, Odysseus and Circe. Sappho and Alcaeus are full of Helen, Hector, Achilles, the Locrian Ajax.



Stesichorus retells whole epics in lyric form. But in all this, no allusion to the poet Homer. This can hardly be a mere accident of preservation.[40]

From the last third of the sixth century the picture is strikingly different. Homer springs into life. Author after author names him and comments on his achievements. The epics are no longer treated as free-standing records of the past but as the artistic creations of an individual, to be praised or criticized. Cynaethus in the Delian hymn [378] tells his audience of the blind poet of Chios who wandered from city to city, and whose songs constitute a matchless legacy. Theagenes of Rhegium at the same period is said to have written the first book about Homer.[41] Xenophanes criticizes Homer and Hesiod for promulgating false and pernicious ideas about the gods, and in another verse he speaks of everyone having learned from the beginning according to Homer, as if Homer—so named—was already regarded as the basis of education.[42] Heraclitus too criticized Homer, saying that he deserved to be driven out of the ἀγῶνες and whipped. He referred to Homer's reputation as the wisest of men, and to the story about how he was defeated by the fisherboys' riddle. He is also reported to have cited verses from the *Iliad* as evidence that Homer was an ἀστρολόγος.[43] Simonides shows enormous admiration for Homer's achievement. In the proemium of his recently discovered Plataea elegy he writes of the Danaans who fought at Troy,

οἷσιν ἐπ' ἀθά|νατον κέχυται κλέος ἀν[δρὸς] ἔκητι
ὃς παρ' ἰοπ]λοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ[ων
πᾶσαν ἀλη]θείην, καὶ ἐπώνυμον ὁπ[λοτέρ]οισιν
ποίησ' ἡμ]ιθέων ὠκύμορον γενεή[ν.

[40] When Herodotus (5. 67. 1) says that Cleisthenes of Sicyon stopped the rhapsodes from reciting 'Homeric' poetry, or when Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1375b30) says that the Athenians used 'Homer' as evidence in support of their claim to Salamis about 600 BCE, it is unsafe to infer that the name Homer was actually used at the time of those events. Cf. Burkert (as n. 19), 44 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 200.

[41] Tatian, *Ad Graecos* 31 (=DK 8. 1), names Theagenes with others under the heading of those who have inquired about Homer's poetry, his ancestry, and his date, but this need not mean that each writer in the list treated all those topics. Theagenes' main concern was apparently to justify Homer's theology by means of allegorical interpretation.

[42] Xenoph. DK 21 B 11; 10 ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον(,) ἐπεὶ μεμαθήκασι πάντες (cf. Burkert (as n. 19), 45 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 200). This might, of course, have been written as late as the 470s.

[43] Heraclitus, DK 22 B 42, 56, 105.

[And they] are bathed in fame that cannot die, by grace
[of one who from the dark-]tressed Muses had
the tru[th entire,] and made the heroes' short-lived race
a theme familiar to younger men.

In another elegy he quotes the 'finest single thing' that the man from Chios said, and he may have hailed him as one whom all-conquering Time had spared. In a lyric poem, referring to Meleager's victory with the javelin at the funeral games for Pelias, Simonides adds Homer's name as a warranty of truth: 'for so Homer and Stesichorus have sung to the peoples.'[44] In a similar spirit, an epigram inscribed on a Herm in the Athenian Agora following the capture of Eïon in 475 recalled that the Atreidai were accompanied to Troy by an Athenian leader, Menestheus,

ὅν ποθ' Ὅμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα θωρηκτάων
κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ὄντα μολεῖν.

whom Homer once pronounced, of all the Danaans,
the outstanding arrayer of the battle-line.[45]

Pindar refers to Homer a number of times. Like Heraclitus, he was familiar with stories about Homer's life. He allowed him to be both a Chiot and a Smyrnaean, and mentioned his daughter's marriage to the Cypriot Stasinus, who got the *Cypria* as dowry. He quotes a maxim from τὰ Ὁμήρου; he notes that the fame of the heroes of old is dependent on the accounts of skilled poets, and that the charm and the soaring [379] grandeur of Homer's verses probably mislead us about what actually happened.[46] Bacchylides too is cited as a witness to Homer's birthplace: he endorsed the claims of Ios.[47] Herodotus thinks that Oceanus is a poetic fiction due to 'Homer, or one of his predecessors'; he has views on the date of Hesiod and Homer, and holds these two responsible for formulating the conventional notions of the gods; he argues that Homer knew the story of Helen in Egypt, but deliberately excluded it; he exercises himself about whether

[44] Simon. eleg. 11. 15–18; 19. 1–2; 20. 13–15; *PMG* 564. Note also the apophthegm about Hesiod and Homer attributed to Simonides in Gnom. Vat. 1144 (*FGrHist* 8 F 6; D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric*, iii. (Cambridge, Mass.–London) 366).

[45] Aeschin. *Ctes.* 183; Plut. *Cimon* 7. 6; D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge 1981), 257, lines 841–2 (cf. Hdt. 7. 161. 3).

[46] Pind. frr. 264, 265; *Pyth.* 4. 277; 3. 112–15; *Nem.* 7. 20–3; *Isth.* 4. 37–41; cf. fr. (anon.) 347. Homeric tradition as the τριπτὸς ἀμαξιτός: *Pae.* 7b. 11.

[47] Bacchyl. fr. 48.



Homer composed the *Cypria* and *Epigonoi* as well as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[48]

It is unnecessary to go further. The point has been sufficiently established: from the time of Cynaethus onwards, Homer becomes an object of historical curiosity, literary criticism, and biographical romance, and the almost complete absence of reference to him in the preceding 150 years rapidly gives way to a great abundance of reference. Homer had been invented long before as the eponym of the Homeridai, but now he was invented again as a figure of real flesh and blood and intellect. It was probably at this period that he became established as a school text, as the author that every gentleman's son would most benefit from studying.[49]

## A TIME OF TRANSITION

To say 'from the time of Cynaethus onwards' is not to say that Cynaethus was personally responsible for the whole phenomenon, though he does seem to have made a significant contribution to it. Other factors were at work.

Firstly, this was a time when Greek poetry as a whole was undergoing a revolution, the biggest in its history: the transition from Archaic to Classical. The unselfconscious traditional style was breaking down and being displaced by the more concentrated and intricate manner, the tendency to complexity and artificiality of thought and diction, that was to be characteristic of the fifth century. One sees the change in all genres: in the lyric poetry of Simonides, Lasus, and Pratinas, in the elegies of Simonides and Dionysius Chalcus, in the inscribed epigram, in the hexameters of Parmenides, Empedocles, and Panyassis, and in the new genre of tragedy. Lyric metres and music in general became more complex and innovatory. There was a more intellectual and analytical approach to the arts, and a new emphasis on individual creativity. This brought with it an interest in literary history, in defining and assessing the achievements of past poets and musicians and contrasting the old with the new. The lively interest in Homer fits squarely into this context, but there

[48] Hdt. 2. 23, 53, 116–17; 4. 32.

[49] On this development see Burkert (as n. 19), 56 f. = *Kl. Schr.* i. 216.

was interest in others too. Xenophanes criticizes Hesiod as well as Homer; so does Heraclitus, who also condemns Archilochus. Simonides names Stesichorus as a classic beside Homer, and takes sayings of Hesiod, Pittacus, and Cleobulus as texts for discursive philosophical comment. Lasus wrote the first book on Music; we know little about its contents, which will have been in part theoretical, but it is tempting to suppose that he gave some account of famous musicians of the past such as Olympus and Terpander. Pratinas certainly had views about them: he identified two different Olympoi, the younger of whom invented the πολυκέφαλος νόμος, he referred to Xenodamus as a poet of hyporchemata, and he told the story of how Thaletas ended a plague at Sparta by means of his music. Epicharmus named Aristoxenus of Selinus as the first [380] to introduce a certain type of iambus. Pindar frequently refers to older poets and musicians, quoting from them, making literary criticism, commenting on their inventions, or alluding to stories about their lives: he touched on Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Alcman(?), Olympus, Terpander, Polymnestus, Sacadas, and by implication Xenocritus and Arion.[50]

With this interest in reconstructing literary history there went a certain amount of pseudepigraphy. Books became more fascinating and authoritative if they could be represented as the work of a great name from the past. I have already mentioned the production of poems under the names of Orpheus and Musaeus. It was certainly in the sixth century, and perhaps between 540 and 520, that an Athenian poet (as I believe) compiled the *Catalogue of Women* and attached it to Hesiod's *Theogony*, as if it were all Hesiodic, as Hecataeus already seems to have thought.[51] The Homeridai claimed Homer as the author of all their poems, not just of texts such as the *Iliad* which they had acquired in book form and reproduced more or less without change, but also of new compositions such as the Delian hymn.

There are signs, too, that they made efforts to appropriate for Homer certain poems with which other authors' names were

[50] Xenophanes, Heraclitus, see above; Simonides, *PMG* 542, 579, 581; Pratinas, *PMG* 713; Epicharmus fr. 77 K–A (*IEG* ii. 45); Pindar, see references collected in my *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992), 345 n. 73. If we can trust the Peripatetic Megaclides, Stesichorus had already mentioned older poets by name: Xanthus (*PMGF* 229); Hesiod (*PMGF* 269). Cf. R. Janko, *CQ* 36 (1986), 41 f.

[51] M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985), 136 f.



associated. Hence the stories in the Lives that Homer 'gave' the *Cypria* to Stasinus as his daughter's dowry, that he gave the *Capture of Oichalia* to Creophylus of Samos in return for his hospitality, and that Thestorides of Phocaea wrote down the *Phocais* and other poems at Homer's dictation and then passed them off as his own. Hence too, perhaps, the tale that Homer composed the *Odyssey* at a time when his name was not yet Homer but Melesigenes.[52]

## FROM IONIA TO ATHENS

The developments I have described can be placed in time: they belong, roughly speaking, to the last third of the sixth century. Can we also plot them on the map?

By 520 or 510 Athens is clearly the focal point. Here a comprehensive *Hesiodus auctus* was in circulation; here Onomacritus was editing the Oracles of Musaeus; here Lasus the musicologist was active, reforming the dithyramb and nailing Onomacritus' forgery; here, as nowhere else, one could hear 'the Poems of Homer' (the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) recited from beginning to end in all their splendour.

But this was an Athens newly stimulated by impulses from outside, especially from Ionia. Ionian poets such as Anacreon and Simonides were there, enjoying Hipparchus' patronage; Anacreon became the centre of a set that rejoiced in a foppish type of Ionian couture, wearing long feminine chitons, turbans, and ear-rings, and promenading under parasols.[53] In the official recognition and glorification of Homer at the Panathenaea we cannot but see the influence of the Ionian Homeridai—and very possibly of Cynaethus himself, the Chiot who presented 'Homer's' *Hymn to Apollo* with such éclat on Delos.

[381] The great Delian festival of 523 was organized by Polycrates of Samos, whose court had been the great centre of poetic patronage in the years immediately before. Polycrates and Pisistratus are the two

[52] Cf. Wilamowitz (as n. 33), 370 f., 375 f., 439; F. Marx, *Rh. Mus.* 74 (1925), 406–8, 417.

[53] West (as n. 50), 348. Anacreon may have introduced the barbitos to Athens (ibid. 58). I suspect he may also have brought knowledge of the Lesbian poets, with whom acquaintance is shown from early in the fifth century (e.g. *PMG* 891).

earliest Greeks to have a reputation as book-collectors.[54] It was in Polycrates' Samos that Pythagoras started his career, Pythagoras whom Heraclitus describes as having made 'selections' from a body of writings, and who is implicated in the beginnings of 'Orphic' literature.[55] There, as with 'Homer', we see the re-invention of an ancient poet and the propagation of new compositions under his name.

Samos was also the home of a guild of rhapsodes called the *Κρεωφύλειοι*, one of whom, Hermodamas, is said to have taught the young Pythagoras.[56] Just as the Homeridai claimed to have been the descendants of a certain Homer, so the Creophylei claimed to be descended from a poet Creophylus.[57] According to the biographical tradition about Homer he was entertained by Creophylus (on Ios, say some), and he rewarded him with the gift of a poem, the *Capture of Oichalia*, which thereafter bore Creophylus' name.[58] Samos, therefore, lay within the purview of the Homer legend as developed (probably already before 500) by the Homeridai. They claimed as Homer's a poem which the Samians claimed as Creophylus'.[59]

In the pseudo-Herodotean Life, while there is no mention of Creophylus, several pages are devoted to Homer's sojourn on Samos, where he composes four of the occasional poems (the 'Epigrams') that are scattered through the work; the section makes detailed allusion to Samian cults and institutions. We cannot tell whether any of this goes back to the sixth-century Homerid legend. We know of a fifth-century Samian historian, Euagon, who wrote about Homer (naming his parents) and who also related the story of Aesop, with

[54] Ath. 3a, Gell. 7. 17. 1; cf. A. Aloni, *L'aedo e i tiranni* (Rome 1989), 121 f. We hear of a *γραμματιστής* called Maeandrius who held a position of trust with Polycrates, Hdt. 3. 123. 1.

[55] Heraclitus, DK 22 B 129; cf. West (as n. 24), 8 f.

[56] Neanthes, *FGrHist* 84 F 29; cf. Burkert (as n. 6), 77 f. = *Kl. Schr.* i. 141 f.

[57] A risible name in Plato's opinion (*Rep.* 600b), though attested as that of an Ephesian historian (*FGrHist* 417). Burkert (as n. 6), 78 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 142, observes that the termination *-ειοι* was typical of hetairiai, clubs, political parties, philosophical schools, and the like, whereas as a patronymic it would be archaic or Aeolic.

[58] Plato loc. cit., Call. *Epigr.* 6 Pf., *Certamen* 18, Procl. *Vit. Hom.* 5, etc.; cf. Burkert (as n. 6), 76 n. 10 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 140.

[59] Another area of rivalry between the two parties appears in the legend about Lycurgus' reception of the Homeric poems in Sparta. Ephorus (70 F 149 §19) had Lycurgus meet Homer in Chios, whereas Heraclides Lembus (after Aristotle, fr. 611. 10) said that he got the poems from Creophylus' descendants. Cf. Burkert (as n. 6), 77 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 141; Càssola (as n. 27), xxxvii.



which Homer's biography has certain points of contact.[60] He may have been the source for much of what we hear about Homer in Samos.

It was at the Pythian–Delian festival of 523, it has been argued, that the composite Pythian–Delian hymn which we find in our corpus of Homeric Hymns was performed, and its closing line implies that it was followed by a further epic recitation.[61] It was presented as a work composed long before by Homer; of all the poems attributed to him—at any rate, of all those that survive—it is the only one in which he is made to speak about himself, the blind itinerant bard from Chios.

The presentation was a resounding success. For the Homeridai the hymn evidently held a special status among the poems at their disposal. The *Certamen* relates how [382] Homer sailed to Delos for the panegyris, took up his stand at the Altar of Horns, and recited this hymn, whereupon the Ionians made him their *κοινὸς πολίτης* and the Delians wrote out the poem on a white-painted panel and dedicated it in the temple of Artemis. That was Homer's last public appearance. The festival concluded, the old poet sailed south to join Creophylus on Ios and presently died there.

We can infer that the hymn was indeed displayed in Artemis' temple, as a memorial of Homer's historic visit. Why not in the temple of Apollo, the main subject of the hymn? No doubt because people were still aware that Apollo's temple was a new structure—it dated only from the second half of the sixth century—and that the only temple in Homer's time, when the dedication was supposed to have been made, would have been Artemis' (despite the anachronistic references to Apollo's temple in the hymn). That may suggest that the panel was set up, or 'discovered' in the temple, at a relatively early date, not too long after Cynaethus. It betokened the Delians' delighted acceptance of his claims.[62] Thucydides too accepted them.

[60] M. L. West in *La Fable* (Fondation Hardt, *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 30, Vandœuvres-Geneva 1984), 116–19, 123–6.

[61] Crusius (as n. 38), 720 f., noting the part played by Apollo at the start of the *Iliad*, suggested that the hymn served as an introduction to that epic.

[62] Janko (as n. 17), 256–8, thinks that the (Delian) hymn was composed and posted up much earlier, at a time when Apollo had no temple of his own and was sharing Artemis'. He then has difficulty in explaining the references to a temple of Apollo in the hymn. [On the report in the *Certamen* see the important remarks in Karl Förstel, *Untersuchungen zum Homerischen Apollonhymnus* (Bochum 1979), 71 (with 321) and 79 f.]

He knew the hymn and regarded it as an important document; he quotes no other verse text at such length. Sceptics, on the other hand, identified this poem as the outstanding example of Cynaethus' forgeries.

Among the Ionians who congregated for the festival there were no doubt many Athenians. Homer's Assumption at Athens, I mean Hipparchus' institution of the Panathenaic recitations, must be very close in date. Burkert seems to presume that it had already happened, probably because he associates it with the establishment of the tragic contests at the Dionysia and dates that to the 530s: 'At Athens, the Peisistratids had recently adorned the Panathenaia with rhapsodic contests, with recitals of 'Homer'. It was just natural for Polycrates to follow suit: Hipparchos had probably dealt with the Homerids of Chios, Polycrates brought them to Delos.'[63] If we accept (as Burkert does) the statement of pseudo-Plato that it was Hipparchus rather than Pisistratus who established Homer at the Panathenaea, he could as well have done it after 523 as before. The evidence of Attic vase-painting, collected and analysed by K. Friis Johansen, points to a date around 520 as the moment when the artists suddenly began to show knowledge of the whole *Iliad* instead of just a few favoured episodes taken mainly from the last third of the poem.[64] 'Around 520' does not necessarily exclude a date before 523. But balancing the probabilities of the matter, considering the impression that Homer's Apollo hymn must have made at Polycrates' Delian festival, the death of Polycrates within the year, and the immediate replacement of Samos by Athens as a centre of poetic patronage, we may find it a plausible hypothesis that that was the moment when Hipparchus (besides sending a ship for Anacreon) invited the Homeridai to Athens and arranged for the complete performance of the Poems of Homer at the next Athenian panegyris: the Great Panathenaea that began (if the calendar was properly calibrated) on 19 August 522.

[63] Burkert (as n. 13), 60 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 195; cf. (as n. 19), 53 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 212; (as n. 6), 78 n. 19 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 142, 'die Ausgestaltung der Panathenäen stellt sich neben die fast gleichzeitige Ausgestaltung der Dionysien durch die Tragödie'. On the uncertainty of the conventional date for the establishment of tragedy at the Dionysia cf. M. L. West, *CQ* 39 (1989), 251–4 [to be included in *Hellenica* ii].

[64] K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen 1967), 223–7, 236–40.

# *Supplementary List of Publications*

## relating to pre-Hellenistic epic (including Hesiod and Hymns) and not included in the present volume

### Books

*Hesiod, Theogony.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

With R. Merkelbach: *Fragmenta Hesiodea.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

With R. Merkelbach: Fragmenta Selecta, in F. Solmsen *et al.*, *Hesiodi Opera* (OCT), Oxonii 1970. Appendix nova fragmentorum, in *Hesiodi Opera* (OCT), ed. altera, Oxonii 1983, 227–32, 253; ed. tertia, Oxonii 1990, pp. 109–246.

*Sing Me, Goddess.* (Translation of the *Iliad* Book 1.) London: Duckworth, 1971.

*Hesiod, Works and Days.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

*The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

*Hesiod. Theogony. Works and Days.* (Oxford World's Classics.) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

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Text and apparatus of *Iliad* *A*, *B*, *Γ*, *Z*, *T*, *Ω*, in J. Latacz and others (edd.), *Homers Ilias. Gesamtkommentar*, I. 1, II. 1, III. 1, IV. 1, VI. 1, VIII. 1 (Munich–Leipzig 2000–9); 'Orthographisches', ibid. in each volume, x–xv.

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